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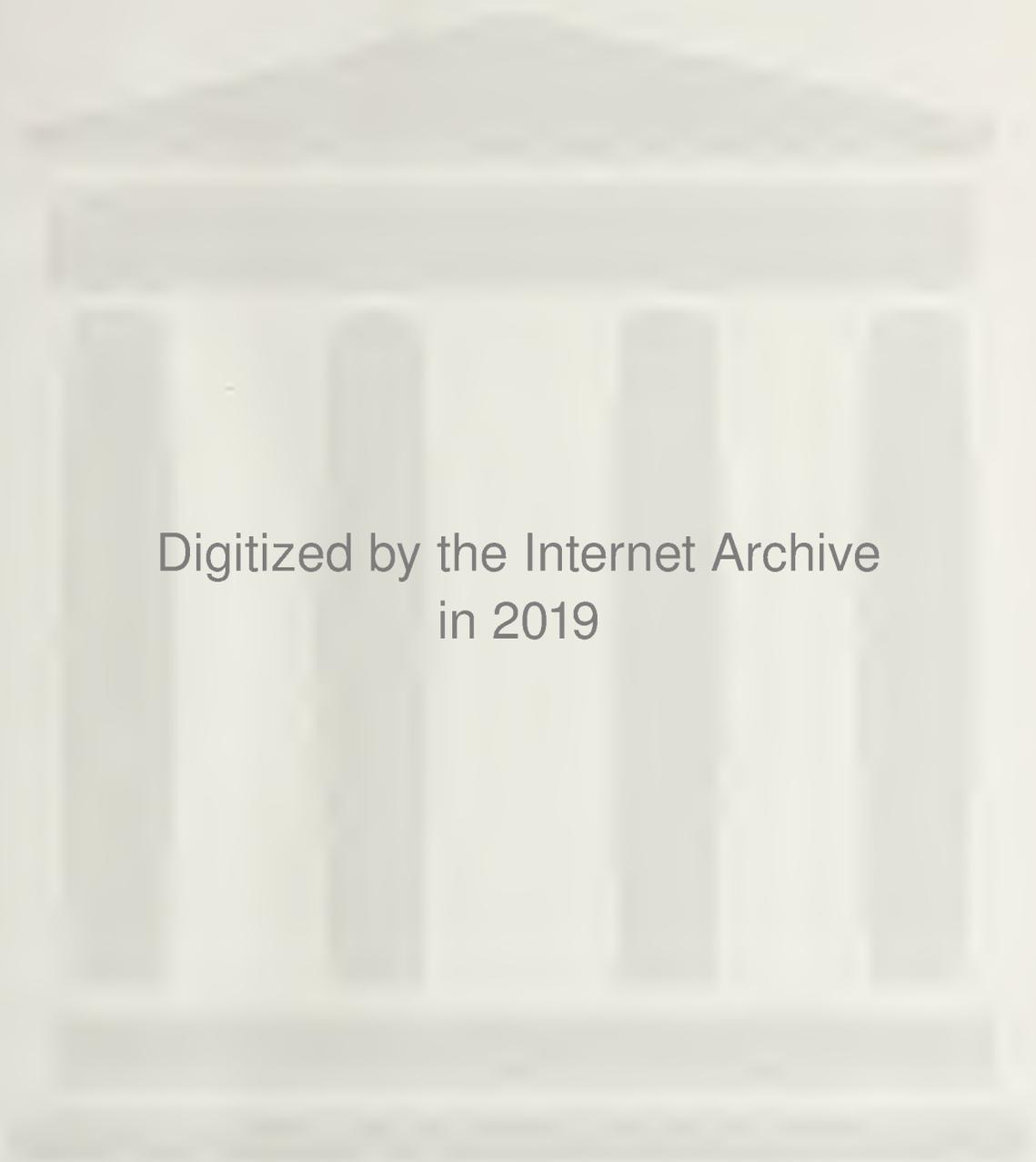


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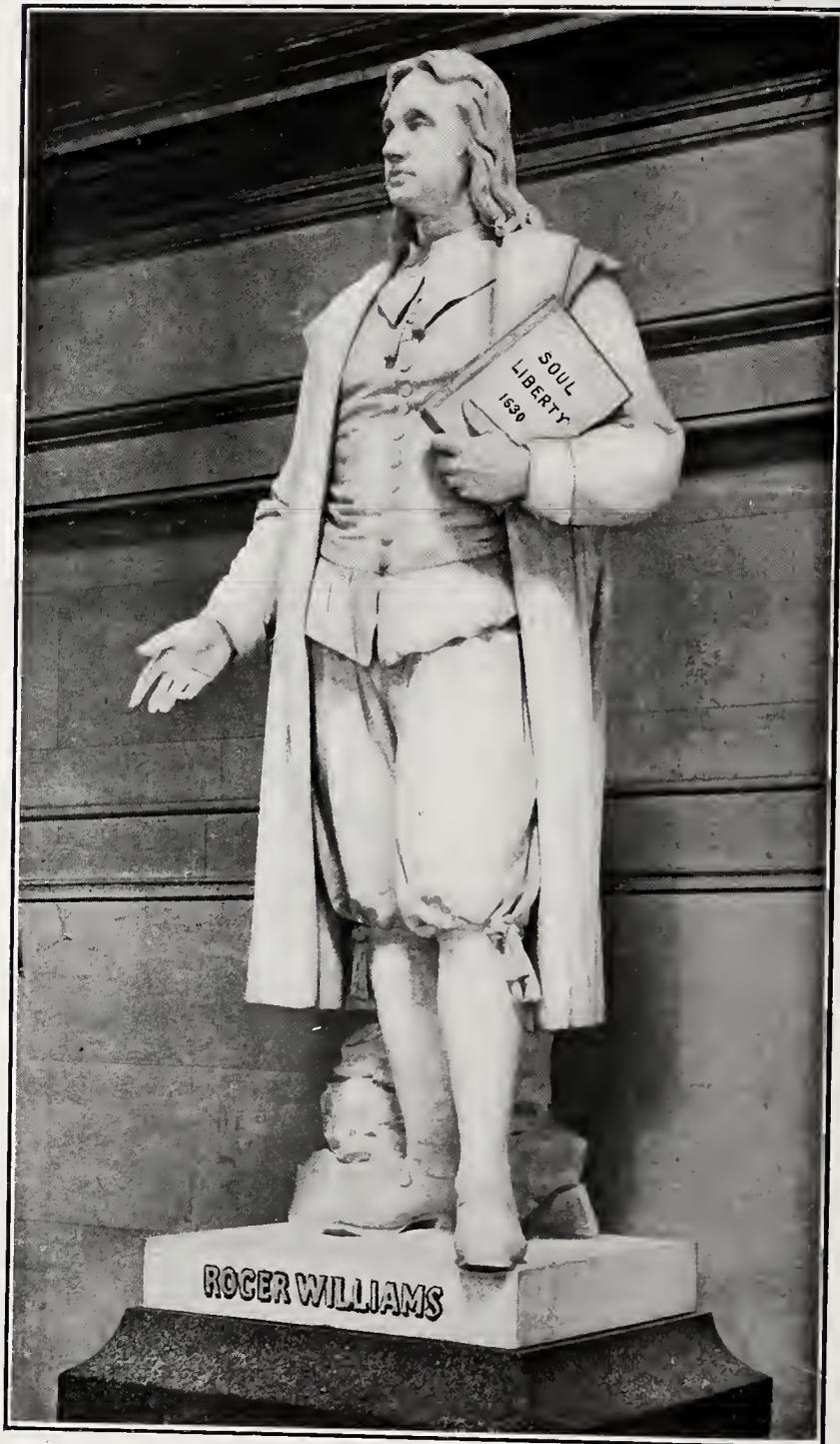






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STATUE OF ROGER WILLIAMS, IN HALL OF STATUARY,  
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# RHODE ISLAND

## Three Centuries of Democracy

*By*

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VOLUME II

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## CHAPTER XXII.

## RHODE ISLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR.



FORT SUMTER, fired on April 12, 1861, was evacuated April 14. The next day President Lincoln called for 75,000 militia and Governor Sprague issued a proclamation in which he summoned the General Assembly to meet in special session on April 17. The Governor's proclamation recited that "the President of the United States hath issued his proclamation, calling forth the militia of the several states of the union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress a combination of men in the several states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, now, and for some time past, opposing and obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States in said states, and in numbers too great to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the power invested in the marshals by law." Rhode Island's quota was one regiment. The Assembly promptly authorized the Governor "to raise, by detailing from the chartered companies of this state, or by voluntary enlistment, or by draft, so many regiments, battalions, or companies of troops for service within or without this state, and to arm and equip the same, as in his opinion the public service may require, or as have been or shall be called for by requisition of the President of the United States." The troops were to be "armed, clothed, equipped, provisioned, and furnished . . . at the expense of the state until mustered into the service of the United States." The Governor was also authorized to enlist a regimental band, and in addition to the regiment of infantry, to raise a battery of artillery. The charters of the Providence City Guards, Providence Horse Guards, Wickford Pioneers and Narragansett Guards were revived. The General Treasurer was empowered to hire not exceeding \$500,000 for military purposes; the Assembly thanked the firm of A. & W. Sprague for its "very liberal offer of a loan of \$100,000 in the present emergency," and the banks of Rhode Island for "prompt and liberal offers of loans to the state for furnishing and equipping the volunteers who may respond to the proclamation of the President of the United States." Flags and flagstaves were ordered for public buildings. The Assembly completed the agenda for the special session speedily and adjourned.

RHODE ISLAND TROOPS AWAY—Governor Sprague had anticipated action by the General Assembly, and its proceedings principally were confirmatory. He had not hesitated to pledge the credit of A. & W. Sprague or to pay cash from the firm's coffers or bank accounts to accomplish his purpose of complying immediately with the President's request for troops. The latter were ready for mustering in as soon as the Assembly had acted. The Providence Marine Corps of Artillery, the Governor's own command preceding his election, furnished First Light Battery, Rhode Island Volunteers, Captain Charles H. Tompkins, which left Providence for the front on April 18, completely equipped for field service. The battery camped at Easton, Pennsylvania, remaining there for drill, and reached Washington *via* the Potomac River on May 2. The battery was mustered into the service of the United States for three months on May 7. For the regiment of infantry, 2500 men offered themselves as volunteers; six companies from Providence, and one each from Newport, Pawtucket, Westerly and Woonsocket, were accepted to form First Regiment, Rhode Island Detached Militia. The origin of the companies was as follows: Providence First Light Infantry and Providence Mechanics Rifles each furnished two companies; Newport Artillery, Providence Artillery, Providence National Cadets, Pawtucket Light Guard, Woonsocket Guards, and Westerly Rifles, one company each.

Ambrose E. Burnside, West Point graduate and veteran of the Mexican War, who had resigned from the United States army to manufacture in Rhode Island the Burnside rifle, a breechloader, his own invention, was in New York. His reply to Governor Sprague's telegram, asking when he could come to Rhode Island to take command, was "At once." The work of enlisting, organizing, arming and equipping soldiers went forward so rapidly under the urgent drive maintained by Governor Sprague that Colonel Burnside and half the regiment, 544 officers and men, left Providence on the steamer "Empire State" for New York city on April 20, fifth day after the President's proclamation and third after the meeting of the General Assembly. The next day the detachment left New York on steamer "Coatzacoalcus" for Annapolis. From Annapolis the detachment marched to Annapolis Junction, and reached Washington by train April 26. The second detachment, Lieutenant Colonel Pitman commanding, left Providence April 24, sailed from New York on steamer "Bienville" for Washington *via* the Potomac River and disembarked April 28. The regiment was mustered into the service of the United States for three months on May 2, on the grounds of the Capitol in the presence of President Lincoln. The regiment encamped at Camp Sprague, in a north-east suburb of Washington. There the First Light Battery also was stationed.

THE LAST PEACE OFFER REJECTED—The General Assembly met again on May 28. The legislation authorizing the Governor to raise and equip troops was amended to conform to new federal regulations. The proposed thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, a peace offering by Congress to the southern states as a guaranty that slavery would not be interfered with, was ratified by Rhode Island in the following language: "No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere within any state with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said state." The amendment failed of ratification by the required three-fourths of the states, and was forgotten altogether in the distraction of war. The Assembly appointed a "committee on retrenchment and reform," with instructions "that they inquire into the expenses of this state, and whether the same can be consistently retrenched." In view of unsettled conditions in the border states, the United States Naval Academy had been removed from Annapolis to Newport; the General Assembly visited the academy, "witnessed with great satisfaction the proficiency in drill and in all matters in which the young gentlemen connected with the institution have received instruction," and expressed in resolutions "the gratification which they have derived from their visit to the frigate 'Constitution.'" The latter had been removed from Annapolis with the academy. The Assembly offered to cede jurisdiction to the United States of any territory, not exceeding 150 acres, that might be acquired for the academy, and urged "our Senators and Representatives in Congress . . . to use their influence in procuring the permanent location of said academy at Newport." Charles F. Brown of Warren, who had invented a breech-loading cannon, offered to build for Rhode Island the first "piece capable of forcing a six or eight-pound ball," provided the Assembly would make an appropriation to cover the cost. A committee to which the Brown proposition was referred reported "that to grant the direct aid of the state in the manner requested would hardly conform to the spirit of our legislation, and might lead to the establishment of an improper precedent," although the committee desired "to state that they have examined the cannon (model) and witnessed its practical operation, and are convinced that it possesses extraordinary merit. It combines advantages not possessed by other arms of its class, and must, in the opinion of your committee, take its rank as one of the most effective instruments of modern warfare." The Assembly adjourned May 31 to meet January 13, 1862, but was called to meet in special session on August 8, 1861, to revise the military law following the battle of Bull Run.

SECOND RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT—Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee joined the Confederacy after President Lincoln's first call for troops in April, 1861. Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri were saved by prompt action. President Lincoln called for additional volunteers, to serve for three years or during the war. The Second Rhode Island Detached Militia, afterward known as the Second Rhode Island Volunteers, Colonel John S. Slocum, included a battery of light artillery from the Marine Corps of Artillery, Captain Reynolds, and ten companies of infantry, enlisted: A, from Phenix, Natick and Apponaug; B, from Scituate, Johnston, and Cranston; C, from the Providence Artillery and Mechanics Rifles; D, from the National Cadets; F, from Pawtucket, Valley Falls and Central Falls; G, from Bristol and Warren; H, from East Greenwich and vicinity; I, from Smithfield, Woonsocket and Greenville; K, from Newport and Middletown. The battery, on the steamer "Kill von Kull," and the infantry, on the steamer "State of Maine," sailed from Providence for New York on June 19, 1861. The troops reached Baltimore by rail on June 21, and Washington early June 22. With the regiment went Governor Sprague, Secretary of State Bartlett, and Bishop Clark. The regimental camp, pitched near Camp Sprague, was named in honor of the Bishop. The Rhode Island troops, except the First Light Battery, Captain Tompkins, which had been detached and sent to the support of General Patterson in the Valley of the Shenandoah, were at the battle of Bull Run or Manassas. They had been assigned to the Army of the Potomac, General McDowell; Second Division, Colonel Hunter; Second Brigade, Colonel Burnside. The Second Brigade included the First and Second Rhode Island, the Second New Hampshire and Seventy-first New York Regiments.

The army marched into Virginia in three columns on July 16, Hunter's division in the centre. Governor Sprague, Colonel John A. Gardner and others joined Colonel Burnside's staff as aides. The objective of the movement into Virginia was occupation or isolation of Richmond, the Confederate capital; perhaps, as some at the North fondly hoped, the crushing of the Confederacy by a single blow. Contact with General Beauregard's defending Confederate army was established on July 18, when there was severe outpost fighting at Blackburn's Ford.

SECOND RHODE ISLAND OPENS BULL RUN BATTLE—The decisive battle was fought on Sunday, July 21. For the Sunday battle McDowell planned a wide circling movement, to be made under cover of night. Hunter's division was ordered to march so far to the right as to clear the Confederate left flank, and in the morning to attack the Confederates in flank and rear simultaneously with a vigorous frontal drive upon the Confederate left and demonstrations in force along the entire line. The flank movement was started hours after the time assigned; it was delayed by obstacles that had not been foreseen, and the distance to be traveled had been underestimated. Consequently an attack that should have opened early in the morning was launched after mid-forenoon. Meanwhile Beauregard had been reinforced by General J. E. Johnston from the Valley of the Shenandoah, had learned of the flank movement, and had made disposition of his forces to meet it.

When Burnside's brigade, the Second Rhode Island in front, leading Hunter's division, emerged from a forest road on the Confederate left, it was met by musket fire from Confederate regiments. Colonel Slocum at once deployed his column in line of battle, returned the Confederate fire, and advanced to the crest of a small hill, driving back the Confederates who strove for the same position. Captain Reynolds put his battery into action, sending the Confederates to cover. Of this phase of the battle Colonel Hunter, who was wounded later and relinquished command of the division to Burnside, said: "Burnside, I leave the matter in your hands. Slocum and his regiment went in handsomely, and drove the scoundrels." Slocum and the Second Rhode Island, including the Reynolds battery, had opened the battle of Bull Run; by vigorous and effective fighting they held the Confederates in check, thus giving Burnside opportunity to march the remainder of the brigade out of the woods and to

form them in line of battle. The New York and New Hampshire regiments fell in at Slocum's right. Griffin's United States battery joined Reynolds. The First Rhode Island was held in reserve under cover of the forest, though exposed to shell fire from Confederate batteries. Colonel Porter brought up his brigade and the fighting became general.

The Second Rhode Island, including Reynolds and his battery, were so conspicuous for gallantry as to attract the attention and merit the admiration of the Confederate commander. Years after, in a carefully written review of the Bull Run campaign, he recalled the bravery of the Second Rhode Island regiment and the splendid Reynolds battery.\* The "Richmond Dispatch" reported the attack on the Confederate left flank thus: "They pressed our left flank for several hours with terrible effect, but our men flinched not till their numbers had been so diminished by well-aimed and steady volleys that they were compelled to give way for new regiments. The Seventh and Eighth Georgia Regiments are said to have suffered heavily." The Georgia regiments mentioned fought directly opposite the Second Rhode Island. The First Rhode Island Regiment came to the assistance of the Second. During a lull in the fighting, when it appeared that the Confederates had been beaten, Burnside's brigade was relieved and marched to the rear. The troops were practically worn out by the fatigue of the long march the night before the battle, by hunger, by the intense heat of the midday July sun in Virginia, and by the exertion of the battle. At the rear they were supplied with food and fresh ammunition, and rested, thus preparing themselves for further service. The Second Regiment had suffered serious losses. Colonel Slocum and Major Sullivan Ballou had been mortally wounded. Captain Levi Tower and Lieutenant Henry D. Prescott, the latter of the First Rhode Island, had been killed in action. Captain S. James Smith was killed at Cub Run during the retreat after the battle. Twenty-four privates had been killed, and fifty-eight officers and men had been wounded. Governor Sprague, a conspicuous figure on the battlefield, as he carried dispatches or rallied his Rhode Island soldiers after the wounding of Colonel Slocum, had a horse shot under him.

RHODE ISLAND COVERS RETREAT—Except the glorious part played by the Rhode Island soldiers, the story of the battle of Bull Run has been familiar. When it appeared that victory rested with the Union army, Confederate reinforcements arrived and turned the tide of battle. McDowell ordered a retreat, because his last reserve had been exhausted. The retreat, like those of the Confederates at Fair Oaks Station and Malvern Hill, reflected the inexperience of fresh troops. Civilians who had accompanied the Union army to witness a victory, fled precipitately toward Washington. Camp followers, sutlers, wagon drivers of supply trains and other non-combatants joined in the scramble and blocked the roads. Some soldiers, also, forgetting discipline and tossing away arms and equipment, ran ingloriously, *but not the Rhode Island regiments*. They were with Burnside's brigade, which Burnside led as a rearguard, covering the retreat and disputing ground with the small forces of Confederates who followed. The confusion among the Confederates, because of reverses earlier in the day, was little less than that in the Union army, and no concerted forward movement was undertaken. Under cover of Burnside's brigade the Union army reached Centreville, from which a further movement back to Washington was ordered by McDowell. Of the six guns commanded by Reynolds, one was disabled and abandoned on the battlefield; four were carried off the field and abandoned later at Cub Run, on the retreat, because the bridge was so obstructed as to be impassable for cannon. The sixth, which had been disabled early in the battle, and sent to the rear, was recovered at Centreville, whence it was taken to Washington, the only union fieldpiece not lost to the Confederates. The Rhode Island General Assembly, in August, 1861, presented the cannon to Governor Sprague, with thanks "for the energetic action displayed by him both in the camp and upon the battlefield, and as a mark of esteem."

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\*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Volume I.

The fieldpiece was presented by the Governor in trust to the Marine Corps of Artillery. It is now mounted in the north vestibule of the State House at Providence, an interesting relic of the battle of Bull Run, and, besides that, one of the first rifled cannon actually used in warfare.

Colonel Burnside, for conspicuous service at the battle of Bull Run and on the retreat, was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers on August 6, 1861. The Rhode Island General Assembly, at the August session, 1861, adopted resolutions of thanks to "Ambrose E. Burnside, late Colonel of the First Regiment, Rhode Island Detached Militia, for the prompt and patriotic manner in which he tendered his services to his adopted state at the call of our country for soldiers to protect its capital and sustain its government under the national Constitution; for his assiduous care and skillful conduct of the soldiers of this state placed under his charge; and for the skill and generalship displayed by him upon the field of battle, which, we are pleased to learn, has been recognized and rewarded by the national government." The Assembly also thanked "Colonel Wheaton† of the Second Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers, and the officers and men under his command for their heroic conduct upon the field of battle," and tendered "sympathies to the families of Colonel Slocum, Major Ballou, Captain Tower, Captain Smith, Lieutenant Prescott, and the other officers and privates who lost their lives in the battle near Manassas in Virginia.

**CALIFORNIA SENDS COLORS**—A group of native Rhode Islanders, resident in California, sent a set of colors to each of the Rhode Island regiments, described as consisting of "the national ensign and the state flag . . . made of rich silk and . . . mounted on heavy staves; . . . unsuitable, on account of their weight to be carried into action." With the colors were letters and an address to each of the regiments, signed by 175 Rhode Island Californians, reciting:

Our hearts were stirred with enthusiasm when we read here of the promptness with which our native state offered her thoroughly appointed regiments in the critical hour, for the protection of the capital. They swelled with sacred pride when we followed the story of Rhode Island's fidelity and discipline on the retreat from Manassas, and saw Rhode Island names gleam brightly through the mists which obscure that page in the annals of our righteous war. We pledge to you our sympathy and confess our admiration, and offer our gratitude in the flag and standard which will accompany this letter. They are the cordial gifts of the sons of Rhode Island resident in California. The Stars and Stripes are our own colors and emblems by the Pacific, and will be while her surf beats against the cliffs of the Golden Gate. The anchor is the emblem of our firm devotion to the cause for which you have perilled your lives, and are ready still to devote your treasures and blood. . . . Think of the breadth and majesty of the country for which you have unsheathed your swords, when you receive these colors. If you take them into battle, make a new vow under them to the Constitution, which diffuses blessings from the coasts of New England to the shores of Oregon. Pledge yourselves more deeply against the treason that would destroy it, and may the God of Justice and of Battles help and protect you in our common struggle for Order, Liberty and Law.

The report of the Adjutant General, 1861, concluded thus: "The First and Second Regiments and Second Battery performed gallant service at the battle of Bull Run. . . . It is unnecessary for me to remind your honorable body of the bravery displayed by the troops sent from this state. It is sufficient to say that the noble reputation achieved by the blood of her sons on previous occasions has been well sustained by our volunteers. Too much praise cannot be awarded to his excellency Governor Sprague for the diligence displayed in organizing and forwarding the Rhode Island troops. His whole time and energy have been devoted to the work, and he has the proud satisfaction of knowing that no troops were sent into the field better equipped and disciplined than our own. Not only was it his pride to forward them expeditiously, but he was ever willing to accompany them, sharing alike their hardships and dangers."

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†Succeeded Slocum.

AFTER BULL RUN—The battle of Bull Run served the significant purpose of arousing Federal and Confederate governments to the magnitude of the struggle into which they had entered. The South had learned that Yankees *could* and would fight; the North had learned that Johnnies *would* and could fight. Both governments undertook immediately the work of reorganizing. Rhode Island acted promptly. Governor Sprague called the General Assembly to meet in special session on August 8, 1861, issuing a proclamation August 6, in which he declared that "it has become necessary in the present exigencies of the country that new exertions and sacrifices for the common good should be made by the people of this state and other loyal states, and that this state should forthwith raise new regiments of infantry and new companies of artillery in support of the general government." The Governor also stated that "the militia law of the state requires revision and amendment, inasmuch as the bounty for enlistment here by law provided is now rendered less necessary by the increased pay of volunteers, while it imposes a heavy burden upon the property and resources of this state, and tends, by the superior advantages thereby conferred upon troops enlisted here, to create dissatisfaction amongst troops enlisted in other states." The Assembly had offered a bounty of twelve dollars per month, payable in advance, in April; and in May had offered a bounty of twelve dollars per month, limited to three months, payable at the end of each month's service. The Assembly reduced the state bounty to fifteen dollars per man, and authorized towns "to appropriate and raise money for the payment of bounties as assistance to the volunteers and their families and dependents in the present war," exercising the same power "as they now have to raise money for ordinary town expenses." The General Treasurer was authorized to borrow \$500,000 at not exceeding six per cent. interest, and issue state bonds therefor payable in ten years, and also to borrow not exceeding \$500,000 at six per cent. from time to time on the credit of the state, "said money to be expended in enlisting, arming and equipping and mustering into the service of the United States, such of the military force of this state as has been or shall be called for by requisition of the President of the United States."

The Assembly also adopted a "resolution to sustain the general government in its effort to preserve the union," thus: "That in the present crisis of our public affairs there ought to be a full and sincere union of all political parties in support of the constitutionally elected government of the United States; and that the General Assembly pledges to the President of the United States the best exertions of the government and people of Rhode Island, and its entire resources for the preservation of the union." In view of the number of aliens who offered themselves as volunteers, the Assembly proposed an amendment to the Constitution as follows: "Aliens who enlist or volunteer in any of the regiments of this state, and are honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or may hereafter become naturalized citizens of the United States, shall be admitted to vote at all elections held in this state upon the same terms as native-born citizens of the United States." At the special session of August, 1862, a resolution was adopted in modified form as follows: "Alien residents of this state who have enlisted or volunteered, or who may enlist or volunteer in any of the regiments of this state, and shall be honorably discharged therefrom and who are now or may become naturalized citizens of the United States, shall be admitted to vote at all elections in this state on the same terms as native-born citizens of this state." The modified proposal was approved by the next General Assembly at the May session, 1863, but was rejected, 1346-2394, when submitted to the referendum in October, 1863.

NEW REGIMENTS ORGANIZED—The First Regiment, Rhode Island Detached Militia, enlisted for three months, returned to Providence, July 28, and was mustered out August 2. The First Battery returned July 31 and was mustered out August 6. A great many officers and men reënlisted in the new regiments being organized under the direction of Governor Sprague to fill the state's quota in the requisitions made by President Lincoln for the large armies the need for which had been proved at Bull Run. The Third Rhode Island was

recruited and drilled by Colonel Ashur R. Eddy, U. S. A. He resigned September 17, 1861, and was replaced by Colonel Nathaniel W. Brown. The regiment camped at Spring Green in Warwick, and on September 7 marched to Providence to embark on steamer "Commodore" for Long Island. Before leaving, the regiment formed in hollow square on Exchange Place and was addressed by Reverend A. H. Clapp and the regimental Chaplain, Reverend Father Thomas Quinn, who had been associate chaplain of the First Rhode Island. The regiment joined General Sherman's division at Fort Hamilton. It was known subsequently as the Third Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery, and was recruited up to twelve companies of 150 men each, two additional companies being enlisted and sent forward in February and March, 1862, to join the regiment at Port Royal, South Carolina. The Fourth Regiment was raised and drilled by Colonel Justus I. McCarty, U. S. A., and embarked for Washington October 5. Colonel Isaac P. Rodman was appointed commander of the Fourth Regiment. The regiment was assigned first to General O. O. Howard's brigade, but later was placed in General Parke's brigade with the Fifth Rhode Island, Eighth and Eleventh Connecticut, and joined the Burnside expedition to North Carolina. One battalion of the Fifth Rhode Island Volunteers, Major Wright commanding, went forward December 27, 1861, to board the "Kitty Simpson," transport, at Annapolis, on its way to join the Burnside expedition. The Fifth, when completed, became Fifth Rhode Island Heavy Artillery, Colonel Henry T. Sisson. The Reynolds battery of the Second Rhode Island became Battery A in the First Regiment, Rhode Island Light Artillery, of which Captain Charles H. Tompkins, Captain of the battery with First Rhode Island, was appointed as Colonel, and Captain Reynolds as Lieutenant Colonel. Seven batteries of this regiment were sent forward in 1861, the completion of the eighth battery being delayed in consequence of sending recruits forward to fill quotas in other artillery regiments. For the First New England Regiment of Cavalry eight full companies were recruited in Rhode Island in 1861, and four companies in New Hampshire. This regiment was subsequently known as First Regiment, Rhode Island Cavalry; the first colonel was Robert B. Lawton; in July, 1862, Alfred N. Duffie, a distinguished French officer, was designated as Colonel. For these regiments Rhode Island raised and equipped 5124 men in 1861 as follows: First Regiment, infantry 1165, artillery 145; Second Regiment, 1083; Third Regiment, Heavy Artillery, 900;§ Fourth Regiment, Infantry, 900;§ Fifth Regiment, Heavy Artillery, 403;§ First Rhode Island Light Artillery, 1200; First Rhode Island Cavalry, 638.§ In addition, 1005 men had been recruited for war service as follows: First Regiment, United States Chasseurs, 200; Fourteenth Regiment, United States Infantry, 125; other regiments out of state, 100; navy, 580. The Adjutant General estimated Rhode Island's quota of 500,000 volunteers as 4057. Rhode Island had raised for Rhode Island regiments 1067 men in excess of the quota, a little more than twenty-six per cent. The grand total of 6124 men recruited in Rhode Island was over fifty-one per cent. more than Rhode Island's quota. The Adjutant General remarked: "As far as my observation extends, no state has done better, and I know of none which has done as well." The state had also purchased, refitted and armed with one brass six-pound rifled cannon the steamer "E. D. Fogg" for patrol duty in Narragansett Bay; the vessel was sold to the United States government on November 1, 1861.

PORTSMOUTH GROVE—The General Assembly, at the January session, 1862, assumed payment of the direct tax ordered by Congress in August, 1861, Rhode Island's quota being \$116,963.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ; and ordered a tax of nine cents on each \$100 of town valuations. The Governor was authorized, in May, to provide suitable hospital accommodations for wounded and sick soldiers. Governor Sprague proceeded to direct the building and equipping of temporary hospital quarters at Portsmouth Grove. Buildings to the number of 58, comprising 28 wards, and 30 for mess house, kitchen, laundry, dry houses, hospital store, dispensary, commissary

§Increased later.

department, officers' quarters, chapel, blacksmith and carpenter shops, barracks, etc., were constructed. The chapel was a two-story building, 80x30 feet, with an assembly room for 350 on the second floor, and a reading room and library of 1600 volumes on the first floor. The War Department sent a first contingent of 1724 patients to the hospital on July 6, 1862.

Calling the General Assembly to meet in special session on August 25, 1862, the Governor declared that "the large bounties given by the several cities and towns in this state for volunteers, for the purpose of obviating a draft, is producing dissatisfaction among the troops of the state now in the field; and . . . this system of overbidding by each town in its haste to relieve itself from a draft is a most pernicious one, and creating a large debt which is unequally divided among the people of the state, when the cause for which it is incurred is that of all its citizens, for the preservation of their common country; and . . . undue haste has also been manifested by some of our people to render themselves exempt under the law from doing military duty; under these circumstances, and to take such measures as may be thought most proper in the emergency to comply with the call of the President to furnish our quota of troops, I have deemed it my duty to convene the General Assembly at a time not provided by law." McClellan's Peninsula campaign had ended, after brilliant fighting, in failure, and President Lincoln had called, on July 2, for 300,000 additional volunteers for three years, and on August 9 for 300,000 more to serve for nine months. In compliance with the Governor's suggestion that town bounties tended to produce inequality of taxation for war purposes, the legislation authorizing town bounties was repealed. Instead the state offered to reimburse towns for bounties not exceeding \$300 per man for soldiers raised to meet the state's quota of 2712 three-year soldiers; for every three-year volunteer additional to the quota \$100 was offered. Bounties of \$150 for volunteers and \$100 for drafted men to fill the call for nine months' service were authorized. To meet the needs of the state for money, the General Treasurer was directed to issue bonds to an amount not exceeding \$1,200,000 at six per cent. payable in twenty years. Towns were authorized to raise money by general taxation to assist in supporting the families of soldiers.‡

The Assembly adopted resolutions mourning "the untimely death of" Brigadier General Isaac Ingalls Stevens, "whose sound judgment and military skill and whose worth, integrity and patriotism have been lost to the nation at a time when most she needed them," and tendering the state's sympathy to "the family of General Stevens now residing in Rhode Island."\* The Assembly also declared that it "would be proud to welcome to this state an officer distinguished alike for his dauntless bravery on the battlefield, his unshaken fortitude during a long and cheerless captivity, and his self-sacrificing devotion to the flag of his adopted country," and invited Brigadier General Michael Corcoran to visit Rhode Island.† Rhode Island continued vigorously through 1862 the recruiting and equipping of soldiers.

Two additional companies for the Third Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery, were sent forward in February and March, and the organization of the First Regiment, Rhode Island Cavalry, was completed. When the Army of the Potomac seriously threatened Richmond during the Peninsula campaign, Stonewall Jackson's raid up the Shenandoah Valley, threatening Washington, precipitated an urgent call for troops for defence of the capital city, Governor Sprague was requested, by telegram dated May 25, to send every available man to Washington. His response was the organization and forwarding of the Ninth and Tenth

‡Held that a town ordinance authorizing payment of a weekly stipend to a soldier's family created a charity and not a right enforceable as a contract. *Russell vs. Providence*, 7 R. I. 566.

\*General Stevens, West Point graduate and Mexican War veteran, entered the Civil War as colonel of the 79th New York Highlanders. He was with Sherman on the expedition to Port Royal; and was killed at Chantilly September 1, 1862, while carrying the colors of one of his regiments. He had been promoted to be major-general of volunteers, July 4, 1862. He was buried at Newport September 10, after the body had laid in state in the State House.

†General Corcoran, born in Carrowkeel, Sligo, Ireland, was distinguished for gallantry as colonel of the 69th New York Regiment at Bull Run. He was captured at Bull Run, exchanged in 1862 and made a brigadier-general. He raised an Irish Legion and served in North Carolina and Virginia. He died of injuries received from a fall from his horse near Fairfax Courthouse, December 22, 1863.



EXCHANGE PLACE IN CIVIL WAR

The Second Rhode Island Regiment is Shown on Parade, Preparatory to Departing for the Front



Regiments of infantry, and the Tenth Battery. The Ninth Regiment, Colonel Charles T. Robbins, 857 officers and men, left Providence, May 28, directly for Washington. The Tenth Regiment, Colonel Zenas R. Bliss, 662 officers and men, left on May 27. The Tenth Regiment consisted principally of officers and men from the First Regiment, Rhode Island National Guard, tendered by the officers to the Governor as a unit. The Tenth Battery, Captain Edwin C. Gallup, 147 officers and men, went forward in three detachments, the last in June. The two regiments and battery were assigned immediately to the defences of Washington. In answer to a request issued May 28, Governor Sprague ordered enlistment of a squadron of cavalry. The Seventh Squadron, Major Augustus W. Corliss, 171 officers and men, went forward on June 28, and was assigned to scout duty near Harper's Ferry. In the hurry of recruiting two regiments of infantry in three days to meet an emergency, minor details were overlooked, and the new regiments included more than a few youth under military age—boys for whose benefit special legislation was enacted to permit payment of wages as soldiers. The Ninth and Tenth Regiments, Tenth Battery and Seventh Squadron were enlisted for three months only. The Eighth Regiment, planned also for three months, was not organized because of passing of the emergency which had occasioned the call for it.

The Sixth Regiment, to "consist entirely of colored persons," was ordered August 4, 1862, by Governor Sprague, who said: "Our colored fellow-citizens are reminded that the regiment from this state in the Revolution consisting entirely of colored persons was pronounced by Washington equal, if not superior, to any in the service. They constitute a part of the quota from this state, and it is expected that they will respond with zeal and spirit to this call. The Commander-in-Chief will lead them into the field, and will share with them in common with the patriotic soldiers of the army of the republic, their trials and dangers, and will participate in the glories of their success." The response was enthusiastic at first, but the regiment did not attain the numbers sufficient to warrant organization, because the colored people, who were willing enough to be enlisted as soldiers, feared that they might be assigned to labor on fortifications rather than fighting. Greater success was achieved in 1863.

The Seventh Regiment, Colonel Zenas R. Bliss, 919 officers and men, enlisted for the war, left Providence on September 10, destined for conspicuous service in its first battle at Fredericksburg. For its quota of 300,000 men to be drafted under the President's call for nine months' soldiers on August 4, Rhode Island raised two regiments, the Eleventh and Twelfth. In Rhode Island, there was no recourse to drafting to fill the ranks of these two regiments; each town was assigned an allotment. The Eleventh Regiment, Colonel Edwin Metcalf, 1021 officers and men, went forward October 6; the Twelfth Regiment, Colonel George H. Browne, 1048 officers and men, left for Washington on October 21. For these regiments 2224 men, including 155 who deserted before assignment to companies, were recruited in five weeks. Battery H, First Regiment, Rhode Island Light Artillery, was completed on October 23, after having raised four times its quota, the earlier recruits being sent forward to fill the ranks of other artillery regiments. At the end of the year the recruiting of the Second Regiment, Rhode Island Cavalry, was underway; one battalion, Major Augustus W. Corliss commanding, left the state in December. For the year of 1862, Rhode Island sent 2869 recruits to three-year units organized in 1861 and raised 1417 recruits for new three-year units, which with 5124 enlisted in 1861 made a total of 9410 men in two years. In the same year also 2224 had been enlisted for nine months' units, and 1837 for three months' units. With 425 men in the United States army and other regiments outside Rhode Island, and 1400 men in the navy, Rhode Island had sent 16,606 men to the colors in two years of the war. With reduction of nine months' and three months' enlistments to a three-year basis, Rhode Island exceeded a quota of 7232 by sixty per cent.

A commission consisting of Dr. Lloyd Morton and Mrs. Charlotte F. Dailey, which visited Rhode Island troops in camp and United States hospitals in which Rhode Island soldiers were

under treatment, reported early in 1863 that conditions generally were favorable, in spite of delay occasionally in payment of wages due soldiers and difficulty of obtaining supplies promptly after requisition. Upon request the commission received from Secretary Stanton an order for the sending of 450 Rhode Island soldiers from the hospitals in and near Washington to Portsmouth Grove. Mrs. Dailey was enthusiastic in recommending the removal of all Rhode Island soldiers from southern hospitals to Portsmouth Grove at the earliest opportunity, principally for psychological reasons; Dr. Morton found no fault, professionally, with the federal hospitals, and suggested the advantages of the milder winter climate near Washington and the federal service for furnishing artificial limbs as reasons for doubting the necessity for removal. Both members of the commission found the troops, with rare exceptions, amply provided with wholesome food and clothing, and both recommended supplementing army fare by fresh vegetables, and army clothing by sending mittens and stockings. Attention to both needs had been given by patriotic men and women, the latter particularly, and was continued; the letters of soldiers recalled their gratitude for gifts of various kinds, including the vegetables carried by the steamer "Helen and Elizabeth."

With other reports presented to the General Assembly at the January session, 1863, was that of the Provost Marshal, appointed at the request of Governor Sprague under General Orders No. 99, August 9, 1862, for the enrollment and draft of 300,000 militia. The functions of the Provost Marshal were arresting bounty jumpers and other deserters, and investigation of frauds in connection with enlistments and bounty payments. The Provost Marshal had been appointed September 25, 1862. His report, for little more than three months of service, was too general in its nature to indicate the necessity for and the actual accomplishment of such an officer in Rhode Island; that is to say, his report dealt with generalities and possibilities and methods employed or to be employed, rather than with concrete facts as to the number of deserters, arrests, investigations, etc. "The bounties which have been offered," the report said, "have drawn to this state a swarm of worthless men not only from the large cities in this country, but from Europe, consequently inducing frauds on the part of runners and recruiting officers; the enlistment of a less desirable class of persons; while the more honest have been defrauded, and the parties have enlisted with the intention of deserting. The result has been that a large portion of the recent recruits have already deserted, or are waiting only for an opportunity to do so."

The bounty system was objectionable; the essential evil lay in offering money as payment for the fulfilment of a patriotic obligation. The man who enlisted early without the inducement of a bounty might repent and become discontented later as he saw men who had held back rewarded for what he had done voluntarily without thought of compensation. No doubt men of evil intention took advantage of the opportunity offered through advance payment of bounties to obtain ready money fraudulently with the purpose of deserting; on the other hand, perfectly honest and honorable men, willing to become soldiers, might be induced, merely by the pursuit of economic advantage, to enlist where the bounty offer was most liberal. Rhode Island records of Civil War service\* do not indicate that desertion attained remarkable proportions among soldiers enlisted in Rhode Island, or that there was a pronounced variation in the percentages of desertions among men enlisted (1) as residents of Rhode Island; (2) as residents of other states, and (3) as aliens having no established residence in America. Of the last class many were led to come to America by reports spread abroad by friends, as well as by enemies, of the United States of the extraordinary pecuniary rewards offered as inducements for enlisting; and not a few were lured by payment of passage money and promise of steady employment, only to find that their "contracts" bound them to service in the army. The General Assembly, at the January session, 1863, (1) reduced all bounties to fifteen dollars; (2) limited the relief that towns might provide to "needy and destitute fami-

\*Adjutant-General's Report, 1865; official revision.

lies or dependents," and (3) repealed the provision for pay of officers and soldiers previous to muster into the service of the United States.

**MONETARY DIFFICULTIES**—The General Treasurer was authorized to issue bonds to the amount of \$300,000 payable in twenty years with interest at six per cent.; and a state tax of ten cents was levied. The State Auditor reported:

There is a great public want of a safe and convenient substitute for small silver and copper change, which, under the troubled state of the currency, has almost entirely disappeared from circulation. This want is very embarrassing to the banks, to men in trade and to the people generally. Substitutes have been attempted which are very unsatisfactory to the public, and, I think, very justly so. The cutting of one dollar bank bills into two parts, and passing each part for fifty cents, must ultimately result in loss to the holders, since counterfeit bills are often used in this way with less chance of detection. . . . The government stamps which are now used are coarse, badly engraved, on poor paper, without signatures and easily counterfeited. . . . These counterfeit stamps may pass, under the pressing necessity for small change, as readily as the genuine, until the time for the redemption of these United States stamps arrive; but when that time does arrive, unless means are now taken to prevent it, our citizens will be saddled with a very great loss—not less probably than \$100,000—in consequence of these counterfeit United States stamps.

The dearth of currency was as pronounced as the auditor presented it. Besides the devices mentioned by him and the fractional paper currency issued by the United States, merchants had recourse to issuing change "tokens" redeemable in merchandise; some of the "tokens" circulated practically as currency. The Auditor's suggestion that the State of Rhode Island issue "not to exceed the amount of \$200,000 in small change bills of the following denominations: five, ten, twenty-five and fifty cents," was unconstitutional.† Rhode Island did not, during the Civil War, issue currency and thus invite the controversies and embarrassments that had followed other wars. The Auditor's report indicated a wholesome condition of state finances, "since our six per cent. state bonds are selling in the markets of other states for \$112.50 for \$100, while the United States six per cent. notes are selling in the same markets for \$95 or \$96, and our state credit, as demonstrated by the sale of state bonds in the stock markets, stands higher, with a single exception, than that of any other state in the union."

The campaigns of 1862 had produced severe fighting and serious losses. The General Assembly adopted resolutions of regret and condolence on the deaths of Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman and Lieutenant Robert H. Ives, Jr., "who fell together while gallantly charging at the head of a division upon the batteries of the enemy at the battle of Antietam"; of Lieutenant Colonel Welcome B. Sayles, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph B. Curtis and Major Jacob Babbitt, "who lost their lives when gallantly leading their men in the battle of Fredericksburg." Thanks were extended to Lieutenant Colonel Charles A. Rossander of the Royal Swedish Army, who "obtained a furlough from his sovereign, came to the United States and joined the First Regiment of Rhode Island Artillery, in which and in the Third Regiment of Heavy Artillery, he has served since August, 1861, with honor to himself and to the United States forces." Governor Sprague resigned before the Assembly session was concluded to become United States Senator. The Senate, in resolutions, thanked the Governor "for the efficient and vigorous management of his duties as Governor of this State," adding: "We, Senators, feel that the proud position which this state occupies among her sister states, in loyalty to the government of the United States and in its efforts to crush the present unholy rebellion, is owing in a great degree to his prompt and vigorous action." Hon. William C. Cozzens of Newport, President of the Senate, served as acting Governor for the balance of the term, Hon. Samuel G. Arnold, Lieutenant Governor, having resigned to accept election as United States Senator for the unexpired term of Senator Simmons, resigned.

†Constitution of United States, Article I, section 10.

A NEW STATE ADMINISTRATION—The Republican party elected James Y. Smith as Governor in 1863, and with him a complete state ticket. Twenty of thirty-three Senators were new, as were fifty-three of the seventy-two Representatives. A new state valuation for purposes of state taxation showed \$138,183,489, of which \$61,118,300 was in Providence, and \$11,509,200 in Newport. In resolutions the Assembly declared "its high appreciation of the distinguished services of the volunteer soldiers of the state of Rhode Island, on numerous fields of perilous duty, in bravely maintaining her honor, enhancing her reputation, and illustrating her history anew, by their courage, loyalty, patriotism and valor"; "proudly and gratefully" recognized "their claims to the approval and regard of their fellow-citizens and renewedly" pledged "to them its cordial and good will and its unfaltering support." The Assembly also tendered "expressions of sympathy to the many hearts and homes that have been bereaved and saddened by the casualties of the present conflict," and assured them that "the state will ever cherish the memory of the brave men who have fallen in the defence of Union, Liberty and Law."

Lee invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the decisive battle at Gettysburg was close at hand in the unrevealed future. Governor Smith called a special session of the General Assembly to meet on June 19, 1863, urging that "the invasion of the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania by the rebel armies, the impending conscription by the government of the United States, the condition of the distinguished but depleted regiments of this state now in the field, and the certainty that energetic action may not only furnish a body of militia for the defence of the invaded states, but may render conscription unnecessary here, and by promptly recruiting the regiments in the field to the maximum standard, may secure to our citizens the choice of service," made it his duty. The session continued two days. The Assembly (1) offered a bounty of \$300 for enlistments for three years to fill up Rhode Island regiments and a bounty of \$100 for enlistments before August 1 for six months' service; (2) authorized a bond issue of not exceeding \$1,000,000 for thirty years at six per cent.; (3) ordered a state tax of six cents, and (4) authorized North Providence to issue bonds "to raise money for the existing rebellion," not to exceed \$100,000. Under a request from Washington for six months' volunteers Governor Smith planned to recruit three regiments of infantry, one battery of artillery and one regiment of cavalry. Before the organization of the first regiment, the Thirteenth, had been completed, the battle of Gettysburg had been fought, and the emergency was past; the enlisted men were transferred to other units. For the year 1863, otherwise, Rhode Island completed the enlistment of the Second Rhode Island Cavalry; enlisted and organized the Fourteenth Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery (colored), 1703 men; recruited additional companies for the Fifth Rhode Island, which had been changed from infantry to heavy artillery; recruited and forwarded one complete battalion of the Third Cavalry, organized as a three-year regiment instead of the six months' battalion planned originally; besides enlistments for regiments in the field. The enlistments for the year totalled 2796; in addition, 160 men were drafted and entered service, 678 were drafted and furnished substitutes, and 458 were drafted and commuted. The Adjutant General reported total enlistments in three years (exclusive of drafted men) as 12,206 for three years, 2224 for nine months, and 3147 for three months. The Eleventh and Twelfth Regiments had completed service and returned to Rhode Island. The Rhode Island forces in the field at the end of the year were reported as totalling 7761, of whom 6328 were active and fit for duty. Enlistments in the regular army and out-of-state regiments and the navy were estimated at between 1500 and 2500. At the end of the year, enlistments to anticipate and commute another draft were in process, with reasonable assurances that the draft might not become necessary in Rhode Island. Under authorization of the President, the Governor in June, assigned a light battery of six pieces, with infantry support, to Bonnet Point, to guard the West Passage. Later, Dutch Island was

purchased by the United States government, and the Fourteenth Rhode Island Regiment was assigned to temporary quarters there, while it constructed forts and mounted eight heavy guns.

LINCOLN ADMINISTRATION INDORSED—The Governor, in his message to the General Assembly in January, 1864, urged continued measures to promote enlistments. The bounty legislation of June, 1863, had been of a temporary nature, to encourage enlistments because of an emergency; on the fifty-fifth birthday of Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1864, the Assembly passed a bounty act, which with another measure enacted a day earlier, placed at the disposition of the Governor \$150,000 from which to pay "bounty, subsistence and transportation" additional to a standard bounty of \$300 for enlistment for three years. Later at the same session the benefits of the bounty legislation were extended to men drafted in the preceding year. In anticipation of the presidential election the Assembly adopted resolutions recommending the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln, thus:

Abraham Lincoln . . . . in the midst of the great trials of a gigantic civil war—begun for no other purpose but the extension and perpetuation of domestic slavery—has administered the national government with a wisdom, a patriotism and an integrity which have commanded the highest confidence of the American people; and in the present unhappy condition of the country the election of a President ought so far as practicable, to be divorced from party strifes and passions, and to be conducted with paramount reference to the speedy suppression of the rebellion and restoration of the national union; . . . regarding, as we do, the administration of President Lincoln as reflecting to an unusual degree the sentiments of the American people; and believing its leading measures to have been eminently wise and demanded by the necessities of the country; and especially being sincerely desirous to discourage all party animosities and contentions in this time of our national perils, we earnestly recommend to the loyal people of the United States that, disregarding all secondary issues and looking only to the ultimate triumph of the union and the Constitution, they unite with one accord in reëlecting Abraham Lincoln for the coming presidential term.

In the popular election Lincoln carried Rhode Island, 13,692-8470, by 5222 majority over General George B. McClellan, the Democratic candidate. In the spring election Governor Smith's majority was reduced from 2773 in 1863 to 132. Amos C. Barstow, who ran as an Independent Republican, polled 1348 votes and nearly prevented an election by the people. In 1865 Governor Smith was reëlected with only nominal opposition by 9321 majority in a total vote of 10,985; the Democrats refrained from voting.

The General Assembly, at the January session, 1864, proposed three amendments to the Constitution of Rhode Island: (1) to permit electors absent from the state and actually in the military service to the United States to vote for presidential electors, Representatives in Congress and general state officers; (2) enfranchising naturalized citizens, who had been honorably discharged after military service during the rebellion, on the same terms as native citizens; (3) substituting an assessed poll tax for the voluntary registry tax. The proposed amendments were approved by the next General Assembly at the May session, 1864, and submitted to the people on the third Monday of August. Only the first proposition was approved by the constitutional majority, becoming Article IV of Amendments to the Constitution. Under its provision 265 qualified electors cast 225 ballots for Lincoln and forty for McClellan. In addition, 620 soldiers, who were not qualified electors and who assumed that the new amendment extended suffrage, cast 407 ballots for Lincoln and 213 for McClellan. The Assembly authorized a bond issue of \$1,000,000 at six per cent. for thirty years, at the May session, 1864; and ordered a state tax of twenty-five cents, of which nineteen cents was for war purposes.

Twice during 1864, on March 16 and on August 5, the Governor by proclamation announced that the people might be relieved of apprehension of a draft, because voluntary enlistments had been sufficient to supply the state's quotas in the President's call for troops. During the year men enlisted for the Second Infantry, First Light Artillery and Third Heavy

Artillery, who had completed three years of service, returned home, 1118 to reënlist as veterans. Other enlistments for the year totalled 1001 for three years and 391 for one year. No new regimental organizations were undertaken; recruiting was to complete regiments and to fill up the ranks of regiments depleted by losses in battle, wounds, sickness, and otherwise. The Adjutant General reported 13,207 three-year volunteers, 160 three-year draftees, 678 substitutes for drafted men, 2224 nine months' volunteers, 3147 three months' volunteers, all in state organizations; and approximately 2900 men enlisted from Rhode Island for military and naval service otherwise. The Adjutant General estimated that Rhode Island had an accumulated credit of men enlisted in excess of all quotas amounting to 933, with one outstanding requisition, that of December 20, 1864, to be filled, and the Rhode Island quota not assigned, but probably 1600. He added: "Rhode Island has at no time faltered in her devotion to the union. Generous bounties to the recruits have been voted by the General Assembly, and every means taken to encourage enlistments. She has her reward in the consciousness of having fully performed her duty, and justly occupies a position second to no other state. The records of the several regiments are in every respect creditable—their flags, without a stain, bear many honorable scars won in defence of this glorious union." In his message to the General Assembly in January, 1865, Governor Smith attributed success in obtaining fresh recruits to "employing a corps of the most energetic and capable agents to make direct personal application to every available man." Of the special fund of \$150,000, additional to bounties, placed at his disposal, \$62,368 had been expended "for agents, extra bounty, transportation, and sundry items." The Governor agreed with the Adjutant General in the assumption that the call issued late in 1864 to be filled before February 15, 1865, could be met readily without recourse to drafting. Both were in error, however, as to the nature of the requisition, which was for 300,000 men additional to all other calls, with credit for excess of quotas but without reduction in the number of men. The difference lay in computing the call as gross 300,000 less credits, instead of net 300,000, which meant 300,000 plus credits total, with allowance for credits in such manner as not to reduce the net 300,000. In other words, the requisition was practically for many more than 300,000, and the Governor and Adjutant General had counted on only 300,000.

Governor Smith, on January 23, issued a proclamation, "to relieve the anxiety which rested in so many households and hearts," to the effect that recourse to drafting would not be necessary, because of accumulated credits for enlistments in excess of quotas. Two days later he was advised by the Provost Master General that Rhode Island must furnish 1459 men; he immediately sent a special message to the General Assembly, which was in session, asking "such action to meet the sudden demands made upon us as the honor of our state and the interests of its citizens demand," and that the Assembly appoint a joint committee to work with him. The Assembly (1) designated Senators W. B. Lawton and B. Lapham, and Representatives William Binney, William Sheldon and Amasa Sprague "to procure the voluntary enlistment of recruits into the service of the United States"; (2) ordered a bounty of \$300 per recruit for three years and payment of "such amount of premium or hand money to the person or persons who present recruits for enlistment as the Governor and said committee may, in their discretion, deem necessary and proper," the aggregate not to exceed \$200,000; (3) authorized the issuing of bonds to an amount not exceeding \$1,000,000 for thirty years at six per cent.; (4) offered a bounty of \$300 to each person liable to draft who procured an acceptable substitute; (5) decreed a penalty of fine and imprisonment for persons procuring enlistments for credit to the quota of any other state; (6) ordered free tuition in all public schools and in the Rhode Island Normal School for children of officers and soldiers; (7) established a preference for such children as beneficiaries of the free state scholarships at Brown University under the Morrill Act; (8) increased the annual state tax to fifty cents, thirty-four cents to be applied to military expenses. Thus the General Assembly undertook



THE NEW SKY LINE, PROVIDENCE



POST OFFICE, PROVIDENCE



measures to meet the emergency. The Governor sent Colonel Charles E. Bailey to Washington, who interviewed various officials and returned with an explanation of the "new mathematics" in use in Washington, but otherwise without success. Senator Laban C. Wade and Representatives Benjamin F. Thurston and Amasa Sprague visited Washington as a joint committee of the General Assembly, and on February 11, with Senators Anthony and Sprague, met the President, seeking on behalf of Rhode Island an extension of time. The committee's report of its interview with President Lincoln reflected the latter's characteristic appeal to justice in the face of difficulties. President Lincoln called attention to the fact that "aggregate of credits due to all the states exceeded very considerably the number of men called for, and that *men* and not an adjustment of balances was the object of the call." To the committee's request for an extension of time, to permit enlistment instead of a draft, President Lincoln replied "that he was ready to admit Rhode Island had invariably been among the very foremost of the states in the performance of her duty, and that she was still actuated by the same patriotic impulses, but that the country could better afford, in consideration of her merit, to relinquish her quota altogether than to grant a postponement of the draft for a single day. "The moral effect," said he, "of furnishing the men called for promptly and without hesitation will be as great a power as the men themselves, and I believe," he added, "that the opinion which General Hancock expressed to me yesterday, is entirely well-founded, that if the army could be presently increased by 400,000 men, not one of them would ever be required to fire a musket at the enemy." President Lincoln and his military advisers knew that the Confederacy was cracking; they did not know, however, in February that Appomattox was so near at hand. The President added that a report of extension granted to Rhode Island would encourage an irresistible demand by other states for similar "partiality." The President did promise, nevertheless, that while no postponement would be granted, a draft would not be ordered in Rhode Island "so long as the business of recruiting should be pursued with results satisfactory to the Department" of War. The draft was not ordered; recruiting proceeded briskly under the liberal offers of bounty and hand money made possible by the appropriation of \$200,000 plus bounties. The annual reports of the Adjutant General for 1865 and of the Adjutant General for 1866, different officers and not friendly to each other,\* are in conflict as to actual accomplishment in recruiting in the last year of the war, the variation being too emphatic to suggest imperfect records as the reason for an assertion made by one and a denial by the other. The War Department records credit Rhode Island with recruiting 1563 men in 1865 to supply a quota of 1459. For the five years of the war Rhode Island's quotas aggregated 18,898; the War Department records credit Rhode Island with furnishing 23,699 men, an excess of twenty-five per cent. over the quotas.

THE LAST ROMANTIC WAR—The five years of civil war from the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, to Lee's surrender at Appomattox, April 9, 1865, and Johnston's surrender, April 26, 1865, had been years of varying emotion and stirring action in Rhode Island. The seriousness of the conflict was understood by few until the battle of Bull Run dashed union hopes of a short, decisive struggle, and brought to Rhode Island realization of the sorrow as well as the glory of war, with the news of deaths among those who had gone forth valiantly to fall on southern battlefields, and the courageous coolness of the Rhode Island regiments in battle and in retreat. The telegraph made this war different from other wars; for the first time Rhode Islanders at home were almost in contact with Rhode Islanders on the battlefields, as the news was flashed in dispatches and made public through newspapers and on bulletin boards. The "Providence Evening Bulletin"† was issued for the first time, January 26, 1863, because the new editor, George W. Danielson, sensed a period too long between morning editions of the "Daily Journal." The recruiting of new regiments, the mustering of troops, the departure

\**Vide infra.*

†Not the first evening paper. Chapter XXXVIII.

of batteries, squadrons, battalions and regiments for the front were all of frequent occurrence. If Rhode Islanders could not watch from the housetops the Peninsula campaign, or the siege of Vicksburg, or the three-day battle at Gettysburg, or Grant's grim, unceasing, irresistible drive toward his objectives, they could follow the fortunes of war from the fire-side as they read the dispatches in the newspapers. Besides, there were greetings for returning heroes, and tales of dashing action, to be told and listened to, of this last romantic war, fought before trench warfare and long distance fighting had been introduced. There were socks and mittens to knit, lint to be scraped, boxes to be packed, plenty of work for women and girls, to help the soldiers.

Rhode Island carried on with wonderful spirit—the Rhode Island spirit of old wars, in which no sacrifice for country ever had been considered too great to make. The state had entered the war practically without a public debt; it incurred a bonded indebtedness of approximately \$4,000,000 for war expenditures, bounties, hand money and other items not reimbursable from the federal treasury. It had advanced for the federal government \$1,250,000 in equipping soldiers. Additional to state expenditures the several towns and cities had incurred expenditures, in excess of bounty payments reimbursable from the general treasury, amounting to \$1,156,599. These debts, with the interest upon them, remained to be paid, along with the burden of federal taxation.

The approaching end of the war was reflected in resolutions adopted at the January session, 1865: The Assembly commended to "the favorable action of the Congress of the United States the constitutional amendment pending before that body to abolish and forever prohibit the existence of slavery or involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime," and, on February 2, 1865, ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery.

The Assembly thanked Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant "for the strategical skill with which the vast and complicated movements of the armies of the Union have been projected during the year which has just closed, resulting everywhere, as they have, in the most glorious successes to our armies"; the armies of the Potomac and the James "for the bravery and pertinacity with which they have devoted themselves to the reduction of the stronghold of the rebellion"; Vice-Admiral David G. Farragut, "for the gallant achievements of our naval forces in Mobile Bay"; Major William T. Sherman, "for the series of brilliant victories culminating in the capture of Atlanta, and for the skillfully executed march from the mountains to the sea, which challenge the admiration of the world"; Major General Philip H. Sheridan, for "gallant exploits in the valley of the Shenandoah, in achieving a series of victories which will shine resplendent in our military annals with a lustre as enduring as history"; Major General George H. Thomas, "for the skillful manner in which his army was conducted to the line of the Cumberland"; Commodore John A. Winslow, "for the bravery and skill with which the action with the rebel armed ship 'Alabama' was fought"; Major General Alfred U. Terry, and Rear Admiral David D. Porter. Thanks were also expressed to several Rhode Island naval officers who had rendered distinguished service. The Adjutant General was directed to procure from the several Rhode Island regiments, upon their being disbanded, the regimental flags belonging to them, to be deposited with the flags borne by the Rhode Island Brigade in the War of the Revolution. The flags are now preserved in sealed cases in the vestibules of the State House at Providence. It remains to follow briefly the fortunes of Rhode Island troops in the war:

*First Regiment, Rhode Island Detached Militia*—Mustered in May 2, 1861, at Washington. Held in reserve at battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861; gallantly advanced to support of Second Rhode Island. Flag pierced by eleven bullets at Bull Run. Losses at battle of Bull Run—One officer and nine men killed in action, four mortally wounded, thirty-two wounded, two missing without further record, probably killed. As part of Burnside's brigade the First

Rhode Island was in the rearguard after the battle of Bull Run. It reached Washington with unbroken ranks. June 10-20, regiment marched to and returned from Williamsport, Maryland, supporting Patterson at Harper's Ferry; on this movement the First Regiment marched thirty-three miles in one day and "in half an hour from the time the head of the column arrived at the encampment, every straggler had found his proper place in his company bivouac." Mustered out, August 1, 1861, upon the completion of the service for which it had been enlisted.

*Second Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Left Rhode Island, June 19, 1861. Opened battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, and held position forty-five minutes without support; flag riddled with bullets; losses twenty-eight killed, fifty-six wounded. With Burnside's brigade fought rearguard action in retreat, and reached Washington with unbroken ranks. The Second Regiment passed the winter of 1861-1862 in and about Washington, meanwhile building Fort Slocum as part of the city defences. In the Peninsula campaign the Second participated in the siege of Yorktown, the capture of Fort Magruder near Williamsburg, the battles of Mechanicsville and Seven Pines, and covered the rear as McClellan's army moved to its new base at Harrison's Landing after the battle of Malvern Hill. Governor Sprague was with the army at the beginning of the Peninsula campaign, serving on the staff of General Barry, Chief of Artillery. The Governor joined General Stoneman in the pursuit of Magruder after the latter evacuated Yorktown; the Second was in Stoneman's column. Stoneman sent Sprague to hurry forward the infantry when the cavalry established contact with the retreating Confederates. The rearguard action precipitated the battle of Williamsburg, May 5, a hard-fought contest in which the losses on both sides aggregated 5000 men. At noon Governor Sprague rode from the battlefield to Yorktown with dispatches for McClellan, and the latter joined Stoneman and assumed command. The Second Regiment was ordered to relieve a regiment, moved forward and remained under fire several hours. Colonel Wheaton narrowly escaped being wounded, and Colonel Tristram Burges, serving as a volunteer aide, was shot in the leg. Brigadier General Devens complimented the Second Rhode Island for coolness and fidelity. The Second continued with the column pursuing the Confederates when the latter abandoned Fort Magruder. At Seven Pines the Second "stood a galling fire of shot and shell"; five men were killed and twenty wounded. The Second held an important position in the battle at Gaines' Mills. Withdrawn from the Peninsula, the Second Regiment was in the line of battle at Antietam, but not actually engaged in the fighting. In Burnside's movement against Fredericksburg the Second led Devens' brigade of Newton's division across the pontoon bridge which had been built in the Rappahannock. Three companies, I, B and K, moved to the bridge at double quick, rushed across with a cheer, though exposed to accurate fire by Confederate sharpshooters, who earlier had delayed and almost prevented the building of the bridge by picking off the engineers. Across the bridge the Rhode Islanders deployed as skirmishers and drove back the sharpshooters into the woods. The bridgehead won, the regiment crossed, executing the movement and a march on the further side exposed to fire from lingering sharpshooters "with the coolness and precision of a regimental drill." Besides the Second, the Fourth, Seventh and Twelfth Rhode Island Regiments, and Batteries A, B, C, D, E and G were at Fredericksburg. When Burnside withdrew his army from the battlefield, the Second, guarding the crossing, was the last but one over the Rappahannock. In the spring of 1863 the Second was attached to the Sixth Army Corps, General Sedgwick, and engaged, on May 3, in the assault on Salem Heights. In the battle the Second rescued a New Jersey regiment that was hard-pressed and Colonel Horatio Rogers, himself taking the colors, rallied his soldiers several times in the height of a desperate struggle. The Second, with the Seventh, Tenth and Thirty-seventh Massachusetts Regiments, was ordered to meet a Confederate attack which had broken the federal line. "The rebels broke from the woods, charging upon the fleeing New Jersey brigade, cheering as they came. The second brigade

was quickly formed, and, on the double quick, passed the battery the rebels aimed at—down hill and up.” The Second, Seventh and Tenth “halted by a house on top of the hill and poured a withering fire of Minies upon the elated line of rebels, swiftly advancing from the woods. Such firing, men say that heard it, and that have known what heavy firing is, they never heard before. The rebels halted, crouched, hesitated, yielded, turned and fled, every man for himself, seeking the cover of the woods. It was hot work. Every man fought as if all depended on his individual action.” General Wheaton praised the Second Regiment. “He said they had saved the corps and prevented another Bull Run. It looked so. The rebels had fled. That was well. But again we went on. General Wheaton had ordered Colonel Rogers to take his regiment to the woods and save the corps, as all depended on this effort, and to the woods we went—down hill on the double quick and the run, across a little brook and up the opposite slope—halting to form, and advancing to the woods under a heavy front and flank fire from the enemy. . . . Seven companies of the Second Rhode Island, led by Colonel Rogers in person, who thrice seized the colors and cheered on and rallied his men, entered the woods. At last firing ceased. . . . Under a tree, directly in the rear of the regiment, the dead were buried. Our loss was seven killed, seventy wounded and six missing. . . . That night we slept on the field. It was raining and cold.” The General Assembly, in resolutions adopted at the May session, 1863, thanked Colonel Rogers and the Second Rhode Island “for the gallantry and bravery which they displayed at the battle of Salem Heights, in Virginia, May 3, 1863, and for their soldierly conduct while retiring from the field of battle and recrossing the Rappahannock River.” The Second Regiment marched all night of July 1 and all day of July 2 to reach the field at Gettysburg, where, though not directly engaged, it was “led by Colonel Rogers, under a storm of shells, to different parts of the field, in support of points hardly pressed.” One man was killed and five were wounded. After passing the winter of 1863-1864 at Brandy Station, the Second moved as part of the Sixth Army Corps in Grant’s campaign against Richmond. After gallant service in the Wilderness, where Captain Joseph McIntyre was killed, at Spottsylvania Court House and at Cold Harbor, the three-year men who had not reënlisted returned to Rhode Island and were mustered out. The remaining veterans and new recruits were consolidated into three companies, and five new companies were enlisted in Rhode Island and sent forward, the purpose being to maintain the historic regiment. The Second moved to the defence of Washington when the capital was threatened by General Early; it lost nine men wounded, one mortally, in desperate fighting at the battle of Opequan near Winchester. In the campaign in the Shenandoah Valley Captain Henry H. Young, by successful scouting, won the approbation of General Sheridan and was appointed chief of scouts with the rank of Major. A monument to Major Young stands in the park fronting the railway station in Providence. Another Rhode Islander who won glory with Sheridan was Major General Frank Wheaton, who had been Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel of the Second Rhode Island. He was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers, November 29, 1862; Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of the Wilderness; Brevet Major General of Volunteers, for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Opequan, Fisher’s Hill and Middletown; Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious services in the capture of Petersburg; Brevet Major General, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious services on the field during the war. The General Assembly voted General Wheaton a sword “for gallant and meritorious services during the war, and particularly, for his services in the battles of Opequan, Fisher’s Hill and Middletown, under Major General Sheridan.” The Second Regiment returned to the Army of the Potomac after Sheridan had cleared the Shenandoah Valley of Confederates, and participated in the siege of Petersburg. It was the first regiment, on April 2, to reach the Confederate works in the final assault. At Fisher’s Creek, April 6, the Second lost its colors in a battle with the Confederate Naval Brigade, but regained the colors by a gallant counter-attack, and

drove the enemy from the field. Captain Charles W. Gleason and Lieutenant William H. Perry were killed in action. By order of General Meade the regimental colors carry the names of the following battles: Bull Run, Yorktown, Williamsburg, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, Salem Heights, Gettysburg, Rappahannock Station, Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Fort Stevens, Opequan, Hatcher's Run, Sailor's Creek, and Appomattox. The Second was a fighting regiment. Losses of killed and wounded fatally were 102, and of wounded 281. The regiment was mustered out at Hall's Hill, Virginia, July 13, 1865.

*Fourth Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*, left Rhode Island, October 5, 1861; mustered into service of United States, October 30. Embarked January 7, 1862, on steamer "Eastern Queen" for Fortress Monroe, and sailed with Burnside's Expedition to North Carolina. At the battle of Roanoke Island the Fourth Regiment had the honor of planting its colors first on Fort Bartow, which was stormed and carried. The General Assembly ordered a sword presented to General Burnside "for his recent victory at Roanoke Island, one of the most brilliant exploits of the war." The achievement was significant as part of the major federal plan for blockading the coast, and controlling approaches to important harbors. Roanoke Island had been strongly fortified; the combined naval and military forces captured six forts, forty cannon and 2000 prisoners. At the battle of Newbern, March 14, Parke's brigade, including the Fourth and Fifth Rhode Island and Eighth and Eleventh Connecticut Regiments, was held in reserve until the General discovered an uncovered point in the enemy's works. The Fourth Rhode Island, Colonel Rodman, was assigned to attack, and, forming a battle line, charged and carried the redoubt. Losses were ten killed and twenty-five wounded, five mortally, the killed including Captain Charles Tillinghast. The Fourth participated in the investment of Fort Macon, and occupation of Beaufort. Colonel Rodman was appointed as Brigadier General and succeeded by Colonel William P. Steere. The Fourth Regiment was assigned to the Ninth Army Corps, General Burnside, and moved with Burnside to reinforce McClellan on the Peninsula, arriving too late, however, to participate in the fighting. At the battle of South Mountain, September 14, the Fourth was in the thickest of the fighting. "The battle was now terrific," wrote one survivor. "The enemy had thrown his whole force upon the Union line, but the men of the North had been unshaken. Side by side, and shoulder to shoulder had they stood. Fearful gaps had been made in their ranks, but the shock of the enemy had been broken. . . . But still the battle raged. The rattle of musketry was incessant. . . . For a few moments an ominous silence would reign, and then the storm would burst forth again in all its fury, as with the last expiring energies of the foe, they dashed again and again on the federal lines, only to fall back repulsed, bleeding and broken. . . . The road for at least three-quarters of a mile, was strewn with dead, lying like cord wood. Upward of thirty bodies lay in one spot not sixty feet square. . . . Forming a line of battle, the regiment marched to the front and took position." Three days later, at Antietam, the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment "stood up bravely in the face of a murderous fire, and recorded" 102 killed and wounded. Corporal Thomas B. Tanner carried the flag within twenty feet of the enemy, and was killed; Lieutenant George E. Curtis saved the flag from capture. Colonel Steere was wounded. Lieutenant Colonel Curtis reported: "Throughout the day I never saw an officer but that he was encouraging and directing his men." He mentioned particularly the bravery of Lieutenants Watts and Curtis, Sergeants Wilson, Coon and Morris, Corporals Leonard and Farley, and Privates McCann and Peck. General Isaac P. Rodman, past Colonel of the Fourth, commanding a division at Antietam, was mortally wounded, as was also Lieutenant Robert Hale Ives, a member of the staff of General Rodman. Lieutenant Ives died September 27, and General Rodman two days later, both at Hagerstown. Charging side by side at the head of a brigade in Rodman's division, Rodman and Ives had fallen within a few feet of the guns of the enemy. At Fredericksburg, December 13, the Fourth was

engaged, and Lieutenant Colonel Curtis was killed in action, while reforming the regimental line; eight were wounded. Passing the winter at Newport News with the Ninth Army Corps, the regiment in spring and summer was active in skirmishes and minor engagements, and, in June, participated in the "Blackberry raid," threatening Richmond as a diversion to attract Confederate attention from the Army of the Potomac. The Fourth was detached from the Ninth Corps in July, 1863, and joined the Third Brigade, General Nagle, Second Division, Seventh Corps. The regiment was stationed near Portsmouth, Virginia, from July 15, 1863, to March 1, 1864. Reassigned to the Ninth Corps, the Fourth Regiment served in the trenches at the siege of Petersburg. "In the assault upon the rebel works immediately after the explosion of the mine, July 30, the regiment, led by Lieutenant Colonel Buffum, advanced upon the enemy's line, and under a galling fire entered the crater of the fort, caused by the explosion, where a hand-to-hand fight ensued, with great slaughter on both sides. The attempt to hold the position was made in vain. The overwhelming force and deadly fire of the rebels threatened speedy destruction of the regiment, and Lieutenant Colonel Buffum, while obeying an order to withdraw his men, was fiercely charged upon by an overwhelming force of the enemy, resulting in the capture of himself," four officers and twenty-one men. The regiment participated in the operations on the Weldon Railroad, September 30. The three-year men of the Fourth who had not reënlisted were relieved on October 3, 1864, and mustered out of service, October 15, at Providence. Almost half of the veterans remained with the army, and were consolidated, October 21, 1864, with the Seventh Rhode Island Volunteers. For these veterans the flag of the Fourth carries the names of the battles of Poplar Spring Church and Hatcher's Run. Otherwise General Meade ordered inscribed on the colors Roanoke Island, Newbern, Fort Macon, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Suffolk, Weldon Railroad. Of a total of 1035 officers and men on the rolls of the Fourth Regiment, seventy-two were killed or died of wounds, sixty-five died by disease and accident, forty-three were discharged on account of wounds and 184 on account of disability, 173 were wounded, 172 reënlisted, and 189 were discharged, October 15, 1864. In formally presenting the flag of the Fourth Regiment to the State of Rhode Island, Governor Smith wrote: "It has never been sullied by defeat, but its blood-stained and battered folds show through what terrible conflicts it has been borne to victory, and now, battle worn as it is, we should preserve it in the archives of the state, as a sacred relic of those departed sons of Rhode Island who have fallen in defence of their country's cause while bearing this flag to victory." The Fourth was a fighting regiment; but all the Rhode Island regiments were courageous.

*Seventh Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Left Rhode Island September 10, 1862, and was assigned to Paul's brigade, Casey's division, at Arlington Heights, Virginia. Breaking camp, October 27, the regiment marched to its position opposite Fredericksburg, which was reached on November 20. In the battle of Fredericksburg the Seventh Regiment, under fire for the first time, exhibited "the most unflinching bravery, and after expending all its ammunition, besides that procured from other regiments and from the dead and wounded, remained on the field with fixed bayonets until ordered off" at 7:30. The losses were thirty-one killed and 122 wounded. Lieutenant Colonel Sayles was killed in action; Major Jacob Babbitt was mortally wounded. Adjutant Page, Captains Rodman, Remington and Leavens, Lieutenants Wilbur and Kenyon, and Sergeant Major Manchester were wounded. The regimental flag was pierced by sixteen bullets and a fragment of a shell. The regiment camped at Falmouth until February 9, 1863, when it moved to Newport News. Thence, with Burnside's Ninth Army Corps, it travelled west to join the Army of the Tennessee in front of Vicksburg. It was engaged in battle at Jackson, Mississippi, on July 13, losing two killed, nine wounded and two captured. Attacked by Yazoo fever, thirty-three died and many were transferred to invalid camps during the summer. The regiment was ordered to Lexington, Kentucky, on provost duty, and for recuperation. Returning with the Ninth Corps to Vir-

ginia, it joined Grant's army before the battles around Spotsylvania Court House. In six days of fighting, May 12 to May 18, 1864, losses in killed and wounded totalled sixty-two, including Lieutenant D. L. Cole and Color Sergeant S. F. Simpson. The regiment participated in the continuous fighting as Grant moved steadily on Petersburg; at Cold Harbor, and, on June 3, at Bethesda Church, it lost six killed and forty-two wounded. The regiment was detached from the brigade and assigned as division engineers on July 2. The Seventh was engaged in hard and dangerous service, and in action at Weldon Railroad, Poplar Spring Church, and Hatcher's Run. October 21, the Fourth Rhode Island was consolidated with the Seventh. The regimental flag bears the names of Fredericksburg, Siege of Vicksburg, Jackson, Spotsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad, Poplar Spring Church, and Hatcher's Run. The Seventh was mustered out at Alexandria, Virginia, on June 9, 1865. The veterans of the Fourth and recruits of the Seventh whose enlistments had not expired continued as Battalion Seventh Rhode Island until mustered out on July 13. The Seventh Regiment travelled more than any other Rhode Island regiment. Its losses in battle aggregated seventy-three killed and 256 wounded.

*Ninth Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Left Rhode Island May 29, 1862, for three months' service in defence of Washington. The Ninth moved with McDowell's army to support McClellan's campaign on the Peninsula, but was recalled and assigned to garrison duty, the companies being placed in forts defending the approaches to Washington until the expiration of enlistments.

*Tenth Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Left Rhode Island May 27, 1862, for three months' service in defence of Washington. Company B, Captain Elisha Dyer,\* captured a Confederate field howitzer, June 17, 1862; it is now in the north vestibule of the State House, near the Bull Run cannon. After marching into Virginia with McDowell's army, the Tenth, like the Ninth, was assigned to garrison duty in the forts defending Washington. The regiment was mustered out September 1, 1862.

*Eleventh Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Mustered in October 1, 1862, for nine months; left Rhode Island October 6. Except light skirmishing on May 22 and 23, 1863, near Blackwater bridge, the regiment was not under fire. The regiment returned to Rhode Island, July 6, 1863.

*Twelfth Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Mustered in October 13, 1862, for nine months; left Rhode Island October 21. From Washington the regiment was sent to Falmouth, Virginia, and assigned to the same brigade as the Seventh Rhode Island. At the battle of Fredericksburg the Twelfth "occupied one of the hottest positions in the field and doggedly held its ground until evening, when, having fired away all its ammunition, and the other regiments retiring, it filed into the rear of the retreating column and returned to its position in Fredericksburg." In the day's battle the regiment had lost 115 men, ten of whom were killed. After remaining opposite Fredericksburg until February 9, 1863, the regiment camped on the James until March 25, when it was ordered west with Burnside's Ninth Army Corps, including the Seventh as well as the Twelfth Rhode Island Regiment. After long marches in Kentucky preparatory to an advance into Tennessee, the regiment was ordered to Vicksburg; orders having been countermanded, the Twelfth marched 100 miles in six days to Somerset, which was reached on June 9. The remainder of the period of service was spent in Ohio and Kentucky, and at General Burnside's request the regiment overstayed its enlistment ten days at Cincinnati, guarding the city against an anticipated attack by Morgan's cavalry. Altogether the regiment marched 3000 miles in its nine months of service. On the return it reached Rhode Island on July 22.

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\*Former Governor.

*First Regiment, Rhode Island Cavalry*—Left Rhode Island March 12-14, 1862, and was attached successively to Stoneman's brigade, Army of the Potomac; Hatch's brigade, Fifth Corps, valley of the Shenandoah; Duryea's brigade, and Shield's brigade. At Fort Royal, May 29, the Third Battalion charged the Twelfth Georgia Infantry, a squadron of cavalry and a battery of artillery, and routed the Confederates. Colonel Duffie succeeded Colonel Lawton, and the regiment was drilled for four weeks under Colonel Duffie's direction. The regiment opened the battle of Cedar Mountain, August 9, and was engaged at Groveton, August 29; Second Bull Run, August 31; Chantilly, September 1. During the battle of Fredericksburg, the First Cavalry protected the army trains. The regiment was engaged in scouting and picket duty through the winter. The cavalry division repulsed Stuart's cavalry on February 15, 1863, the Rhode Island regiment losing twenty men as prisoners. At Kelly's Ford, March 17, the First Cavalry "displayed great gallantry and achieved honorable distinction." After two unsuccessful attempts by the Fourth New York Cavalry, the First Rhode Island charged the river and drove the Confederates from rifle pits, capturing twenty-five prisoners. In crossing the river Lieutenant Simeon A. Brown with eighteen men took the advance. . . . On the opposite bank, 100 rebels sheltered in earthworks, rained a deadly fire on the ford; on this side a barricade was so built that only one horse could leap over it at a time. Of the nineteen gallant soldiers who rode to the ford only Lieutenant Brown, Sergeant E. T. Guild, and Privates John A. Medbury and Patrick Parker reached the opposite bank; the other fifteen men were stopped by bullets striking them or their horses." The main body of the regiment followed the forlorn hope. Three charges were made beyond the river, each time driving the enemy. The regiment lost twenty-six killed and wounded, and sixteen prisoners. The dead included Lieutenant Henry L. Nicolai and Sergeant Jeremiah Fitzgerald; Lieutenant Nathaniel Bowditch was mortally wounded. Colonel Duffie wrote of the First Rhode Island: "They have fully justified every high hope, every noble impulse with which you sent them. . . . In the last great cavalry battle, at Kelly's Ford, on the seventeenth instant, by far the most brilliant in execution and most momentous in its results ever fought on this continent, they showed themselves heroes, every man of them, and in their terrific charges, meeting the enemy on that great plain, proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the boasted supremacy of Virginia courage and fighting qualities was a falsehood, their chivalry a myth; and that the prestige of success which they had obtained from behind cannonades, stone walls and fences, the cover of woods and darkness, in the open field and in the broad light of God's sun was taken from them in a moment, and forever, by Yankee valor, indomitable courage, and the inspiration of a great and holy cause. The effect has been electrical in the whole Army of the Potomac." The First Cavalry was with Stoneman on his raid toward Richmond, and engaged at Chancellorsville, Stevensburg and Middleburg. At Middleburg Colonel Duffie ordered his advanced squadron to charge through the town, and thus cut off the rearguard of Stuart's cavalry. In an engagement lasting half an hour the Confederates were completely routed, and forced to retreat "in the greatest disorder and confusion, scattering in every direction." Under orders to remain at Middleburg, Colonel Duffie barricaded the roads leading into the town, at the same time sending a message to General Kilpatrick at Aldie, asking for reinforcements in anticipation of Stuart's return. The enemy surrounded Middleburg, and Colonel Duffie prepared for defence, dismounting half his regiment, and placing the men behind stone walls and other barricades. The Confederate first attack was repulsed with great slaughter; following a second attack in force and three charges, Colonel Duffie retired by the only road open to retreat, crossed the Little River, northeast of Middleburg, and bivouacked for the night. Colonel Duffie sent a second messenger, with an urgent request for assistance. In the morning Colonel Duffie's scouts reported all roads blocked, and the road to Aldie held by an enemy brigade with four pieces of artillery. Determined not to surrender, although surrounded, Colonel Duffie ordered a charge,

and fought his way through the enemy. Three days after the battle, Colonel Duffie reached Centreville "with gallant debris of my most beloved regiment—four officers and twenty-seven men." Lieutenant Colonel Thompson arrived a day later with eighty-seven men. Major Farrington, Captain Bliss and Sergeant Palmer joined the regiment successively, each with a contingent; the regiment had lost five killed, fourteen wounded and 200 captured. The color sergeant was captured, but concealed the flag successfully on his person, and eventually escaped with it. Colonel Duffie attributed the disaster to overwhelming forces of the enemy, and complained of neglect on the part of the commander of the division to send reinforcements, stating that "Stuart's cavalry would have been destroyed" had his appeal for assistance been heeded. "I could certainly have saved my regiment in the night," he wrote, "but my duty as a soldier and as Colonel obliged me to be faithful to my orders. . . . My heart was bleeding on seeing the lives of these men whom I had led so many times sacrificed through the neglect and utter forgetfulness of my superior officers. . . . My duty calls me to appeal to the state for an investigation of such a gross mistake." Colonel Duffie was promoted after his return to Centreville to be Brigadier General of Volunteers "for gallant service," and the matter rested. The regiment was reorganized, and was in action at Culpepper Court House, Rapidan Station, Pony Mountain, Sulphur Springs, Auburn, Bristoe Station, Wolf Run, and Rappahannock Station. The New Hampshire battalion was detached, January 5, 1864, and the First Cavalry returned to Rhode Island on furlough. It left again on April 8, and from May to the end of July was engaged in scouting. Joining Sheridan's army in the valley of the Shenandoah, it was in action at Charlestown, Kearneysville, Smithville, Berrysville, Summit Point, Opequan, Winchester, Fisher's Hill, Milford Creek, New Market, Waynesboro, Kernstown, Woodstock, Cedar Creek and Road's Hill. Captain George N. Bliss, taken prisoner at Waynesboro, was held in close confinement with four other officers at Libby Prison, as hostages for Confederates sentenced to be hanged. An exchange was arranged and Captain Bliss was released. Consolidated into a battalion of four squadrons, the First Cavalry joined General Sheridan on the march that led to Five Forks. The regiment was mustered out August 3 and returned to Rhode Island, August 5.

*Second Regiment, Rhode Island Cavalry*—Recruited in the fall of 1862, and sent forward, the first battalion, December 24, and the second, January 19, 1863. Both joined Major General Banks at New Orleans for the first advance on Port Hudson. The regiment was engaged at Bisland and Franklin, and was employed in scouting and foraging during the siege of Port Hudson. The regiment was consolidated as one battalion of four companies on August 24, 1863, and on September 1 was united with the First Louisiana Cavalry contrary to the wishes of officers and men. The men agreed to lay down their arms rather than join the Louisiana regiment, and when ordered by Lieutenant Colonel Robinson of the First Louisiana to transfer to his camp no one moved. Lieutenant Colonel Robinson repeated the order in person, and received the answer: "We belong to Rhode Island and not to Louisiana." The Colonel then ordered up the First Louisiana, on foot, armed with sabres, revolvers and carbines, formed on front and right, and followed his command, repeated, with the threat: "Hurry up, or I will fire into you." The Rhode Islanders, realizing the force of military law, yielded and slowly fell into line. "Their tardy movements excited the ire of the Louisiana commander, and a file of men was ordered to lead Richard Smith and William Davis, the last two to follow, to a field in front of the camp, where, with their hands tied behind them, their eyes blinded, and without the semblance of law, or form of trial, they were shot by two squads of men detailed from the Louisiana regiment. Davis fell, killed. Smith was shot through the legs, and was afterward dispatched by the revolvers of the adjutant and sergeant in charge. Lieutenant Colonel Robinson then addressed the Rhode Island cavalry in threatening terms, after which they marched back to camp filled with horror and indignation by the butchery they had witnessed." Governor Smith protested the transfer to the War Depart-

ment, and the battalion was assigned, at his request, to the Third Rhode Island Cavalry, under an order issued by General Banks, January 14, 1864.

*Third Regiment, Rhode Island Cavalry*—First Battalion left Rhode Island, December 31, 1863, on "Western Metropolis," and reported to General Banks at New Orleans, January 14, 1864. It received by transfer from the First Louisiana Cavalry two squadrons, formerly of the Second Rhode Island. The regiment joined the Red River Expedition, March 3, 1864; and was in action at Pleasant Hill, April 9. Leading the expedition, the regiment fought frequently, and at the passing of Cane River drove off the enemy after severe fighting. At Alexandria, Lieutenant Colonel Parkhurst and three squadrons joined the regiment, after fighting their way up the Mississippi on the steamer "Superior." The three squadrons had lost two men killed and seventeen wounded. The regiment was in action at Marksville Plain and Yellow Bayou. On June 3, it reached Fort Banks, opposite New Orleans, after completing a march of 1000 miles through enemy country. Two squadrons, G and H, joined the regiment, June 10, and, in August, Colonel Sayles arrived with the twelfth squadron, completing the regiment. Earlier, July 23, for want of horses, the regiment had been dismounted and assigned to infantry service in the defence of New Orleans. In September, the regiment was remounted, and assigned to patrol and scout duty, continuing until mustered out at New Orleans, November 29, 1865.

*Seventh Squadron, Rhode Island Cavalry*—Enlisted for three months' service, 1862, including two companies: A, recruited in Providence, and B, composed of students of Dartmouth College and Norwich University; mustered in June 24 and left state June 28. The squadron was engaged in scouting duty in the valley of the Shenandoah, and agreed to remain in service until Maryland was cleared of Confederates. With other cavalry, the Seventh Squadron refused to surrender at Harper's Ferry, making its escape through the Confederate lines. It joined McClellan's army and was available for service at Antietam, but was not engaged. The squadron returned to Rhode Island on September 26, 1862.

*Third Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery*—Organized as the Third Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers, left Rhode Island, September 7, 1861, and was reorganized as Heavy Artillery, twelve companies, under orders issued December 19. The regiment joined the expedition to Port Royal, South Carolina, with General Thomas W. Sherman and Commodore Samuel F. Dupont. The forts at Port Royal were reduced by the fleet, and the expedition was landed. The Third Rhode Island was assigned to garrison duty temporarily, and later as batteries to various service in reducing a line of fortified Confederate defences stretching from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida. At the bombardment of Fort Pulaski, April 11 and 12, 1862, Companies B, F and H were engaged. Company H, Captain Horatio Rogers, Lieutenants Charles R. Brayton and William C. Barney, with two eighty-four-pound and two sixty-four-pound James rifled cannon, rendered effective service. The pointed projectiles from this battery pierced the walls of the fortress, and compelled surrender. The Confederate commander, Colonel Olmstead, admitted his helplessness as the projectiles exposed the magazine. "Tell Captain Rogers the forty-two-pounders\* did it," said General Gilmore, after the surrender as he saw projectiles from the James guns lying everywhere in the fortress. After garrison work, drilling, and occasional reconnoissances and skirmishes, Major Metcalf, with a battalion serving as infantry was engaged June 16 in an attempt to carry a system of earthworks near Secessionville; the battalion lost eight killed or mortally wounded, thirty wounded and eight missing. Most of the regiment was withdrawn to Hilton Head. A battalion served in an attack on Pocotaligo, on the railway between Charleston and Savannah, October 23. Yellow fever at Hilton Head claimed Colonel Brown and many men. Colonel Metcalf and six companies participated in a joint military and naval

\*Forty-two-pound for round shot; 84-pound for pointed shot.

expedition against the defences of Charleston in March and April, 1863. The project was abandoned when the fleet failed to pass the Confederate forts. A fresh movement was undertaken in the summer of 1863. Folly Island was fortified, and the Third Artillery manned six of ten batteries. After a bombardment from Folly Island, Morris Island was taken by storm, July 10. Failing to carry Fort Wagner, the batteries were transferred to Morris Island. Fort Wagner was taken July 17, but relinquished after heavy fighting, and a siege was undertaken. The Third Artillery manning most of the breeching guns, Fort Sumter was reduced in six days, August 17-23. The Confederates abandoned Forts Wagner and Gregg after a heavy bombardment; both forts were rebuilt and strengthened, and Fort Sumter was demolished to prevent reoccupation. Lieutenant Colonel Charles R. Brayton commanded eight companies of the Third Artillery on Morris Island from November, 1863. Detachments served in several expeditions against points in Florida. The Third Artillery was reorganized in January, 1864; 300 veterans reënlisted for three years; others who had served two years were discharged. The veterans were consolidated into four companies, and additional companies were recruited. In the spring and summer of 1864, five companies were at Morris Island, four at Fort Pulaski; one each in Florida, Virginia and at Hilton Head, the latter with Colonel Brayton, who was Chief of Artillery on General Gillmore's staff. In midsummer detachments of the regiment were engaged with attacking columns menacing various Confederate positions, with the purpose of preventing the sending of reinforcements to the Confederate armies operating in Virginia. Battery C accompanied General Gillmore to Virginia in the spring of 1864, leaving Hilton Head at the end of April to join the Army of the James; it was engaged at Drury's Bluffs, Appomattox River, Laurel Hill, Fort Burnham, and in the siege of Petersburg. Battery A was dispatched in the fall to join the forces coöperating with General William T. Sherman. Batteries from the Third Artillery were in action at Honey Hill and the expedition sent to break the railroad connection between Charleston and Savannah to clear the way for General Sherman. Lieutenant Colonel Ames of the Third commanded the artillery brigade, and displayed "imperturbable coolness" in managing his guns under galling fire. The regiment was engaged also at Devereaux Neck in the same campaign. The regimental colors carry the names of battles at Fort Pulaski, Secessionville, Pocotaligo, Morris Island, Fort Sumter, Fort Wagner, Olustee, Drury's Bluff, Laurel Hill, Honey Hill, Devereaux Neck, Fort Burnham and Petersburg. The regiment was mustered out by batteries at various times. Of 2023 names on the roll of the regiment, including 300 reënlisted veterans, thirty-nine were killed, seventeen died of wounds, seventy-seven died of disease or other causes, eighty were wounded, and 269 were discharged for disability.

*Fifth Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery*—Organized as Fifth Rhode Island Volunteers, but changed to heavy artillery under an order issued May 27, 1863. One battalion, five companies, left Rhode Island, December 27, 1861, to join the Burnside expedition to North Carolina. The battalion was under fire at Roanoke Island, February 7, 1862, and at Newbern, March 14, lost four killed and seven wounded. Among the killed was Lieutenant Henry R. Pierce, who had resigned as principal of Woonsocket high school to become a soldier. After the bombardment of Fort Macon, the Fifth was assigned to take possession. At Rawle's Mills it was under fire while supporting Belger's battery.† The battalion accompanied the Goldsboro expedition, which included fighting at Southwest Creek, Kinston, Whitehall and Goldsboro. Early in January, Henry T. Sisson was appointed as Colonel of the regiment, which had been recruited to ten companies. The Fifth was engaged in the defence of Newbern, March 14, 1863, and early in April moved to the relief of Little Washington, where Major General Foster was besieged. Two expeditions to relieve General Foster had been turned back by Confederate batteries commanding the Pamlico River, when Colonel Sisson was ordered, on April 10, to move by water. The regiment boarded the steamer "Escort" at

†Battery F, First R. I. Light Artillery.

Newbern, and reached Manly Point, ten miles below Little Washington, the following morning. At Manly Point were five gunboats and transports loaded with provisions, ammunition and forage, intended for General Foster, but held below by the blockade. The Confederates had driven a triple row of spiles across the Pamlico River, leaving open a passageway only 100 feet wide, which was within effective range of shore batteries on either side of the river, and had removed all buoys and other channel markers. The flotilla of gunboats and transports made another attempt to pass the batteries, but a fog put an end to the movement. Captain William W. Douglas and fifty volunteers went ashore on reconnoissance, but returned after finding the way to Little Washington overland barred by Confederate batteries. Colonel Sisson next volunteered to attempt to take the "Escort" through without the assistance of gunboats, and General Palmer, who was in command, authorized a trial under circumstances in which he did not feel justified in issuing an order. At eight o'clock on the night of April 13 the "Escort" started, carrying Colonel Sisson and the Fifth Regiment, behind a mountain of bales of hay, which had been piled on the decks of the "Escort" as armor. Except five officers and a detail of volunteer sharpshooters, the regiment was ordered below. The spiles were passed, and the Confederate batteries opened fire, distracted somewhat by darkness, and the bombardment from the federal gunboats. The "Escort" escaped injury and, passing into wider and deeper water, sped up the river seven miles to Rodman's Point, where the channel was narrow and another Confederate battery, warned by the noise of firing below, was alert and waiting. A few shots struck the hay on the "Escort" and did little damage more than that inflicted by Confederate sharpshooters lining the river bank. The "Escort" passed safely and reached Little Washington. The Confederates abandoned the siege on the night of April 15. A report written by Lieutenant Colonel Tew declared: "While calmly considering the danger that would environ us during our attempt to pass the fiery ordeal, the memories of Greene and Perry rose before us, from the buried past, followed by the recollection of Slocum, Ballou, Rodman, Pierce and other gallant spirits who have shed their heart's blood in the defence of our beloved country; and the bright record they have written on the pages of Rhode Island history only served to stimulate us to go forward, and add another page to the record, or like them, fall gloriously in the endeavor." The Forty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, the garrison at Little Washington, adopted resolutions, as follows: "During the late siege of Washington, North Carolina, when the town had been bombarded, and all its communications cut off for fifteen days, after several attempts had been made to relieve the garrison, and the enterprise had been virtually pronounced impracticable, Colonel Sisson volunteered the services of his regiment, and succeeded, against every obstacle and discouragement, in running the blockade with the steamer 'Escort,' thus bringing to the besieged forces the much needed reinforcements, ammunition and supplies; in this achievement Colonel Sisson, with his brave regiment, has performed one of the most heroic acts of the war; . . . that the members of the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Militia feel that thanks are peculiarly due from them to their comrades in arms, who so generously volunteered their services and met so great risks in carrying succor to a brother regiment; that, as an expression of their gratitude and admiration, if it meet the wishes of the Fifth Rhode Island Regiment, a set of colors be presented to them, bearing a device commemorative of their act of gallantry." Women friends of the Forty-fourth Massachusetts presented to Colonel Sisson, on the occasion of a visit to Boston, a sword, sash and belt, and two massive pieces of silver. The General Assembly adopted suitable resolutions of thanks "to Colonel Henry T. Sisson and the officers and men of the Fifth Regiment, Rhode Island Volunteers, for the gallantry and heroism which they displayed in running the gauntlet of the enemy's batteries on the Pamlico River, under circumstances of extraordinary peril . . . and carrying to the beleaguered garrison of Washington, North Carolina, reinforcements, ammunition and supplies." Colonel Sisson's grave in the common burial ground at Little Compton is marked by a monument erected

jointly by the State of Rhode Island and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as a memorial to the soldier son of one who rescued the soldier sons of the other. The Fifth was assigned to garrison duty at Fort Rowan, Fort Totten, and other forts on the south side of the Trent River. The Fifth was engaged in the second defence of Newbern, in February, 1864. In May, Company A, Captain Aigan, was surrounded at Croatan by 1600 Confederates. Captain Aigan withdrew to a small fort, which mounted one gun, a six-pound howitzer, and prepared for defence. At noon, after an hour and a half of desperate fighting, the Confederates demanded unconditional surrender and were answered with an unconditional refusal. Not until three hours later, after ammunition had been exhausted, would Captain Aigan entertain proposals for surrender. He had fired 184 rounds from the howitzer, and "the rifles of his men were so hot that they had to be held by the slings." "This determined defence excited admiration even of the enemy" and drew from General Dearing, who commanded, remarks complimentary to the bravery of the Union commander. Captain Aigan had not lost a man, killed or wounded; he had killed or disabled twenty Confederates, and fifty men had held 1600 men at bay for over four hours. Captain Aigan agreed to surrender on condition that he and his command should be permitted to march out with the honors of war, and this was done to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." Thereafter the Confederates neglected to observe the condition of surrender; the prisoners were robbed of personal property, and were ill-treated on the march and in prison at Kinston, Macon and Andersonville. Thirty-two died in prison, seven died elsewhere, and one was shot while attempting to escape, forty of fifty-two. Captain Aigan escaped February 14, 1865, and reached the federal lines five days later. He had been promoted in January to be Major "for gallant services during the war." The Fifth remained on garrison duty in the forts along the Trent and Neuse Rivers until it was mustered out at Newbern on June 26, 1865. Its flag carries the names of the battles or sieges at Roanoke Island, Newbern, Fort Macon, Rawle's Mill, first and second Confederate attacks on Newbern, Kinston, Whitehall, Goldsboro, and Little Washington. Lieutenant Colonel George W. Tew succeeded Colonel Sisson, who was discharged for disability, October 5, 1864.

*Fourteenth Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery*—This was a regiment of negroes commanded by white officers, all of the officers having seen previous service. The first battalion sailed from Newport on board the transport "Cahawba" for New Orleans, arriving December 30, 1863. It was assigned to garrison duty at Fort Esperanza, Matagorda Island, Texas. Major General Dana complimented the battalion, thus: "The soldier-like conduct of the sentinels on post and of the main guard at the gate challenged my admiration. . . . Excellence is the proper term to apply to its condition and soldierly bearing. The drill was most creditable." The second battalion arrived at New Orleans February 3, on the transport "Daniel Webster," and was assigned first to the defences of the Crescent City, and afterward to Plaquemine, 160 miles up the Mississippi. The departure of the third battalion from Rhode Island was delayed by an epidemic of smallpox; this battalion reached New Orleans February 15, 1864, on the transport "America." The detachment at Fort Esperanza was under arrest in March, 1864, for refusing to accept the pay offered for colored soldiers, ten dollars per month, three dollars of which might be issued in clothing. The regiment had been enlisted with the understanding that there was to be no discrimination because of color. The General Assembly passed a resolution, declaring: "In the opinion of the General Assembly, Congress should without delay pass an act giving to the soldiers of the regiments of colored troops already enlisted or that shall hereafter be enlisted into the service of the United States, the same pay, in all respects, as is given to other enlisted soldiers; and that we earnestly urge the immediate passage of such an act." The ringleaders were court-martialled and sent to Fort Jefferson, Florida. The regiment was changed by general orders, April 19, 1864, to Eleventh United States Heavy Artillery. The regiment was engaged in garrison duty, in

constructing defences, and on picket. It suffered severely from disease, over 300 men dying of 1500 enlisted. A few were shot on picket duty or after being captured; there was one suicide and one killed by lightning. The regiment rendered the service that was requested of it willingly and courageously. On its return from the war it received ovations in New York and in Providence.

*First Light Battery, Rhode Island Volunteers*—Enlisted with the First Rhode Island Detached Militia for three months' service. Without going into action the battery was marched from place to place, being attached for the most part of its service to General Patterson's army near Harper's Ferry.

*Tenth Light Battery, Rhode Island Volunteers* (Company L, Tenth Regiment, Rhode Island Infantry)—Enlisted for three months' service in defence of Washington, when the city was threatened in 1862, from the Marine Corps of Artillery, leaving Rhode Island May 29 and 31. The battery was not in action, although it was assigned from position to position as danger threatened.

*First Regiment, Rhode Island Light Artillery*—Battery A, out of which this regiment was developed, was enlisted with the Second Rhode Island Infantry, and was remarked at Bull Run by the Confederate commander, General Beauregard, for its excellence. The regiment, by batteries, was assigned from time to time to different armies and divisions. This relation of service is by batteries, after Bull Run.

*Battery A*—Engaged at Bolivar Heights, Virginia, September 16, 1861, and wintered at Poolesville, Maryland. In the Peninsula campaign was engaged at Yorktown, Fair Oaks, Peach Orchard, Savage's Station, Charles City Court House and Malvern Hill. In reserve at Chantilly, the battery was engaged in skirmishes, September 2 and 11, 1862. At Antietam, the battery fought four hours, losing four killed and fifteen wounded. The battery fought at Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, and at Gettysburg three days "with distinguished bravery," losing five killed and twenty-three wounded. Other engagements were at Bristoe Station, Mine Run, Morton's Ford, Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, North Anna, Cold Harbor, and Gaines' Farm. The original three-year men returned to Rhode Island, June 13, 1864. The battery was reorganized, fought at Petersburg; and on September 23 was consolidated with Battery B.

*Battery B*—Left Rhode Island August 14, 1861, and wintered at Poolesville, Maryland. One section, fourteen men, was engaged at Ball's Bluff; all but two of the battery men were shot down, and the one cannon was lost. From Poolesville the battery moved, in February, 1862, to Winchester to support General Banks; and thence, in March, to the Peninsula. It was engaged in the siege of Yorktown; on line of battle all day and part of the night at Hanover Court House; under fire at Fair Oaks, one section being in action; in position and under fire at Peach Orchard, Savage's Station, White Oak Swamp Bridge, Glendale and Malvern Hill. Held in reserve at Antietam, the battery was under fire. At Fredericksburg, December 13, the battery fought bravely under a hot fire at the foot of Marye's Heights, losing sixteen men wounded, several mortally, and fourteen horses. Colonel Tompkins, in his official report, commended the battery, thus: "The conduct of Captain Hazard, his officers and men, was creditable in the highest degree, for not a man quit his post on the field." At the battle of Marye's Heights, May 3, 1863, Battery B was first to cross the pontoon bridge by the Lacy house in front of Fredericksburg. At Gettysburg the battery went into action, July 2; in the afternoon it was charged upon and sustained a heavy loss of men and horses. In the artillery duel preceding Pickett's charge, July 3, Battery B passed through a fiery ordeal. The losses at Gettysburg were seven men killed, three officers and thirty-two men wounded, and sixty-five horses. The six cannon were rendered useless by continued fire in the heat of the battle,

and were replaced by four new twelve pounders. One of the guns of Battery B, the famous Gettysburg gun, is in the north vestibule of the State House in Providence. A round cannon ball chokes the muzzle; tradition identifies it as a Confederate solid shot, which landed directly in the muzzle and put the gun forever out of action, welding itself permanently in place. The shot was probably a union shot, placed in the muzzle as the gun was being reloaded. The piece was hit by a Confederate shell, which killed one and wounded one of the battery. The Confederate shell left a deep mark on the left inner edge of the muzzle, and warped the muzzle so that it closed tightly on the union shot, the impact producing intense heat, which welded iron shot and brass muzzle. After gallant service at Bristoe Station and Mine Run, the winter was passed in the valley of the Rappahannock. The battery was attached to the Second Corps in the summer campaign of 1864, being in action at the battle of the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and the advance to Petersburg. At Spotsylvania the battery charged the "Bloody Angle," the first instance in which artillery was ordered to charge. Three-year men whose enlistments had expired were relieved August 12, and Batteries A and B were consolidated as Battery B. At Ream's Station, August 25, the consolidated battery was almost annihilated, four killed, fifty-two wounded or missing, sixty-one horses. The battery lost four guns, after repelling four assaults before overpowering force drove them. The remnant of the battery was reinforced and refitted promptly, and assigned to Fort Stedman. It continued with the Second Army Corps in Grant's last campaign; the flag of truce from Lee offering surrender passed through the line of Battery B. The battery flag carries the names of the following battles: Ball's Bluff, Yorktown, Fair Oaks, Malvern Hill, Antietam, first and second Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Bristoe Station, Ream's Station, Mine Run, Wilderness, Po River, Spotsylvania, North Anna, Tolopatomy, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Deep Bottom.

*Battery C*—Mustered in August 25, 1861, and left Rhode Island August 31. The battery was first in action in front of Fort Magruder, at Yorktown, in the Peninsula campaign. The battery was constantly on the march, but not in battle again until Mechanicsville, June 26, and Gaines' Farm, June 27. At Gaines' Farm the battery lost three guns and caissons, one mired and two abandoned because no horses were available. The battery shot down the Confederate colors opposite; they were brought in by the Second Maine. Four men were killed and eleven wounded at Malvern Hill. Battery C participated in Second Bull Run, and at Antietam was held in reserve. It was engaged in both battles of Fredericksburg, and in the fighting at Chancellorsville occupied various positions. At Gettysburg Battery C was held in reserve, going into action once, and suffering no loss. After engagements at Rappahannock Station and Mine River, the battery went into winter quarters at Hazle Run. In the forward movement toward Richmond, 1864, the battery moved with the Sixth Corps in Grant's Army. The Sixth Corps was detached to defend Washington in July, 1864, and the battery traveled with it to Washington. Following Early into the Shenandoah Valley, Battery C, moved rapidly from place to place, and was engaged at Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. At the latter battle the union troops were driven back four miles, losing twenty-four pieces of artillery; General Sheridan, after his famous ride from Winchester, arrived on the field at noon, reformed his lines, charged the enemy, retook the artillery, and routed the Confederates. After the mustering out of three-year men, Battery C was consolidated with Battery G. The flag of Battery C carries the names of the following battles: Yorktown, Hanover Court House, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mills, Malvern Hill, Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Rappahannock Station, Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek.

*Battery D*—Mustered in September 4, 1861, and left Rhode Island September 13. Battery D passed the winter in Virginia, and in the spring of 1862 moved with McDowell in his

demonstration against Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley. Returning to the Army of the Potomac, the division joined Pope's army, August 23, and was constantly on duty for ten days, participating in the battles at Sulphur Springs, Groveton and Second Bull Run. August 30 at 4 p. m. "the battery went into position on the crest of a hill at the extreme left of the Union line, where it maintained itself against the most furious cannonade and determined assaults of the enemy, until it had expended all of its ammunition and been deserted by its support, when it limbered, taking away every piece and caisson, almost from the possession of the enemy." Three men were killed and thirteen were wounded at Second Bull Run, and two were wounded at Groveton. The battery was in reserve at South Mountain, and rendered distinguished service at Antietam. There, at daylight on September 17, the Confederate artillery was answered and silenced. "At ten o'clock General Hooker called upon Captain Monroe to take his pieces, leaving the caissons, cross the memorable cornfield, take a position about 200 yards in advance of the line of battle, and silence a rebel battery which had an enfilading fire upon our infantry. The position was soon reached, and so rapidly and accurately were the shot and shell placed within that battery, by the gunners of Battery D, that the rebels found it impossible to remove the battery from the field. Up to this moment, Battery D had not received much punishment, but while it had been engaged with the rebel battery, sharpshooters who had crawled up within easy range, protecting themselves behind fence rails and the depression of the road, now poured into the right and centre sections of the battery a most deadly fire, killing and disabling men and horses; from one piece all the horses but one were killed, and all the cannoneers, save the gunner and one private, were killed or wounded." The battery lost four killed, ten wounded, six missing, and fifty-six horses; but it succeeded in saving all its guns, including the piece stripped of men and horses. Battery D was engaged at Fredericksburg, December 14. Detached from the First Corps, the battery joined the Ninth Corps at Newport News, February 15, 1863, and was transported to Lexington, Kentucky. Orders to proceed to Vicksburg were countermanded, and the battery was sent to Cincinnati as part of the defence against a raid threatened by Morgan. Joining Burnside in his campaign in East Tennessee, the battery was continually on the march, and engaged at Campbell's Station, November 16, and in the defence of Knoxville. In position at Fort Saunders, November 29, the battery assisted in repelling an assault by nine regiments from Longstreet's Corps. When the horses of Roemer's New York battery ran away, carrying the ammunition and putting the guns out of action, Sergeant Charles C. Gray and his squad of Battery D ran the New York cannon back from the embrasure, carried their own gun in by hand, and replaced the New York cannon. "They worked the gun there until the engagement was over, firing double and triple rounds of canister. . . . The fight lasted an hour. . . . Sergeant Gray and his detachment deserve great credit for their coolness and promptitude during the assault," wrote Captain Buckley. Battery D was at Blaines Crossroads from December 14, 1863, to January 16, 1864. "This camp was the Valley Forge of Battery D's experience. Almost destitute of clothing, as they were, the utter impossibility of getting food enough to half satisfy their hunger, without shelter, obliged to burrow into the mountain side for a partial protection from the cold, bleak winds which had forced the temperature down to zero, these men passed through a period of fully six weeks, not a waking hour of which but was filled with distress and suffering." The battery was next assigned to the Army of the Potomac, and, on May 4, 1864, moved with the Ninth Army Corps in the advance on Richmond. Grant having an excess of artillery, Battery D was relieved and assigned to garrison duty at Fort Lincoln. Rearmed, it followed Early from his raid toward Washington, and was in action at Winchester, at Strasburg and at Fisher's Hill. At Cedar Creek six men were wounded and twenty-four horses were killed, the battery losing one gun. The battery was mustered out at Providence, July 17, 1865.

*Battery E*—Left Rhode Island, October 5, 1861. After passing the winter of 1861-1862 in Virginia, Battery E moved to the Peninsula, and was engaged at Yorktown and Williamsburg, and in the "seven days" battles before Richmond. Joining Pope's army, the battery fought at Kettle Run, Second Bull Run, and Chantilly. With the Third Corps it was assigned to the defences of Washington to recuperate, remaining there until after Antietam. Two men were killed and two wounded at Fredericksburg, and two were killed and thirteen wounded at Chancellorsville, where the battery was subjected to a galling enfilading fire. Five members of the battery, William Torpy, John McAleer, Martin Harvey, Albert N. Colwell and Richard Russell, were awarded the Kearney Cross "in recognition of meritorious services" in the battle of Chancellorsville. Captain Randolph of Battery E commanded the artillery brigade of the Third Army Corps, General Sickles, at Gettysburg. Battery E was posted on the Emmittsburg Road, near the Peach Orchard, which formed the angle of the union line; five men were killed or mortally wounded and twenty-five others were wounded. After various services, in which it was nowhere engaged in battle, Battery E surprised the enemy at Kelley's Ford, November 7, and drove him across the river. The battery shelled the Confederates on the other side, silencing an enemy battery. The quiet of the winter camp at Brandy Station was interrupted by the battles of Payne's Farm and Mine Run, late in 1863, and in March, 1864, the battery moved to support Grant's drive toward Richmond, and was engaged in the fighting from the Wilderness to Petersburg. May 10, 1864, holding an important position and supported by the Second Rhode Island Infantry, it opened a vigorous fire. A Confederate battery enfiladed the right flank, but was driven off by Battery E. Battery E was credited with firing the first shot into Petersburg. After various services at important points, the battery was in position at the explosion of Burnside's mine at Petersburg. With the expiration of enlistments of three-year men, the battery was reinforced by detachments from Battery A, New Jersey. The battery was mustered out, June 14, 1865. The battery flag carries the names of Yorktown, Glendale, Malvern Hill, Second Bull Run, Chantilly, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg.

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*Battery F*—Left Rhode Island in two detachments late in October, 1861. Battery F joined Burnside's expedition to North Carolina, and served at various positions, including patrol duty as cavalry near Newbern and Beaufort. It was engaged with the enemy at Little Creek, Rawle's Mills, Whitehall Ferry, and Goldsboro. Battery F accompanied several expeditions moving from Newbern, making long marches. When recalled to Virginia, again its work was reconnoissances, involving rapid marches. The battery was in action at Drury's Bluff, where Captain Belger was taken prisoner, two men were killed, and ten wounded. Two guns and four limbers were lost. Battery F served in the trenches before Petersburg, and was engaged at Chapin's Farm. When the three-year men were relieved, the battery was filled temporarily by detachments from the Fifth Maryland Infantry. Battery F was mustered out, June 27, 1865, at Providence. Although engaged in few battles, Battery F was continually in active service, holding positions or engaged in reconnoissances or other expeditions. Its activities were not spectacular; it rendered loyal and persevering service wherever it was assigned to duty.

*Battery G*—Left Rhode Island in two detachments in December, 1861. After spending the winter of 1861-1862 in Maryland and Virginia, Battery G joined McClellan's advance by way of the Peninsula. It was engaged at Yorktown, Fair Oaks, and Malvern Hill. Battery G fought with great bravery at Antietam, and in November was at Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg. At Fredericksburg, Battery G joined in the assault on December 13, its first position being at the extreme right of the artillery line. It drove off a Confederate battery sent

to dislodge it, and crossed the Rappahannock to a position near the Gordon House. The winter of 1862-1863 was passed at Falmouth. At the battle of Marye's Heights, Battery G was sent to silence a Confederate battery, and was successful, although, while exposed to an enfilading fire, it lost twenty-four men, killed and wounded. At General Sedgwick's request, after Fredericksburg, Battery G was assigned to the Sixth Army Corps. It reached Gettysburg, July 2, after a forced march of thirty-seven miles, and was held in reserve on July 3 and 4. Late in 1863 it participated in the Mine Run expedition, and wintered at Brandy Station. In May, 1864, Battery G joined in the Wilderness campaign, and later was in action at Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor. Withdrawn for the defence of Washington against Early, it joined the pursuit when Early retreated, overtaking the enemy rearguard at Poolesville. Battery G covered the union crossing of the Shenandoah near Snicker's Gap, and was engaged in an artillery duel with a Confederate battery brought up in an attempt to silence Battery G. The battery was engaged at Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, where six men were killed and twenty-one were wounded. In the morning two guns and two caissons were lost; they were recovered in the afternoon after Sheridan's ride from Winchester. After camping at Winchester and Camp Barry, where Battery G obtained a new outfit of guns, departure was taken for Petersburg. Captain Adams and seventeen men from Battery G undertook at Petersburg to scale the enemy's defences, get possession of their guns, and turn them upon the Confederates, or spike and render them useless. The assault, April 2, was successful, and was accomplished without loss of life. For this valuable service the War Department awarded bronze medals to Sergeants Haveron and Malone, Corporals Barber and Lewis, Privates Ennis, Potter and Corcoran; Captain Adams was breveted Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel. Battery G was engaged at Sailor's Creek. It was mustered out, June 24, 1865. Its colors bear the names of Yorktown, Fair Oaks, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, Gettysburg, Rappahannock Station, Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek.

*Battery H*—Although recruiting of this battery was begun in 1861, it did not leave Rhode Island until October 23, 1862. Meanwhile four times its complement had been enlisted, the excess being sent forward from time to time to fill batteries at the front. The battery was assigned from position to position, and to the defences of Washington. It was close to many battlefields, but not engaged until the assault on the Confederate works at Petersburg, April 2, 1865. It silenced a Confederate battery, but was enfiladed by another battery beyond range of its guns, losing four men killed and six wounded. General Wheaton reported: "During our advance toward Petersburg, Captain Crawford Allen, Jr.'s Battery H of the First Rhode Island Artillery was admirably handled, and his losses were severe. His guns were always in front, frequently in advance of the skirmishers, and as our lines moved forward, he invariably forced the enemy's batteries to retire, and followed them closely. Earlier in the day, when the assault commenced Captain Allen very handsomely compelled a section of the enemy's artillery to retire. If these guns, occupying one of the entrenched works and thoroughly enfilading our lines, had not been silenced, they might have materially retarded our advance." Battery H was engaged at Sailor's Run, at Sailor's Creek, and at Farmville. Captain Allen was breveted Major "for gallant and meritorious services before Petersburg," and subsequently was breveted as Lieutenant Colonel. First Lieutenant Knight and Second Lieutenant Horton were brevetted for promotion. The battery returned to Rhode Island, June 16, 1865.

OTHER RECORDS—With the brief summaries in preceding paragraphs of activities of Rhode Island units of the Union armies should be mentioned those of nearly 1000\* Rhode

\*War Department records show 992 names clearly identified.

Island men who enlisted in the United States regular army, particularly with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Regiments of Infantry; and of more than 2800† Rhode Islanders who, true to the tradition of Rhode Island glory in earlier wars, betook themselves to the navy and served in the far-flung blockade and elsewhere as duty called them. As individuals their achievements are identified with the units in army or navy to which they were assigned. Seven Rhode Island officers attained the rank of Major General during the war, as follows: Richard Arnold, famous artillery officer, for gallant and meritorious service (1) at Savage Station, (2) at Port Hudson, (3) at Fort Morgan, (4) during the war, and (5) in the field during the war; Ambrose E. Burnside, who commanded the North Carolina expedition, the Army of the Potomac, and the Ninth Army Corps, and who cleared East Tennessee of Confederates; Silas Casey, cited for gallant and meritorious service (1) at Fair Oaks, and (2) during the war; George Sears Greene, who fought gallantly at Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg, and who was cited for gallant and meritorious conduct during the war; Thomas W. Sherman, who commanded a division at Bull Run and another at Port Hudson, and who led the South Carolina expedition to Port Royal, cited for services at Port Hudson and during the war; David H. Vinton, cited for gallant and meritorious services during the war; Frank Wheaton, cited for gallant and meritorious services (1) at Wilderness, (2) at Cedar Creek, (3) at Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Middletown, (4) at Petersburg, and (5) in the field during the war. Burnside and Sherman, through successful coastwise expeditions, obtained for the union effective control of most important approaches to the coast and of bases for conducting effective operations for "surrounding" and invading the Confederacy. Silas Casey entrenched his position on the Peninsula, and saved McClellan's army from disaster at Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, when the Confederates attacked in force while the Chickahominy River divided the union forces. Casey held on stoutly against tremendous odds until reinforcements reached him, losing one-third of his own command in the heat of the battle, but maintaining his position under circumstances in which retreat or surrender must have terminated the second campaign as unfortunately for the union arms as Bull Run had the first. George Sears Greene saved Meade's army at Gettysburg on the second day of the battle by holding Culp's Hill against a determined onslaught by Confederates who had observed the withdrawal of a large part of the force assigned to this position. Culp's Hill marked the extreme right of the union line on July 2; the capture by the Confederates would have placed them in a strong position on the flank with control of the rear of the union army and also of the road to Baltimore. Regiments in Greene's command erected breastworks of heavy timber at Culp's Hill. Greene's brigade was weakened by withdrawals to strengthen other positions, no attack from the Confederate left being anticipated. Greene held on stubbornly, beating back repeated charges, until reinforcements reached him, and then by counter-attack drove back the Confederate thrust. Greene's service passed unmentioned in Meade's early report of the battle; later Meade acknowledged an omission and praised the gallantry of General Greene and his command.‡ Fourteen Rhode Island officers attained the rank of Brigadier General, as follows: William Ames, Joseph P. Balch, Charles R. Brayton, Alfred N. Duffie, William Goddard, Nathan Goff, Jr., John G. Hazard, Lewis Richmond, Isaac P. Rodman, Horatio Rogers, Jr., James Shaw, Jr., William Sprague, John L. Thompson, and Charles H. Tompkins.

Besides others officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and enlisted men who rendered gallant service and earned promotion or recognition of gallantry, one Rhode Island woman went to the war—the wife of Sergeant R. S. Brownell of the First Rhode Island Detached Militia and later of the Third Rhode Island Heavy Artillery. Mrs. Brownell was on the battlefields of Bull Run, Roanoke Island and Newbern, at the last of which her hus-

†Navy Department records show 2830 names clearly identified.

‡Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III.

band was severely wounded. She was adopted as "child of the regiment" by the First Rhode Island. At Newbern she was on the field throughout the engagement, attending to wounded men and giving encouragement to the soldiers. Seizing a flag when the color sergeant fell, she carried it across the field, herself receiving a flesh wound. Rhode Islanders played a glorious part in the attack on and capture of Fort Fisher, guarding the approach to Wilmington. The General Assembly passed resolutions of thanks and commended "certain officers from this state in the army and navy of the United States," mentioning: Lieutenant Commander Kidder Randolph Breese, who commanded the naval corps landed for the attack on Fort Fisher; Lieutenant Commander Francis Barron Blake, who commanded a division; Lieutenant John R. Bartlett, Jr., who commanded a company of seamen, "by whose daring assault the attention of the rebel force was concentrated against them, thereby weakening other positions of the defence"; Captain Albert Gallatin Lawrence of the United States Army, "who, foremost among the brave, gallantly fell wounded, while in the act of planting his country's flag upon the ramparts of Fort Fisher."

Other Rhode Island officers received recognition in 1867 in resolutions which declared: "It is the duty of a state to cherish the memory of those of her sons who have done good service in her behalf; and the interests of the different states of the union are so closely interwoven that he who serves one of them serves them all; and several officers, natives of Rhode Island who were admitted as such to the national military academy, were led by the exigencies of the service to take commands in regiments from other states, and in these commands distinguished themselves on various occasions in such a manner as to reflect honor upon the state of their birth," and named: Major General George Sears Greene of Apponaug "for his prompt recognition of the claims of his country at the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, and his gallant and good service at the battles of Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg; for his brilliant repulse of an overwhelming force in the night attack of the rebels upon the bivouac at Wauhatchie"; his son, Lieutenant Samuel Dana Greene of the United States Navy, "for the resolution, gallantry and skill with which, after his commander had been disabled, he continued and brought to a successful termination the memorable fight between the 'Monitor' and the 'Merrimac'"; Major General Silas Casey of East Greenwich "for having by his bravery, skill and energy at the battle of Fair Oaks averted a great disaster from the Army of the Peninsula, and his valuable services in the less brilliant but equally difficult task of organizing and preparing recruits for active service and examining and selecting officers for the command of colored regiments"; Major General Richard Arnold of Providence, "distinguished through the war for his skill in the handling of artillery and brevetted Major General for gallant and meritorious service at Port Hudson and Fort Morgan"; and Commodore William R. Taylor of Newport "for gallant and distinguished service in the navy of the United States, beginning in the war of Mexico and continued throughout the war of the rebellion."

Certainly Rhode Island might feel, at the end of the war, that her sons had lived and died true to ancient traditions of courage and loyalty; Governor Smith, in his annual message to the General Assembly in 1866, said:

Rhode Island has had a record of loyalty during this strife of which all, even the humblest citizen, may well feel proud. She has kept her faith and honor with her sister states and with the general government. Her sons have bravely borne the honor of the state upon nearly every battlefield, and have brought it untarnished from the bloodiest scenes of strife. Our gallant dead have their graves in nearly every southern state, but their record as living soldiers or dead patriots is our glory. These torn and faded battleflags which adorn this hall are not displayed simply for its decoration, but they are the emblems of the heroism of our state, and every rent and sacred shred has a voice to us before whose eloquence words become dumb, and the language of the tongue loses its force. They have been borne on the most sanguinary fields by stout Rhode

Island hands and defended with stouter Rhode Island hearts. Every one of these has been brought back to us for preservation, that our children may look upon and remember through what peril the liberty which they will enjoy was defended and secured. Thus shall our posterity do justice to the memory of our soldiers and reverence the fame of our gallant state.

POST BELLUM RECONSTRUCTION—With the close of the war Rhode Island urged action to assure realization of the fruits of victory by determining finally the issues that had produced a divided country; the Assembly, at the May session, 1865, adopted resolutions, thus:

Whereas, the government of the United States has reestablished its authority in the states which were recently in rebellion against it; and some of said states are already proceeding to organize state governments with a view to reinstatement in the union; and, in a matter so vitally concerning the welfare of the whole union, it is important that the opinion of that portion of the people who have always continued faithful to the cause of the union should be authoritatively declared, in order that it may have its proper weight and influence; it is, therefore, resolved, that it is the sense of the General Assembly and people of this state that in the reconstruction of the governments of the states lately in rebellion against the government and authority of the United States, the moral power and legal authority vested in the federal government should be executed to secure equal rights, without respect to color, to all citizens residing in those states, including herein the right of the elective franchise.

At the January session following, the Assembly put into practice its own belief in "equal rights" by enacting a statute forbidding discrimination because of color in the public schools of Rhode Island, declaring that "no person shall be excluded from any public school by reason of race or color," thus purposing to close the separate schools for colored children maintained in Bristol, Newport and Providence, and to open to colored children the high school in Providence, which had been established "for white children" only.

Rhode Island ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, February 12, 1867. The amendment (1) defined United States citizenship and state citizenship; (2) forbade abridgment of the privileges and immunities of citizenship; (3) guaranteed due process of law and equal protection of law; (4) apportioned representation on population without the old correction for "all other persons"; (5) excluded certain persons engaged in insurrection from holding public office; (6) guaranteed payment of the public debt; and (7) forbade United States or state assumption of the Confederate debt. Rhode Island ratified the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, January 18, 1870; the amendment forbids denial or abridgment of the right to vote on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude."

To promote the reorganization of state banks as national banks, in pursuance of Secretary Salmon P. Chase's plans, (1) to refund part of the national debts by issuing bonds for the sale of which the new banks would furnish a market; and (2) to provide a new national bank currency secured by government bonds and guaranteed by the federal government, the General Assembly, in 1865, established a bank commission and set up the legal machinery for adjusting, accounting, retiring of state bank currency and transfers of banks to the new system. Later provision was made for liquidation of state banks which did not choose to enter the national system, and which found a general banking business unprofitable when stripped of the privilege of issuing circulating notes; the federal tax on state bank issues was practically prohibitive.

POLITICAL QUARRELS—Unfortunately, perhaps, in view of a record which otherwise tends to reveal only splendid coöperation of public officers and citizens in the enterprise of sustaining and supporting the common cause, bitterly partisan political quarrels disturbed the administration of Governor James Y. Smith, in consequence of which there were attacks and reprisals and a series of investigations. In the end it appeared that, while there had been

errors of judgment due in large part to irritability arising from distracting situations, no public officer had been guilty of conduct that merited censure. The accusations and investigations involved three state officers, Governor, Adjutant General and Quartermaster General.

(1) Because of the large amounts of money placed at his disposal by the General Assembly for use at discretion in his very earnest effort to avoid a draft in Rhode Island, and because the Governor did not hesitate to spend the money for bounties and hand money and other expenses in obtaining recruits to fill the levies ordered by the President, Governor Smith did not escape criticism and accusation of misappropriation. There is no doubt now, as there was no doubt then, that the bounty system lent itself to fraudulent practices by men who enlisted with the purpose of deserting as soon as the bounty was paid, and by other men who sought hand money and a share in the bounties as their wages for obtaining recruits whom they later helped to desert. *The Governor was an honest man.* A legislative committee of investigation reported that they did not "believe that he has intentionally done anything wrong in the recruiting business, or that he has directly or indirectly profited therefrom." The Governor retained the confidence of the people, who reelected him with a majority in every precinct. After opposing him politically the "Providence Journal," in an obituary notice, said: "Governor Smith did not altogether escape the shafts of partisan censure and attack, but the sober judgment of the people in reviewing his administration will accord to him an honest and sincere desire to uphold the honor and patriotism of the state." He had, indeed, endeavored to sustain, in a period in which the early flush of enthusiasm for the war had waned, in face of the grim seriousness of tremendous reverses, the proud reputation which had been established for Rhode Island during the administration of Governor Sprague; and success had rewarded his efforts. Rhode Island's war record is consistent for prompt response to country's call from Sumter to Appomattox.

(2) Governor Smith, on September 22, 1865, requested Brigadier General Edward C. Mauran, Adjutant General, to resign, and on the Adjutant General's refusal to resign revoked his commission. The Adjutant General was elected by the General Assembly; the Governor as Commander-in-Chief under the Constitution, was his superior officer. The statute permitted the Governor to remove the Adjutant General, but required the filing of charges and a court-martial. Governor Smith appointed Captain Henri Crandall as Adjutant General, and on September 26 ordered the technical "arrest" of General Mauran for "disobedience" in refusing to deliver a certain document to his successor. General Mauran demanded a court-martial and a copy of charges against him as a statutory right; his demand was ignored. Fifteen days later counsel for General Mauran requested the Governor to inform them whether or not he intended "to cause charges to be preferred and to order a court-martial to be convened for the trial of General Mauran thereon, and if so, within what time." The Governor's answer, that he would give the communication "proper attention," was construed as a refusal, in view of military usage, which, in the absence of other rule, allows ten days for filing charges. General Mauran, through counsel, applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the Governor to perform what was alleged to be his official duty. The Supreme Court\* refused to issue the writ. (a) on the general ground that the executive and judicial departments are independent of each other, and that the court, unless the Constitution expressly makes provision, has no jurisdiction to control the executive; and (b) on the specific grounds that the Governor had not actually refused to order a court-martial and that the statute did not indicate clearly the time within which a court-martial must be convened. The state reimbursed the Governor for expenditures incurred in defence of the petition for mandamus. Governor Smith later filed charges against General Mauran, alleging (a) neglect and violation of duty (i) in issuing certificates that certain recruits had been "credited to the

\*Mauran vs. Smith, 8 R. I. 192.

State of Rhode Island," which would warrant payment of bounties, whereas said recruits were not so credited, and (ii) in charging a fee for issuing copies of records to the city of Fall River; and (b) disobedience of orders in refusing to return to the office of the Adjutant General certain papers alleged to be "official." Governor Burnside, on June 4, 1866, quashed the charges, dissolved the court-martial, and ordered General Mauran released from "arrest" and returned to duty. Governor Burnside's order included a careful examination of the charges, finding that all but one were not sustained by facts, and that the last, disobedience of orders, indicated an error of judgment, excusable because made by the advice of legal counsel, when it appeared that the paper withheld actually was not an official document. The paper in dispute was a summary abstract of recruiting records taken off by General Mauran for use at a conference of adjutants general at Boston. The General Assembly ordered General Mauran reimbursed for loss of salary and expenses. The issue as to the actual accomplishment of Governor Smith in recruiting soldiers appears to have been vital as the cause for conflict. Acting Adjutant General Crandall's report for 1865 included a paragraph which read as follows: "The quota of Rhode Island under calls made by the President of the United States during the continuance of the war was 23,778. Of the gallant men thus furnished by the state, 13,338 were placed in the army and navy during the administration of your excellency (Governor Smith). The residue, being 10,440, entered the service under the administration of your predecessors, Governors William Sprague and William C. Cozzens." Adjutant General Mauran's comment, in his report for 1866, on this paragraph was: "The above statement is incorrect, and it is due to the administrations of Governors Sprague and Cozzens, as well as to history, that so gross an error should be exposed and corrected." General Mauran reported the number of men furnished by Rhode Island after May 26, 1863, when Governor Smith was inaugurated, as 7629. The War Department records credit Rhode Island with furnishing 23,699 men; if General Mauran was correct, Governor Sprague and Governor Cozzens (in office less than three months) raised 16,070 men.

(3) Governor Smith also, by charges of irregularity in accounting and gross errors, precipitated a legislative investigation of the accounts of the Quartermaster General. The Governor alleged that the federal government had refused to repay Rhode Island for expenditures totalling a million and a quarter of dollars incurred in outfitting and equipping troops. The General Assembly's committee of investigation conducted an exhaustive examination of the records of the Quartermaster General, these indicating confusion due in part at least to the fact that three different individuals had held the office during the war period and had used somewhat differing methods of making entries on the books. The committee also heard a number of witnesses and called for examination clerks and officers who had had access to the books of account or who had been engaged in service for the department. Eventually it appeared that, aside from minor errors in the technique of bookkeeping, misunderstanding rested on the interpretation of entries referring to purchases of horses for artillery and cavalry. An explanation was readily forthcoming: Governor Sprague with the purpose of sending Rhode Island units forward completely equipped and ready for instant service, and with characteristic initiative, had ordered horses purchased for cash (they could not be had otherwise) and had also ordered buying at the price necessary to obtain the horses wanted, disregarding the price limits established by the government. The Governor had paid for the horses from his private resources or from money advanced by the Globe Bank. Horses had been billed to the government at the government prices. Money repaid by the government on account of horses had been returned to the Globe Bank, and had not been credited on the books of the General Treasurer. For this reason there were discrepancies between federal and state treasury accounts. At the end of the local tempest, Governor Burnside conducted successful negotiations with the federal government for reimbursing Rhode Island, and the Gen-

eral Assembly thanked him, and ordered further printing of Governor Smith's special message on war claims discontinued.

These several investigations, although they provoked bitter animosities, served a wholesome purpose in clearing away pretexts for further quarrelling and in reestablishing public confidence in the integrity of state officers. At the same period there was also an investigation of charges that boys in the Providence Reform School had been encouraged to enlist by officers who had collected bounties and hand money and converted both. No financial irregularity was revealed; it appeared that bounty and other money had been held by the officers of the Reform School and deposited properly by them in their legal capacity as guardians of the boys during minority. The favorable terms on which Rhode Island war claims were adjusted by Governor Burnside enabled Rhode Island to call for payment, on April 1, 1868, the bond issue of \$500,000 authorized on August 10, 1861. In the final accounting, which was conducted by General Charles H. Tompkins, employed as an efficiency agent by Governor Burnside, \$5097.80 was disallowed, this amount including claims for charges clearly identified as properly state, and \$2797.85 for interest, which the federal government did not allow unless ordered by act of Congress. The General Treasurer was found, in January, 1868, to be a defaulter to the amount of some \$4000. Samuel A. Parker, whom he had displaced in 1866, after the former had served eleven years, was recalled to office, and served until his death, February 4, 1872.

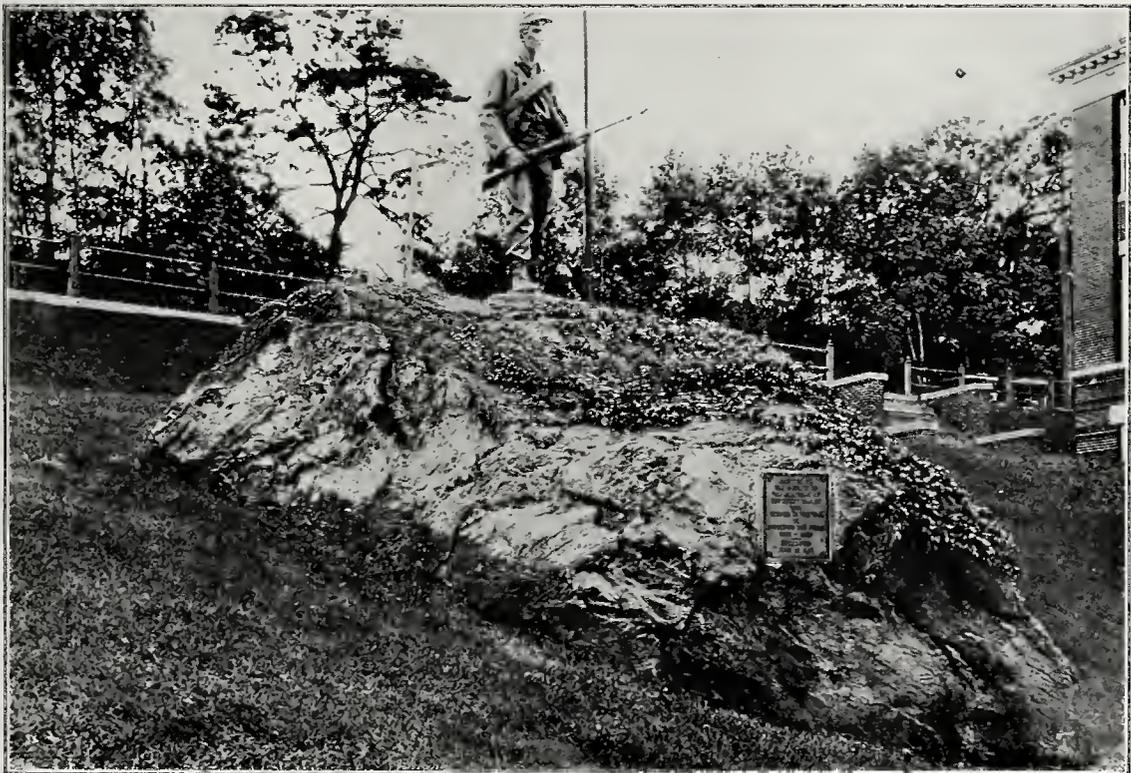
**SOLDIER MEMORIALS**—Secretary of State Bartlett, in November, 1863, attended the dedication of the soldiers' national cemetery at Gettysburg. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had purchased land additional to the cemetery there before the battle. Secretary Bartlett's report to the Governor mentioned the oration delivered by Edward Everett, but not the address made by President Lincoln, which, rather than the oration, has become associated in America with Gettysburg. Commissioners from eighteen loyal states met on the occasion of the dedication and agreed to recommend to their states a plan for joint action by the states to establish and maintain the cemetery. The General Assembly cordially approved the plan and resolved that Rhode Island "will sacredly perform her part in perpetuating the memory of our heroic dead who there slumber on the field of their hard-fought but triumphant conflict against the armed foes of our common country." A commission to represent Rhode Island was appointed, and money was appropriated to assist in carrying forward the enterprise, which consisted of removing the union dead from graves near the places where they had fallen to a compact cemetery, with a section assigned to each state, and of erecting a suitable monument for the cemetery, with marking stones for each grave. At the end of 1864, 3391 bodies had been moved to the new cemetery. A marble monument, the base of Rhode Island granite from Westerly, was erected. Under the provisions of the original plan, Pennsylvania held title to the cemetery in trust for other contributing states; in 1870, state interests were ceded to the United States government, which undertook to provide perpetual care and maintenance. At a reunion of veterans of Union and Confederate armies on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, the oration was delivered by Roswell B. Burchard, then Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island. Rhode Island made similar provision for joint cooperation in establishing and maintaining a national cemetery at Antietam.

Other monuments to Rhode Island troops who participated in the Civil War have been erected elsewhere than in Rhode Island, at Andersonville, Georgia, at the site of the Confederate prison, 1903; Vicksburg National Military Park, at Vicksburg, Mississippi, in honor of soldiers who participated in the siege, 1908; at Newbern, North Carolina, in honor of Rhode Island soldiers who died in North Carolina, 1909; at Gettysburg, and other battlefields.

A committee of the General Assembly to which had been referred a memorial for the



WEST WARWICK HIGH SCHOOL



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, WEST WARWICK



erection of a monument over the grave of Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman recommended that action be postponed until the end of the war, and then that a monument "becoming the affluence of the state and the memory of her illustrious heroes in this war with the rebels be speedily erected; that the site for the same be some central and prominent spot, where citizens can most often behold it, and where the rising generation can read the names of their benefactors, catch their spirit, and ponder upon the priceless legacy of freedom bequeathed to them by their valor." A committee, including Governor Burnside, was appointed in May, 1866, to recommend a suitable site and to obtain a design for a monument "to the memory of the officers and men in the army and navy of the United States from the state of Rhode Island who fell in battle and who died of their wounds or from sickness in the late rebellion." The committee recommended a site at the westerly end of Exchange Place in Providence and a design submitted by Randolph Rogers of Rome, sculptor. Action was authorized immediately, but construction was delayed because of the Franco-Prussian War, which for a time interrupted the delivery of bronze castings, which were made at Munich. The monument was completed and dedicated, September 16, 1871. The monument is of bronze and Rhode Island blue granite from Westerly, rising forty-three feet, the ten-foot bronze statue at the top representing America (militant) as at the close of the war, with one hand resting on her sheathed sword, and carrying in her right hand a wreath of laurel and in her left a wreath of immortelles. Beneath the granite plinth on which America stands are bronze stars, with wreaths and festoons of oak and laurel. On the face of the next lower section are the arms of Rhode Island and of the United States, in bronze, with bronze fasces in the corners to indicate the strength in union. The dedication, "Erected by the people of Rhode Island to the brave men who died that their country might live," is in the next section below, which is flanked at the corners by four bronze statues, each seven feet high, representing Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, and the Sailor. On the next section below are four bassi-relievi, with life-size figures representing War, Victory, Peace and Emancipation, and twelve panels on the projecting abutments which support statues, carrying the names of 1727 Rhode Island soldiers and sailors who died in the war. Around the base are iron siege mortars with piles of cannon balls. The monument has been moved twice since 1871, each time in an easterly direction; in 1930 it occupied the centre of an attractive park in the great open square fronting city hall, federal building and union railway station, the civic centre of the city of Roger Williams.

Other monuments in the same area are (1) an heroic equestrian statue of Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, dedicated July 4, 1887; (2) a statue of Colonel Henry Harrison Young, Chief of Scouts, dedicated July 12, 1911; and (3) the Hiker monument to the veterans of the Spanish-American War, dedicated July 12, 1925. The Burnside monument first occupied a site at the easterly end of Exchange Place, before the construction of the federal building. Other monuments commemorating the services of the soldiers and sailors of the Civil War have been erected in Bristol, Central Falls, Newport, North Kingstown, North Providence, Scituate, South Kingstown, Warren, West Warwick and Woonsocket, and two cemetery monuments, at Bristol and at St. Francis Cemetery in Pawtucket. The monument in West Warwick was erected while West Warwick was part of the town of Warwick.

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC—The Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of veterans of the Civil War, based upon principles of fraternity, charity and loyalty, was extended to Rhode Island within a year of the meeting of the first post, at Decatur, Illinois, April 16, 1866. Prescott Post, Providence, was chartered April 12, 1867. The influence of Rhode Island on the early history of this patriotic society appears in the appointment by General John A. Logan, second Commander-in-Chief, of General James Shaw, Jr., and Captain

William W. Douglas in 1868 as members of a committee "to revise rules, regulations and ritual"; the election and reëlection of Major General Ambrose E. Burnside as third Commander-in-Chief, 1871 and 1872; and the holding of the eleventh annual encampment at Providence in 1877. General Burnside was also first Commander of the Department of Rhode Island, 1868. Following Prescott Post, other posts were organized in Rhode Island, as follows: Ballou Post, Central Falls, September 2, 1867; Slocum Post, Providence, February 27, 1868; Rodman Post, Providence, March 23, 1868; Ives Post, Providence, April 23, 1868; Thomas Post, Apponaug, June 5, 1872; Tower Post, Pawtucket, April 11, 1874; Budlong Post, Westerly, April 14, 1874; Lawton Post, Newport, December 25, 1875; Arnold Post, Providence, January 9, 1877; Burnside Post, Shannock, December 4, 1882; Reno Post, East Greenwich, February 17, 1883; Sedgwick Post, Peacedale, April 18, 1884; Farragut Post, Riverside, May 9, 1884; Smith Post, Woonsocket, September 1, 1884; McGregor Post, Phenix, December 3, 1885; Babbitt Post, Bristol, August 21, 1885; Baker Post, Wickford, May 11, 1886; Nichols Post, Rockland, May 15, 1886; Bucklin Post, East Providence, October 26, 1886; Warren Post, Newport, February 1, 1888; Lincoln Post, Hope Valley, July 28, 1890; Goddard Post, Ashton, July 31, 1890; Tobin Post, Bristol, January 15, 1891; Browne Post, Providence, April 16, 1891; Logan Post, Ashaway, November 19, 1891; Guild Post, Pascoag, April 29, 1892. Sixty-five years after Appomattox the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Rhode Island, continues to hold its annual encampment, although the membership at the end of 1930 was less than 150, and several posts had been mustered out with the death of the last surviving comrade. The Rhode Island Department Commanders, a distinguished line, have been: Ambrose E. Burnside, 1868; Horatio Rogers, 1869; Charles R. Brayton, 1870-1871; Elisha H. Rhodes, 1872-1873; Edwin Metcalf, 1874; Edwin C. Pomroy, 1875; Charles H. Williams, 1876; Henry J. Spooner, 1877; Fred A. Arnold, 1878; Henry R. Barker, 1879; Charles C. Gray, 1880; William H. P. Steere, 1881; Henry F. Jenks, 1882; Philip S. Chase, 1883; Andrew K. McMahan, 1884; Eugene A. Cory, 1885; Theodore A. Barton, 1886; Benjamin L. Hall, 1887; Gideon Spencer, 1888; Alonzo Williams, 1889; Benjamin F. Davis, 1890; Benjamin H. Child, 1891; David S. Ray, 1892; George T. Cranston, 1893; Charles H. Baker, 1894; Daniel R. Ballou, 1895; William E. Stone, 1896; Livingston Scott, 1897; Samuel W. K. Allen, 1898; Charles O. Ballou, 1899; Walter A. Read, 1900; Charles P. Moise, 1901; George H. Chenery, 1902; James S. Hudson, 1903; Joseph J. Wooley, 1904; Ezra K. Parker, 1905; George L. Greene, 1906; Edward Wilcox, 1907; William O. Milne, 1908; Francello G. Jillson, 1909; Charles H. Ewer, 1910; Ezra Dixon, 1911; Thomas M. Holden, 1912; George H. Cheek, 1913; Gilbert Wilson, 1914; Henry J. Pickersgill, 1915; Joseph Gough, 1916; Augustine A. Mann, 1917; Murdock C. McKenzie, 1918; Fred A. Burt, 1919; William Massie, 1920; Fred S. Oatley, 1921; Samuel A. Whelden, 1922; Zophar Skinner, 1923; George R. Saunders, 1924; William F. Comrie, 1925; Robert M. Pollard, 1926; Christopher H. Carpenter, 1927; William H. Dunham, 1928; Charles H. Lewis, 1929 and 1930. Patriotic associations auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic have been organized and continue in Rhode Island as follows: Woman's Relief Corps, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Auxiliary to Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War.

The first celebration of Decoration Day in Rhode Island occurred May 30, 1869, for which and the preceding day the Civil War battleflags in the custody of the state were loaned to the Grand Army of the Republic. Rhode Island, in 1874, was the first state to make Decoration Day a legal holiday. The name of the holiday subsequently was changed to Memorial Day, to conform to general practice. The parade of union veterans escorted by military and

civic societies, the decoration of graves with flowers, and other ceremonies fitting to a day devoted to cherished memories continue.

For thirty years Grand Army Flag Day has been observed annually on February 12, in honor of the Flag, the Grand Army of the Republic and Abraham Lincoln, in public and private schools throughout Rhode Island. For this day the Commissioner of Education published annually a program of patriotic selections for distribution to school children in editions which reached 95,000 in 1930. Flag Day is one of the best known of all days in the school calendar, and the school children of Rhode Island for two generations have been taught and have learned well the lesson of honor to the Boys in Blue, who carried the Flag from 1861 to 1865. "Some one had said that a nation is known by the character of the men it crowns. Measured by this standard our nation may claim the highest honor because of the coronation observance on the annual memorial occasions. The crowns it brings to the graves of its patriotic dead are not such as adorn the brows of kings—not rich with jewels and precious stones, but crowns diademed with tears and emotions from loving hearts, gems from the pure essence of the eternal—crowns that will shine on and on with unfading splendor."\*

The Grand Army of the Republic became almost immediately after its organization in Rhode Island a most influential factor in the civic and political life of the state. The people rejoiced as opportunity was afforded to reward a valiant soldier by election to public office, beginning with General Burnside, who was elected as Governor by large majorities in 1866, 1867 and 1868, and by the General Assembly as Senator in 1875 and in 1880, an office which he held from March 4, 1875, until he died, September 13, 1881. The Grand Army promoted the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, granting to veterans of foreign birth, citizens of the United States, suffrage privileges equal to those granted to native-born veterans; the amendment was approved by the people, April 7, 1886, becoming Article VI of amendments. The Grand Army was interested in the welfare of soldiers and obtained legislation providing for the appointment of a State Board of Soldiers' Relief to administer public relief for "worthy dependent soldiers and sailors . . . and dependent worthy families of such deceased soldiers and sailors." The Rhode Island Soldiers' Home for men who served in the army and navy of the United States and were honorably discharged was established at Bristol, and dedicated, May 21, 1891. Provision was made also for the burial of honorably discharged veterans who died without means, and for the erection of headstones suitably marked with the name of the deceased and the organization to which he belonged. The Grand Army also marked the graves of its members with an iron reproduction of the fraternal emblem. Not all of the Grand Army's interest was in the welfare of its members, however; the Grand Army was a consistent advocate of the public good, and extended its charity to many worthy causes. At the silver jubilee of the organization in Rhode Island a gift of \$10,000 to establish and endow the Grand Army fellowship at Brown University was announced.

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\*Jean B. Sabate.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

### IDEALS AND STATE POLITICS.



THE state Constitution, whether it be viewed as a compromise or as the maximum concession that the landholders were willing to make to the demands of Dorr and his followers, established (1) a bill of rights not granted by, and hence not subject to change by, the General Assembly; (2) a new class of voters, native male citizens of the United States qualified by registration and payment of taxes; (3) a plan for representation in the General Assembly incorporating two principles, equal representation for towns, and representation approximately on the basis of population; (4) an independent judiciary;† (5) a method of amendment.

Three of these—suffrage, representation, and amendment—became major issues in Rhode Island politics because (1) in America suffrage seeks a non-discriminating status; (2) the factors of representation are continually in flux because of shifting population; and (3) the method of amendment has been made more exacting with other constitutional changes. The general truth of the first two statements is scarcely debatable, whatever view one may hold as to the necessity or desirability for change; the truth of the third statement appears in this: Under the practice prevailing in 1842 of electing a new General Assembly in April, an amendment might be proposed at the January session by the General Assembly whose term expired in May, might be approved by the following General Assembly at the May session, and might be submitted to the people at any time thereafter specified by the General Assembly. It was possible to carry the process through in three to five months. Under present conditions a constitutional amendment may be proposed and approved by two General Assemblies in successive years, and submitted to the people at a special election ordered for the purpose; but the practices of avoiding special elections and of biennial elections tend to stretch the amending process over several years.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—The people‡ appeared more content than the politicians, members of the General Assembly, with the Constitution of 1842. Up to 1864 only four amendments had been ratified and had become part of the Constitution—(1) to abolish the requirement that lists of voters be certified to the General Assembly; (2) to transfer the pardoning power from the General Assembly to the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; (3) to reduce the number of stated sessions of the General Assembly annually and the number of designated meeting places, or state capitals, from five to two; (4) to permit qualified electors absent from the state in the actual military service of the United States to vote for federal and general state officers. The people, 6282 against, 4570 for, rejected in 1853, a proposition to call a convention to form a new constitution, and in the same year, 7613 against, 3778 for, rejected a proposition to call a convention to revise the constitution with reference to a limited program. They rejected also, three propositions to abolish the registry tax, 1854, 1856, and 1864; and propositions to permit registration within twenty days of election, 1854; to establish a poll tax, 1856 and 1864; to increase the pay of members of the General Assembly, 1856; and to establish for naturalized citizens of the United States a suffrage right after twenty-one years of residence, 1856. Other propositions were presented in General Assembly, but did not reach the stage of the referendum.

†Taylor vs. Place, 4 R. I. 324.

‡Voters.

Three propositions to amend, (1) to establish a literacy qualification, "evidence of ability to read the Constitution"; (2) to abolish the registry tax; and (3) that "no sectarian or denominational school or institution shall receive any aid or support from the revenues of the state, nor shall any tax be imposed upon the people or property of the state in aid of any such school or institution," were rejected in 1871.

Three other proposed amendments were rejected in 1876, thus: (1) To repeal section 17 of article IV of the Constitution, which as it required continuance to the following session of the General Assembly and advertisement of petitions for charters of business corporations, operated to inhibit enactment of a general corporation statute; the vote to reject was 9418 to 9187 to approve; (2) to repeal the registry tax, 11,432 reject, 10,700 approve; the amendment would permit native male citizens resident two years in Rhode Island to vote if registered; (3) to permit honorably discharged loyal soldiers and sailors of the Civil War to vote on the same qualifications otherwise as native citizens; rejected 11,956 to 11,038. The votes on these three propositions were so decisive as to suggest determined opposition to any change, and that the voters enfranchised under the Constitution of 1842 had become almost as jealous of their privileges and prerogatives as had been the landholders previous to the Dorr movement. Governor Henry Lippitt, in his message to the General Assembly, expressed regret that the proposed amendments had been rejected, saying: "That relating to the registry tax particularly, if it had been adopted, would have enabled the legislature to provide for a tax in some other form, and thereby remove from our state politics a cause of corruption which has increased wonderfully of late years." His excellency's allegation of "corruption" referred to the payment of registry taxes in bulk by candidates for office or their agents or by representatives of political parties, who filed lists of names to be registered and paid one dollar per name, usually on the last day for completing registration. In some years rival political agents watched each other warily, with the purpose (1) of saving the registry money if it were apparent that the other planned no serious contesting of the election; or (2) of qualifying a large number of his own party if the other were careless; or (3) of rivalling and surpassing the others in the number qualified by registration. Manipulation of the voting list by paying registry taxes was not a violation of the stringent act forbidding bribery enacted in 1864, practically by unanimous agreement, after party leaders had become convinced of the evil of purchasing votes or of paying electors to refrain from voting; but those who paid registry taxes in bulk assumed that the payment created an obligation which would be recognized by the voters thus qualified. Furthermore, the practice of bulk payment tended to demoralize parties, because voters, instead of supporting their party, became dependent upon their party chiefs for payment of the registry tax; the tone of party allegiance was distinctly lower, therefore. Repeal of the registry tax was the simplest expedient for abolishing the practice; in addition, repeal would clear the way, as indicated by Governor Lippitt, for another type of tax, which probably would produce a larger revenue.

**PARTY STRENGTH AFTER 1860**—Seth Padelford in 1860 polled the normal strength of the Republican vote in Rhode Island, 10,000 to 11,000 votes, as indicated by the elections in 1860, 1861, 1863, 1865, 1868 and 1870, in each of which years except 1865 there was a real contest. He had received more votes than any earlier candidate for Governor except William W. Hoppin in the Know Nothing triumph of 1855, and yet was beaten by William Sprague, whose 12,278 was not surpassed until 1874 and 1877. The total vote of 23,158 in 1860 was not equalled until 1877, when 24,456 votes were cast. The vote for William Sprague in 1860 and 1861 was not a revelation of Democratic party strength so much as of Governor Sprague's personal popularity, for William Sprague, although indorsed by Democrats in 1860 and nominated by the party again in 1883, was scarcely a Democrat; as Senator in Congress he was

staunchly Republican, voting with Senator Anthony against President Johnson in the impeachment trial. Party designations in those days sat rather lightly on politicians, however; Salmon P. Chase, father-in-law of Senator Sprague, and one of the founders of the Republican party, discovered in 1868 that his own political principles were akin to those of old-time Democrats and was willing to accept nomination for the Presidency by the Democratic convention. The elections of 1860, and of 1861 and 1862, in the last two of which William Sprague was the "Union" candidate for Governor, are to be discounted as extraordinary; Rhode Island was normally Republican even then, and promptly returned to electing Republican Governors and other general officers in 1863, when Governor Sprague had become Senator Sprague.

The results of the Civil War were disheartening to Democrats, not because Northern Democrats had not remained steadfast and loyal to the union, but because the success of the Northern armies had the effect, psychologically at least, of establishing the Republican party's ascendancy. Thus it was in Rhode Island. The Democratic vote of 7672 in 1863 was approached but not equalled in 1864, when with a popular candidate for President in the person of General George B. McClellan and a split in the Rhode Island Republican party as Amos C. Barstow opposed James Y. Smith, George H. Browne reduced Governor Smith's majority to 132; and was not equalled again until 1882. Democrats, except 100 stalwarts, refrained from voting in 1865, and in the following year began slowly to rebuild their party in the face of normal Republican majorities averaging over 4000. It was true that the Republicans had selected as their candidate for Governor in 1866, 1867 and 1868 one who had been a Democrat before the war; but General Ambrose E. Burnside had become a militant Republican. As Senator in Congress he was a vigorous defender of his new party's policies. The Republican party was dominant in state as well as in national politics; the Democratic party was scarcely a challenging minority party. With James Y. Smith, 1863, 1864 and 1865; Ambrose E. Burnside, 1866, 1867 and 1868; Seth Padelford, 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872; and Henry Howard, 1873 and 1874, the string of Republican victories at the polls was unbroken for a dozen years. In 1875 the Republican party divided nearly equally on the issue of prohibition, and though the two factions cast over 17,000 votes, each failed to obtain the majority required by the Constitution, and the Governor was chosen by the General Assembly. Henry Lippitt was elected twice, 1875 and 1876, by the General Assembly. In the following year the factions combined, with Charles C. Van Zandt, Prohibitionist, as candidate, and won at the polls, although Jerothmul B. Barnaby, Democrat, challenged with 11,783 votes, the largest number cast for any candidate for Governor previously except William Sprague in 1860 and 1861, and Henry Howard in 1874. Governor Van Zandt's total of 12,455 was the largest ever polled by candidate for Governor up to 1877, but was nearly 5000 less than the combined vote of the Republican factions in 1875, as J. B. Barnaby's vote was nearly 4000 greater than the total for any Democratic candidate after the war. The political movement in Rhode Island state politics from the close of the war to 1874 may be characterized as determined by the war. The split on prohibition in 1875 marked the introduction of another factor, which was to continue for a dozen years. The challenge by J. B. Barnaby was a Democratic flare due to organization, prompted by the factional conflict in the Republican party and promoted by the wealth of Mr. Barnaby, who was willing to spend freely the price of political preferment.

**SUFFRAGE QUALIFICATIONS**—The qualifications for suffrage established by the Constitution of 1842 were summarized briefly by a committee of the General Assembly in 1882 as: "First, that a person before he can vote must have attained the age of twenty-one years. Second, residence in the municipality whose interests his vote may affect. Third, in this state, that he has contributed one dollar in the year preceding that in which he offers to vote to the

support of the public schools, or that he is liable to pay taxes to the amount of one dollar on property which may bear a part of the taxes he votes. Fourth, if the person is not a native citizen of the United State, or he is not supposed to have any permanent abode in the municipality where he may offer to vote, he is required to hold a small interest in land as an evidence of his intention to abide with, and his interest in, the community which his vote may affect."

It is conceivable that the extension of suffrage in 1842, whereby naturalized freeholders and native citizens not freeholders could qualify for voting, might have continued to be a reasonably satisfactory solution of the Rhode Island suffrage problem had Rhode Island ceased "to hold forth a lively experiment." The new factors in the problem were the Civil War, continued immigration and a steady increase in the naturalized citizenry. Veterans of battlefields on which they had fought to save the union resented refusal to admit them to political citizenship. Many of them recalled that they had been welcomed as volunteers and drafted without discrimination to fill up the state's quotas in the union army. Their plight after the war resembled that of the non-freeholding veterans of the Revolutionary War for whom Dorr pleaded vainly in 1841. The Grand Army of the Republic became an advocate of complete political citizenship for veterans, and General Ambrose E. Burnside for a time was prominent as an advocate of "votes for soldiers," although later, in the United States Senate, he declared that he had ceased to be friendly to extending suffrage.

The effect of immigration and the prospect for the future appeared in the summary of vital statistics of 1876, which revealed that children born of marriages in which one or more parents were of alien birth exceeded the number of children born of marriages of purely native stock. Governor Van Zandt in his message to the General Assembly in 1877 said: "The lesson of our late census (1875) teaches only too plainly that the balance of political power is passing into the hands of our illiterate class, who will become by force of circumstances a caste by themselves through whose barriers it will be found well nigh impossible to break." The Governor recommended education as a remedy, compulsory if need be. Rhode Island had continued to regard the immigrants who flocked to industrial centres and worked in the factories that made fortunes for their owners as essentially "foreigners," though many of the immigrants embraced American citizenship and became naturalized at the earliest opportunity permitted by law. The "foreigners," even so late as the first quarter of the twentieth century, referred to native born Rhode Islanders as "Americans." Rhode Island did not until 1868 remove the common law alien disability with reference to ownership of land. It is true that the General Assembly, before that date, on petition, granted permission to alien residents to acquire title to land. When the Supreme Court decided<sup>§</sup> that an alien could not inherit land in Rhode Island, and that an estate escheated for want of a qualified heir, the heir by blood being an alien, the General Assembly repealed the disability.

It is true that many naturalized citizens purchased land and thus qualified for suffrage; it is true also that in many instances land was divided into small parcels and assigned to naturalized citizens, thus to qualify them for suffrage. In spite of both expedients, there was a disproportion between the qualified electorate and the mass of male adult citizens of the United States resident in Rhode Island. One ardent advocate of more liberal suffrage argued that "the naturalization laws of the United States are, within the State of Rhode Island, nullified, and the whole political power of the state vested in the native population, while the naturalized citizens, who have renounced all claim to the protection of the country of their origin, and either are, or are entitled to be citizens of the United States, are rendered, unless in exceptional cases, utterly alien to the institutions of their adopted country." The suffrage restrictions in the Constitution of Rhode Island were not considered by the judiciary committee of the United

<sup>§</sup>Haight vs. Haight, 9 R. I. 26.

States Senate a violation of the Constitution of the United States. §§ The Rhode Island Senate did not concur with the House of Representatives when the latter proposed the holding of a constitutional convention in 1867 and again in 1868. General Ambrose E. Burnside and Thomas A. Doyle, Mayor of Providence, had become leaders in the movement for a constitutional convention, the principal purpose of which was revision of the suffrage provisions; the movement continued for a few years, and was abated for want of success. Woman suffrage was advocated, but made so little progress as might be expected under circumstances in which manhood suffrage was restricted.

Issues affecting suffrage were tensely drawn, and, in the effort to qualify so many as possible, several questions were carried to the Supreme Court for decision, thus (1) That the writ of mandamus will not be issued to compel a town council to restore a name removed from the voting list, 1869;\* (2) that the court will not review the action of a board of canvassers with reference to refusing to place a name on the voting lists, unless it be shown that the board acted dishonestly and with wilful purpose to deprive a voter of his rights, 1878;† (3) that a moderator may reject the ballot of a qualified elector whose name is not on the voting list, and that a statute which permits such rejection is constitutional and valid, 1881;‡ (4) that a person assessed for personal property is not required to register annually, 1877;\*\* (5) that the provision qualifying an elector by payment of a tax within a year refers to the period extending twelve months previous to election and not to the preceding calendar year, 1882;†† (6) that a person taxed for real estate may vote even if his taxes are in arrears, the tax payment requirement being limited to personal property voters, 1882;‡‡ (7) that a provision in a city charter for Newport excluding registry voters from voting for members of the city council was unconstitutional and void, the restriction in the Constitution applying expressly only to the city of Providence, 1883;\*† (8) that "residence" means "home" or "domicile," and that the word "residence" as used in the Constitution with reference to suffrage was not to be understood in the restricted sense of actual habitation or abode, 1883;\*‡ (9) that under a statute establishing for a wife a separate estate in her land, thus abolishing the husband's marital estate, a husband may qualify as an elector (a) through his estate of courtesy initiate by the birth of an heir, or (b) through his marital estate already existing and not abolished by the statute if the property had been acquired and the marriage had occurred previous to the enactment of the statute, 1878.\*§

COMMITTEE REPORT ON PROPOSED CHANGES—The General Assembly by joint resolution passed February 3, 1882, referred to a joint committee consisting of Senators Thomas A. Doyle of Providence, Augustus O. Bourn of Bristol and Samuel H. Cross of Westerly, and Representative William P. Sheffield of Newport, Royal C. Taft of Providence, William A. Pirce of Johnston, Edward L. Freeman of Lincoln, and David S. Wilkinson of North Smithfield, "all memorials, petitions or other matters relating to a revision of the present Constitution of the state or to the amendment thereof, or to the framing of a new Constitution, now in the files of the Senate, or which may be received at this session." The joint special committee held five public hearings, at which appeared "persons of respectability, who presented their case, with but few exceptions, with entire candor, marked ability and perfect fairness";

§§Amendments XIV and XV.

\*Weeden vs. Richmond, 9 R. I. 128; McCaughey vs. Canvassers, 28 R. I. 545, *contra*, if the name is removed erroneously.

†Keenan vs. Cook, 12 R. I. 52.

‡Advisory opinion, 13 R. I. 729.

\*\*In re Registry Law, 12 R. I. 580.

††In re the Providence Voters, 13 R. I. 737.

‡‡In re the Realty Voters, 14 R. I. 645.

\*†In re Newport Charter, 14 R. I. 655. Decision cancelled by Bourn amendment, 1889.

\*‡State vs. Aldrich, 14 R. I. 171.

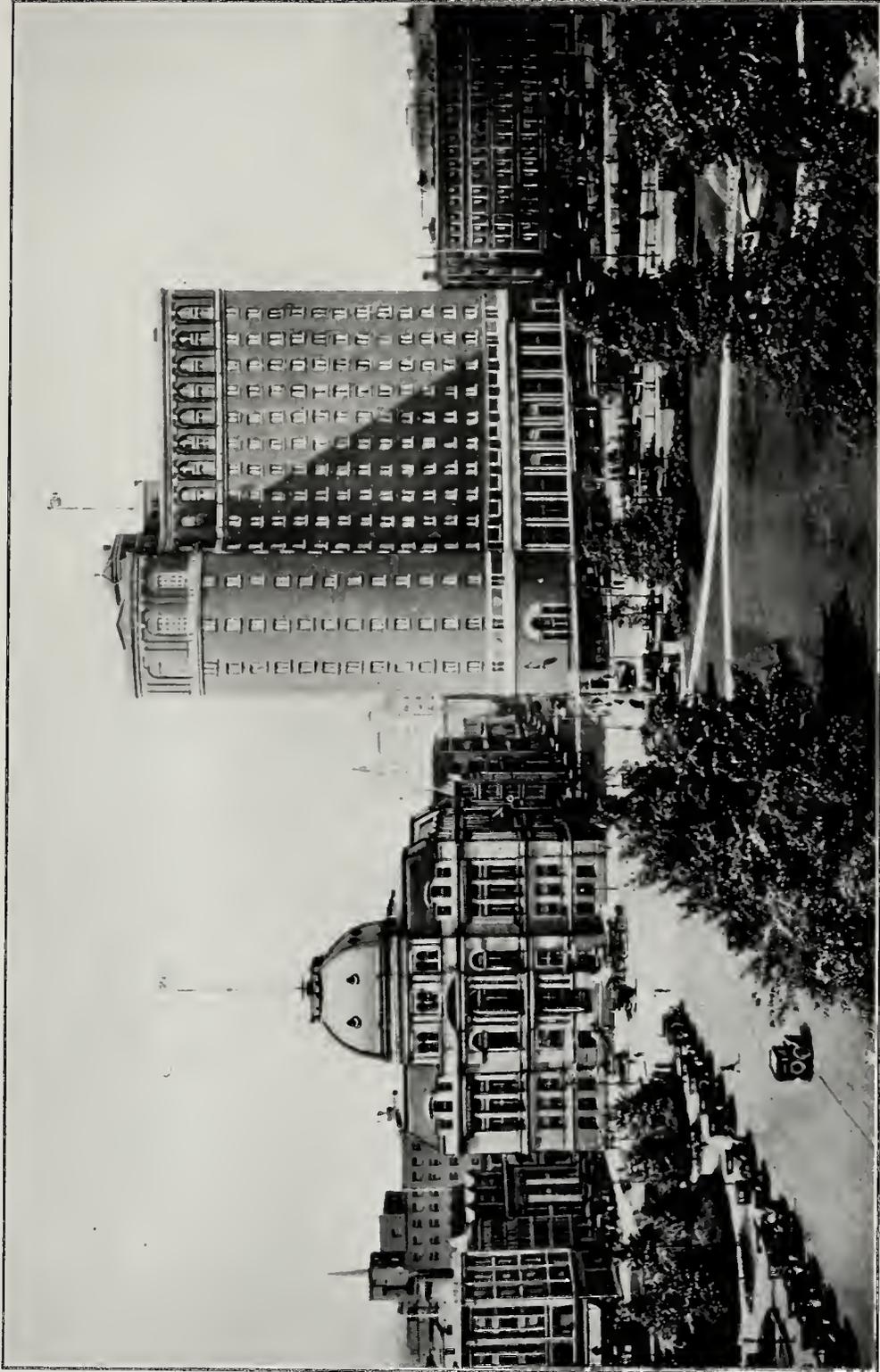
\*§In re the Voting Laws, 12 R. I. 586.

the committee holding that "the number of petitioners, and the importance of the subject they presented for consideration entitled the petitioners to a respectable and patient hearing . . . and the right to be informed of the reasons" for refusal to grant their petition. The petitioners presented and the committee considered questions involving (1) the right to call a constitutional convention; (2) the qualifications of voters; (3) the discrimination between native and naturalized citizens; and (4) inequality in representation in the General Assembly. With reference to the latter it was alleged that the General Assembly had "changed the basis of representation of the towns and cities in both houses of the Assembly" by consolidating some towns and dividing others, and that the city of Providence was not adequately represented.

The actual changes in towns and cities after 1842 resultant from action by the General Assembly were (1) the exchange of the Rhode Island town of Fall River for the Massachusetts towns of East Providence and Pawtucket as part of the agreement, 1862, for adjusting the eastern boundary line; (2) the incorporation of Woonsocket by partition from Cumberland, 1867; (3) the division of Smithfield into three towns, Smithfield, Lincoln and North Smithfield (first called Slater), 1871; (4) the annexation of part of North Smithfield to Woonsocket, 1871; (5) the annexation of parts of Cranston, 1868 and 1873, and parts of North Providence, 1873 and 1874, to Providence; (6) the annexation of part of North Providence to Pawtucket, 1874. Pawtucket was incorporated as a city, 1885, and Woonsocket became a city, 1888. The effect of the creation of new towns was an increase in the membership of the Senate from 32 to 36, and a change in the apportionment of membership in the House of Representatives. Providence was affected both by the constitutional restriction to one-sixth of the membership of the House, and increase in population incident to annexation of closely populated areas of suburban towns, without change in the limitation. With 22.21 per cent. of the state's population (1840) Providence was restricted to 16.67\* per cent. of the membership of the House of Representatives by the Constitution of 1842; the restriction continued, although the population of the city, increased by normal growth of population and the influx of population to thriving economic centres, was further increased by annexation, and had reached 37.68 per cent. of the state population in 1880, and 38.83 per cent in 1885. Proposed amendments for readjusting representation were rejected by the electors several times earlier; there was no change in the limitation to 16.67 per cent. until 1904. The population of the city was 41.37 per cent. of the state population in 1905, and 41.33 per cent. in 1910.

Senator Doyle and Representative Wilkinson did not sign the report of the committee of 1882, nor did they present a minority report. The majority of the committee rejected all petitions and memorials, but reported, nevertheless: "But whatever may be the views of the individuals composing your committee upon the propriety of adopting or rejecting any amendment to the Constitution, they are united in the belief that the authority existing in the electors reserved to them in the Constitution to adopt amendments thereto, implies the right in the electors, upon their reasonable request to the General Assembly therefor, to have amendments to the Constitution submitted for their consideration and action. Two thousand one hundred and fifty-six persons, with four organized associations, have petitioned the General Assembly to call a constitutional convention; your committee are of the opinion that the General Assembly has no authority to call such convention; but, nevertheless, considering the number and standing of the petitioners, your committee, without reference to the opinions of the members of the committee as to the results which the petitioners desire to attain, have concluded that it was their duty to recommend to the General Assembly to propose to the elec-

\*In instances in which the unit for representation is a municipality or other unit based on local solidarity of interest reasonable restriction of representation is accepted as sound policy.



CITY HALL AND PROVIDENCE BILTMORE HOTEL FROM THE PARK, PROVIDENCE



tors of the state an amendment to the Constitution, which they herewith submit, which amendment, if adopted by the people, will authorize the General Assembly to call a constitutional convention." The resolution proposed that the General Assembly be given authority to call a constitutional convention consisting of delegates elected by the several towns and cities corresponding in number to their total representation in both houses of the General Assembly, the convention to "revise, alter or amend the Constitution," subject to approval of revision, alteration or amendment by the qualified electors, a majority to consist of three-fifths of the electors voting. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly of January, 1882, approved by the next General Assembly at the May session, 1882, and submitted to the electorate on November 7, 1882; it was rejected 5125 against, 4393 for. The qualified electors had answered through the referendum; they did not choose to share their political prerogatives with new classes of voters. The voters under the Constitution of 1842 were reacting to proposals for reform in much the same way as had the landholders previous to 1842.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DISCUSSED—Not all members of the General Assembly were content with the decision of the voters; some recognized elements of justice in the petitions for revision, and ventured to propose that the General Assembly order a constitutional convention without asking approval by the voters. There were precedents for such action by the General Assembly; conventions had been called without referenda in 1824, 1834, 1841 and 1842. Section 10 of Article IV of the Constitution of 1842 declared: "The General Assembly shall continue to exercise the powers they have heretofore exercised, unless prohibited in this Constitution." To quiet discussion, the Senate adopted resolutions in which the opinion of the Supreme Court was requested. The resolutions recited "a difference of opinion has arisen among members of the General Assembly (1) as to the legal competency thereof under the Constitution of the state to call upon the electors to elect members to constitute a convention to frame a new constitution of the State, and to provide that the new constitution should be submitted for adoption, either to the qualified electors of the state or to the persons who would be entitled to vote under said new constitution, for adoption, and if a majority of such electors or persons voting should vote in favor thereof, whether the new constitution would then become the legally adopted constitution of the state and be binding as such upon all the people thereof; (2) as to whether it is legally competent for the General Assembly to submit to the qualified electors the questions whether said electors will call a convention to frame a new constitution, and to provide by law if a majority of the electors voting upon said question shall vote in favor of calling such convention, that the same be held, and the new constitution framed by said convention be submitted to the electors for their adoption, either to the electors qualified by law, or to the persons who may be qualified to vote under such new constitution, and whether if a majority of the electors or persons voting thereon vote for the adoption of such constitution, whether the constitution so to be framed and adopted would be the legal constitution of the state, and as such be binding upon all the people thereof."

The advisory opinion of the Supreme Court† held "that the mode provided in the Constitution for the amendment thereof is the only mode in which it can be constitutionally amended. The ordinary rule is that where power is given to do a thing in a particular way, there the affirmative words, marking out the particular way, prohibit all other ways by implication, so that the particular way is the only way in which the power can be legally executed. . . . The provision for amendment in our Constitution is singularly explicit. . . . Evidently the purpose was to insure the calm and considerate action of both the Assembly and the people. . . . The object was not to hamper or baffle the popular will, but to insure its

†14 R. I. 649.

full expression. . . . If our Constitution had no provision for amendment, then, indeed, a power in the Assembly to call a convention or to initiate amendments in some other manner might be implied *ex necessitate*. The Assembly, under the Charter, exercised such a power because the Charter had no such provision; though it is proper to remark that under the Charter the legislative power of the Assembly was practically unlimited. Again, if the provision for amendment was impracticable, there might be, if no legal reason, yet some excuse for disregarding it. But it is practicable, as a successful resort to it in several instances had demonstrated. . . . Any new constitution, therefore, which a convention would form, would be a new constitution only in name; but would be in fact our present Constitution amended. It is impossible for us to imagine any alteration, consistent with a republican form of government, which cannot be effected by specific amendment as provided in the Constitution. . . . A power to call a convention is prohibited by implication, and as was clearly shown in *Taylor vs. Place*,\* an implied is as effectual as an express prohibition." The court rejected the contention "that there is a great unwritten common law of the states, which existed before the Constitution and which the Constitution was powerless to modify or abolish, under which the people have the right, whenever invited by the General Assembly—and, as some maintain, without any invitation—to alter and amend their constitution. If there be any such law—for there is no record of it, or of any legislation or custom in this state recognizing it—then it is, in our opinion, rather a law—if law it can be called—of revolutionary than of constitutional change. Our Constitution is . . . by its own terms 'the supreme law of the State.' We know of no law, except the Constitution and laws of the United States, which is paramount to it." The advisory opinion of the Supreme Court coincided with the opinion of the majority of the committee of the General Assembly of 1882, and had the effect, for the time being, of quieting discussion of the possibility of revising the existing Constitution or adopting a new constitution through a constitutional convention. The discussion was to be renewed at a later date.

PROHIBITION AS A PARTY ISSUE—Traffic in alcoholic liquors was taxed in the colonial period principally for revenue rather than for regulatory purposes. Drunkenness was punished as disturbance of the peace, but there appears to have been no serious disposition to prohibition except with reference to sales to negroes and Indians. The distillation of molasses and sugar into rum was one of the most profitable of colonial enterprises, and was an important adjunct of the trade with Africa and the West Indies. The Brown brothers, particularly John, were distillers. Bills prohibiting the distillation of grain into spirituous liquor failed of concurrent action in the General Assembly in 1812 and 1817; the former probably was a war measure, the latter was prompted by scarcity and high prices. Horse racing and liquor selling within one mile of the Seventh Day Baptist Church in Hopkinton were forbidden in 1792; thirty years later the same prohibition of sales of rum, wine or strong liquor was made effective within a mile of any meeting being held for the worship of Almighty God. The General Assembly in 1822 enacted a license law with an excise to be collected by town officers and paid by them into the general treasury; fees for making collections were allowed subsequently. Probably the first Rhode Island public meeting in opposition to the liquor traffic was conducted in the First Baptist Meeting House in Providence in April, 1827. The first Sunday closing law was enacted in 1834; it was a local option law, giving town councils power to make closing ordinances. A statute increasing liquor taxes was repealed after less than a year's trial in 1833. Sunday sales and sales to habitual drunkards were forbidden by statute in 1839, and two years later sales to minors and intoxicated persons were prohibited. License fees were increased, but the state permitted towns to retain eighty per cent. as local revenues,

\*4 R. I. 324.

thus reducing opposition from general taxpayers. Fees were readjusted in 1843, and divided equally betwixt state and town. The first general local option law was enacted in 1845, resulting within a short time afterward in a division of Rhode Island into "wet" and "dry" areas. "License" and "Prohibition" parties appeared at the polls in 1847; in that year Amos C. Barstow ran as the Prohibition candidate for mayor of Providence. The growth of the movement for prohibition in twenty years from the first public meeting in 1827 had been remarkable. In another five years, 1852, the General Assembly enacted a statewide prohibitory law, subject to confirmation or repeal by referendum; the people sustained prohibition, 9280 for, 8228 against. The law permitted sales for medicinal and mechanical purposes only, by one or two persons specially appointed in each town; four years later, 1856, sales for chemical, sacramental and culinary purposes were permitted. Rhode Island returned to license in 1863, as a war measure for revenue purposes, the state and towns dividing the proceeds.

Eleven years later, in 1874, a drastic prohibitory law was enacted. Manufacture except for export, keeping and selling except "for medicinal, artistic and mechanical purposes only and not to be drunk on the premises of the seller" were forbidden. Medical prescriptions containing alcohol could not be refilled. To enforce the statute the Governor was authorized to appoint a state constable, and the latter to appoint not exceeding seven deputies. Governor Howard, who in 1874 in his message to the General Assembly had directed attention to the evils of intemperance, though doubting "the practicability of enforcing, even to a moderate extent, a law absolutely prohibitory in its terms," reported in 1875 that "in view of the powerful organized opposition, the apathy of one portion of the public, the antipathy of another, and the lack of coöperation on the part of the peace officers of the state generally, the state constabulary force is not sufficiently large for the purposes of its design and creation." The Governor had collected statements from seventy-five citizens in various parts of the state, whose observations and reactions were colored by sympathy or antipathy that was scarcely concealed. The state constable reported 421 prosecutions, of which 306 were pending, 51 had been discontinued, 33 dismissed, and only six convictions. The constable reported further: "From the earliest movement the constabulary have been met with every device and obstacle that could be invented by its enemies, who were well aware that the prohibitory and constabulary laws, unless defeated in their operation, would be the ruin of their trade and hopes. They have fought us upon every point with an energy amounting in many instances even to vengeance and malice. And despairing of having sufficient strength of their own to accomplish their purpose, they have called into requisition the assistance of the United States officials. We were met at the outset by the information that the United States had attached eighteen of the largest stocks of liquors in the state. Keepers had been placed in charge who were, and had been for a long time, either a co-partner or employe of the owners—in many cases even the bartender who had, and still continued to sell liquors by the glass over the bar."

Before the January session, 1875, was at an end, an actual conflict had occurred, in which state, town and federal officers were involved, and the General Assembly appointed a special committee to investigate and report "all the facts connected with the recent alleged interruption of certain state officers in the discharge of the duties of their office by individuals acting under federal or municipal authority, and the alleged interference of the state constabulary with the process of the United States." A majority and a minority report were presented by the committee. There was no substantial disagreement as to facts. The United States marshal had attached in August certain liquors on an original writ returnable to the United States Circuit Court and suffered the liquors to remain in the store of the defendant named in the writ, in the nominal custody of the defendant's bookkeeper. Not until October were the attached liquors placed behind a partition with locked doors. The arrangement was satisfac-

tory to the plaintiff on whose suit the writ had been served. The barrels and boxes attached were marked at first with chalk, and subsequently by labels. State constables visited the place on February 23, 1875; found the door of the partitioned storeroom open, and barrels from which liquor had been drawn in the storeroom, marked to indicate gauging by federal officers and manufacture after the attachment. The conclusion drawn inevitably was that the storeroom partitioned for holding the attached liquors was used by the proprietor for the purpose of storing also a stock in trade from which sales were made. When the state constable undertook to seize and remove all liquor from the premises, and some had been removed, the marshal appeared, "forbade the removal, refused to point out the liquors covered by his attachment, attempted to use force to prevent the removal of the liquors, and finally by ordering the chief of police of the city of Providence, who was present with a strong body of police, by instructions from the mayor, to aid him, compelled the state constable and his deputies to submit to the force of numbers, and thus prevented any further removal of the liquors in the store." The majority "abstaining from the use of offensive terms or insinuations," deemed "it a sufficient discharge of the duty imposed upon them in this regard, to say that the liquors attached by the marshal were left almost as fully and freely at the disposal of the defendant in the suit as if no attachment had been made." The majority then commented upon the conduct of the chief of police: "An intelligent and experienced and conscientious officer, he frankly admits his plain duty under the laws to yield obedience to the state constable when in the discharge of his duty. He saw the constable discharging his duty, was ordered to aid him with his police force, and excuses himself for disobedience by the remarkable statement that he was as long ago as in August last directed by the mayor, following the advice of the city solicitor, to obey the United States marshal when by him commanded. And to reconcile this conflict between the law as he understands it, and the order of his municipal superior, the chief of police explains that he obeys the marshal as a private citizen, and having doffed for the occasion his official character, he is no longer subject to the commands of the state constable! He forgets that in thus easily shifting responsibility as he was obeying the marshal and refusing to obey the constable, because the breath of the marshal had transformed him from chief of police to a private citizen, he was exercising the power of chief by compelling the police force of the city to protect and uphold the violators of the law, and to prevent the officers of the state from even attempting to vindicate it." The majority recommended that the Governor be requested to cause to be prepared and transmitted to the President of the United States a statement of the facts relating to the interference by the United States marshal for the district of Rhode Island with the state constable while in the discharge of his duty." The minority, "interpreting the resolution" as based "entirely upon the constitutional power of the legislature to make laws for present and future emergencies and which do not include any judicial power to make inquiry into the past as between outside parties not members of the legislature," found that the testimony "involves grave questions of law and right" which point "to no necessity for direct or indirect legislation," and suggested that "its publication should be held subject to your order, lest any action upon it by the committee might prejudice or forestall questions which belong to the court alone." The reports of majority and minority were "referred to the Governor, to adopt such measures in the premises, not repugnant to law as he shall deem best conducive to the interest of the state and the enforcement of the laws." At the May session, 1875, the prohibition law of 1874 and the law creating the state constabulary both were repealed. The General Assembly enacted a local option law for towns and created for Providence a license commission, to be elected by the board of aldermen. The statute of 1875 was a carefully considered piece of legislation drafted by a joint special committee. It created a state police consisting of "the sheriffs of the several counties and their deputies, and the town sergeants, constables and chiefs of police."

The Republican party split on the issue of prohibition in the spring of 1875. The Democrats polled an average vote of 5100 for a ticket headed by Charles R. Cutler of Warren. Joshua M. Addeman as Secretary of State, Willard B. Sayles as Attorney-General, and Samuel Clarke as General Treasurer, were elected with an average of 16,900 votes. For Governor, Rowland Hazard, Republican and Prohibition, polled 8724 votes to 8368 for Henry Lippitt, Republican. For Lieutenant Governor Daniel Day, Republican and Prohibition, polled 9183 votes to 7912 for Henry T. Sisson. Because no candidate for Governor or Lieutenant Governor had received the majority required by the Constitution, the election of both officers was by the General Assembly, which chose Henry Lippitt as Governor and Henry T. Sisson as Lieutenant Governor. The same General Assembly enacted the license law of 1875. In the following year, Henry Lippitt was reelected as Governor by the General Assembly after failure to attain a majority of the popular vote, although he polled 1956 more votes than Albert C. Howard, running as Republican and Prohibitionist. The Republican party reunited in 1877 and elected Charles C. Van Zandt as Governor, with Republican and Prohibition indorsement, in a close contest with Jerothmul B. Barnaby, Democrat. Governor Van Zandt was reelected without Republican opposition in 1878 and 1879. In the following year Alfred H. Littlefield, Republican, was opposed by Horace A. Kimball, Democrat, and Albert C. Howard, Republican and Prohibition, and failed to obtain a majority, though leading his Democratic opponent by nearly 8000 and his Republican-Prohibition opponent by over 5000. The General Assembly elected Alfred H. Littlefield as Governor.

The Prohibition party, a distinct and separate organization thereafter and no longer a sometimes rebellious wing of the Republican party, seldom in the years that followed polled more than 2000 votes; it had become a minor party with a voting strength that dwindled steadily to less than 1000. Prohibition in Rhode Island was to experience one more flare, in which an amendment to the Constitution was to be tried as a measure for curbing the traffic in and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Meanwhile, in 1884, instruction in physiology and hygiene with emphasis upon the effects of alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs upon the human system, was made part of the required course of study in public schools as a project for teaching temperance to the rising generation.

Other effective influences at work in the cause of temperance were the Father Mathew temperance societies and "total abstinence" unions organized in connection with almost every Roman Catholic church in Rhode Island, as the pastors of these churches endeavored to curb drinking and thus to improve the social and economic conditions of their parishioners. The long list of these temperance societies chartered by the General Assembly begins almost as early as the building of the first Catholic church in Rhode Island. For youth of the rising generation military companies of temperance cadets were organized in the same parishes. To this period also belongs the founding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an aggressive organization in opposition to the traffic in alcohol. There were, besides, many public spirited citizens who wished well for the cause of temperance, some of whom unhesitatingly supported prohibition and others of whom were puzzled at finding the most effective remedy for intemperance, with the choice for the time being lying between bone dry prohibition and effective regulation through a rigid licensing law.

A resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, to read "The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor to be used as a beverage shall be prohibited. The General Assembly shall provide by law for carrying this article into effect," was passed in the General Assembly on March 17, 1885, approved by the following Assembly, and by the electors on April 7, 1886, the vote being 15,113 to 9230, or 500 more than the sixty per cent. majority required. Governor Augustus O. Bourn, discussing in his message to the General Assembly in 1884 the need for more effective measures for enforcement of law, recommended the appointment of

an additional officer, "whose jurisdiction should be the whole state and whose duties should be similar to those now required of the state police. He might be called the 'high sheriff' or the 'state sheriff.'" The Governor renewed his recommendation in 1885, saying: "We have a state police established by law,\* but it is entirely without responsibility to anyone for the faithful performance of duty. There should be some responsible head to the police, whose duty it should be to take care that the laws of the state be faithfully executed. He should have the power to enforce the performance of the duties required of the state police by law."

The General Assembly, in May, 1886, following the adoption of the prohibitory amendment, created the office of Chief of State Police,† and elected General Charles R. Brayton as Chief. General Brayton was succeeded on May 28, 1887, by Edward F. Curtis. Otherwise the state police under the direction of the Chief of State Police consisted of county sheriffs and their deputies, constables and town chiefs of police. The Assembly also, in pursuance of the prohibitory amendment requiring it "to provide by law for carrying this article into effect," enacted a bone dry prohibition law, forbidding manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages except for "artistic, mechanical and medical purposes." At the January session, 1887, another statute was passed that defined the alcoholic content of beverages prohibited and permitted, and authorized sales of beverages containing not more than two per cent. of alcohol. An attempt to test the constitutionality of the amendment in the courts of Rhode Island‡ was unsuccessful. The action was in equity and the process a bill of discovery to determine the legality of 2400 ballots alleged to have been cast in the election by voters whose eligibility was questioned. The court dismissed the bill on the general ground that a bill of discovery could not be allowed if and when it sought information, which, if established, would not give the relator an equitable remedy. Substantially the court's decision rested on the principle that a judicial court will not review a political question, the court having taken judicial notice of the Governor's proclamation that the amendment had been ratified. The courts of Rhode Island were busy immediately with a series of cases in which various phases of the prohibitory law were tested.§ additional to cases brought by enforcing officers in which the legal provision was clear. Rhode Island was not satisfied with a constitutional prohibition, whether the failure to satisfy be charged to impossibility of enforcement or unwillingness to enforce. The Governor in a message to the General Assembly said that the Chief of State Police faced difficulty because "the law is not more efficient, and it is sadly inefficient," and "for want of sufficient public sentiment to support it. It is a thankless task to attempt to enforce a law which has not the hearty moral support of the community to sustain it." General Brayton in his first report as Chief of State Police mentioned want of coöperation, and specifically that the federal internal revenue department, district of Rhode Island, had refused to furnish a list of persons in Rhode Island paying federal taxes on liquors. His successor, while not making specific charges, classified members of the state police, particularly town officers, with reference to effort at enforcement. In one of his reports he accused the chief of police of Providence of refusing to raid certain places in which it was alleged that liquor was sold unless the state chief furnished evidence to prove the raids warranted, a position on the part of the city chief that might be warranted on the general ground that the state officer was not legally his responsible superior. The enforcement of law continued to become more and more inefficient.

Rhode Island repealed constitutional prohibition on June 20, 1889, by a vote of 28,315 to 9956. A plausible suggestion that repeal was favored by the extension of suffrage under the Bourn amendment, 1888, fails to explain the discrepancy between 15,113 votes for pro-

\*Consisting of sheriffs, constables and town police.

†Part of the "May deal"—*infra*.

‡*Hanley vs. Wetmore*—15 R. I. 386.

§*State vs. Clark*, 15 R. I. 333; *State vs. Tonks*, 15 R. I. 385; *State vs. Kane*, 15 R. I. 395; *State vs. Duggan*, 15 R. I. 403; *State vs. Duggan*, 15 R. I. 412; *State vs. Murphy*, 15 R. I. 543; *In re Liquors of John E. McSoley*, 15 R. I. 608; *Barron vs. Arnold*, 16 R. I. 22.

hibition in 1886, and only 9956 for it in 1889. The loss of 5000 votes in three years is pragmatic evidence of dissatisfaction. The increase in the vote for license from 9230 in 1886 to 28,315 in 1889 may be explained in part as due to new voters, although it is scarcely conceivable that a new class of voters should be substantially unanimous on a question which had been thoroughly discussed in their community. The General Assembly at a special session called immediately after repeal of the prohibitory amendment enacted a local option license law, and abolished the office of Chief of State Police. The new statute required an annual referendum on the question of granting or refusing licenses, and fixed a standard license fee that relatively made this legislation a high license law.

Though modified in detail from time to time, the legislation of 1889 remained in operation until the prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of the United States became effective. Rhode Island did not ratify the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Attorney General of Rhode Island carried to the Supreme Court of the United States a petition for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of the federal amendment. The petition was dismissed on the general ground that the matter had not been brought before the court in a form that established jurisdiction. In a referendum on prohibition ordered by the General Assembly in 1930, the people of Rhode Island voted overwhelmingly (seven to two) for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN POLITICS—Governor Van Zandt's declaration, in 1877, that "the balance of political power is passing into the hands of our illiterate classes, who will become by force of circumstances a caste by themselves through whose barriers it will be found well nigh impossible to break," was in error principally in the application of the adjective "illiterate." He had failed to differentiate betwixt (1) the immigrant, who might be illiterate and who rarely under the Rhode Island system achieved political citizenship; and (2) the American-born children of the immigrant, who rarely were illiterate and who could qualify for suffrage by registration. As a matter of fact, a discriminating analysis of statistics of illiteracy in Rhode Island at the period, 1870-1880, reveals that the marked increase in illiteracy was due to immigration and immigrants, and that the number of native-born Rhode Islanders who were illiterate was steadily decreasing.

Another factor neglected, or perhaps it should be said, not mentioned by the Governor, was the number of native-born sons of aliens who had passed through the public schools into colleges and professional training schools—many had taken advantage of the free state scholarships at Brown University under the Morrill Act—and who were already entering and achieving success in the learned professions in Rhode Island; among these the lawyers were finding their way into the General Assembly and other public service, and were gaining experience in actual political life that would make them most effective leaders in a movement for extension of suffrage and other changes in the Rhode Island system. In the courts these young lawyers were raising ingenious questions testing the Constitution and other phases of law, and in practice were establishing procedure that was neglectful of tradition. Besides these, there were also lawyers of comparatively ancient Rhode Island lineage who had inherited ideals of liberal democracy and who were not satisfied that restricted suffrage was the best solution of the Rhode Island problem, which was ultimately the assimilation of a mass of immigrants and their children without sacrificing too much of the old order that had made Rhode Island democracy distinctive. There were politicians, too, otherwise soldiers of fortune politically, who sought advantage for themselves either in the fortress of rock-bound conservatism or in the camps pitched by the challengers to battle. Governor Van Zandt had won an election in 1877 in which the Democratic party had demonstrated strength not equalled since before the Civil War.

This new, vigorous, militant Democratic party could be disciplined, and moulded into a majority party if it could incorporate into its own ranks the forces seeking modification of prevailing restrictions, that is, if it could establish itself as the reform party in Rhode Island. Issues were not clearly defined in 1877; the campaign was personal, and the Democratic standard bearer, J. B. Barnaby, was not a reformer. The Democratic party was not the reform party then; neither was the Republican party the conservative party.

The report of the Assembly committee of 1882 on constitutional measures, principally the writing of Republican members of the General Assembly, and the referendum in 1882 on the question of amending the Constitution in such manner as to authorize the calling of constitutional conventions, were not merely graceful gestures by the Republican majority. The report was an excellent state paper, the frankness and fairness of which rebut inference of other than a purpose to let the people decide the issue in the manner provided for in the Constitution. Besides that, it should be remembered that proposed amendments submitted to the people in other years had first been approved by two successive General Assemblies controlled by Republicans.

THE SPRAGUE CAMPAIGN OF 1883—The second flood tide of the Democratic party, in 1883, was achieved in spite of a division within its own ranks; it may be attributed to the personal popularity and effective political methods of William Sprague, who, as a candidate for Governor, was seeking a "vindication" by his fellow citizens. Thrice elected as Governor in 1860, 1861 and 1862, and twice elected as United States Senator, in 1862 and 1868, the disastrous failure of the A. & W. Sprague Company, in 1873, had removed him from politics for the time being. If Governor Sprague had not been a Republican, Senator Sprague had not been a Democrat, certainly until he announced his withdrawal from the Republican caucus in the United States Senate, alleging that he could not bind himself in caucus to vote contrary to his convictions. Even before his business failure Senator Sprague had developed strong opinions in conflict with the financial policy of the national Republican majority in Congress, had complained of and denounced an alleged combination of bankers to control the money market, and had favored generally the position of the Greenback party. Retired from Congress by expiration of term in 1875, he was nominated for Governor in 1883 by a convention styling itself Democratic; later in the campaign another Democratic convention nominated Charles R. Cutler as its candidate for Governor.

The Sprague campaign was principally personal, although Sprague promised political reform as part of a program planned to "vindicate" him and punish his enemies. The latter, he alleged, included Zechariah Chafee, assignee of the A. & W. Sprague Company, whom Sprague accused of maladministration and purposeful waste; the Union Company, a corporation consisting in part of creditors of the Sprague Company, which had purchased the assets of the company, as it was alleged by them, to prevent larger losses through forced sales, although Sprague termed it a conspiracy to deprive him permanently of his properties; certain justices of the Supreme Court, whose decisions had been hostile to Sprague in the long litigation that followed the assignment, who were to be removed by the General Assembly if Sprague succeeded; the "Providence Journal," a persistent if not always a consistent opponent of the Sprague family in politics. The campaign was bitter, and at the end there were accusations by both of the principal contending parties that bribery had been resorted to. General Benjamin F. Butler, who was Democratic Governor of Massachusetts in 1883, and who had been of counsel for Sprague in much of the litigation attending the assignment, came to Rhode Island to address a mass meeting. The "Journal" ridiculed Butler's squinting eyes, and his reference to Chafee as "Chaffy." The Republican state ticket, headed by Augustus O. Bourn, of Bristol, was successful; it included also Oscar J. Rathbun, Joshua M. Addeman,

Samuel P. Colt and Samuel Clark, candidates respectively for Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General and General Treasurer. Sprague's associates were Ziba O. Slocum, Warren R. Pirce, Willard Sayles and James B. Cottrell. The second Democratic ticket included Charles R. Cutler, Horace A. Kimball, William J. Miller, Oscar Lapham and Thomas A. Reynolds; it met the fate usually awaiting bolting third parties, polling an average of 650 votes in a total of 23,995. The vast majority of Democrats had voted for Sprague. They favored the revolution in state politics he was capable of achieving if elected. Governor Bourn increased his majority of 2141 to 6331 in the election of 1884, and George Peabody Wetmore, with Prohibition opposition, had little difficulty in defeating Ziba O. Slocum, Democrat, in 1885, and Amasa Sprague, Democrat, in 1886. The Democratic party was holding remarkably well, nevertheless; it was polling steadily year after year, close to 10,000 votes, and was maintaining strength in the General Assembly.

PROPOSED SUFFRAGE AMENDMENTS—Two amendments to the Constitution were proposed by the General Assembly at the January session, 1884. One forecasted the Bourn amendment, but differed in the detail of retaining the registry tax. It struck the adjective "native" from the qualifications for registry voters, but extended the limitation of the personal property qualification to all cities; theretofore this restriction had been limited to Providence. § The other proposed constitutional prohibition. In the following year the prohibitory amendment, with slight technical change in form, was proposed again, and with it two other amendments, one extending suffrage to soldiers and sailors who were naturalized citizens and otherwise qualified, and the other extending suffrage to women on the same terms as men. The prohibitory amendment and the amendment extending suffrage for soldiers and sailors were approved in 1886, and ratified by the voters on April 7, 1886. The proposed woman suffrage amendment was referred to a joint special committee of the General Assembly in 1886; another resolution proposing a woman suffrage amendment was introduced and adopted. This was advanced in January, 1887, for reference to, and was rejected by, the voters, 21,957 against, 6889 for. The suffrage amendment of 1886 read as follows: "All soldiers and sailors of foreign birth, citizens of the United States, who served in the army and navy of the United States from this state, in the late Civil War, and who were honorably discharged from such service, shall have the right to vote in all questions in all legally organized town, district or ward meetings, upon the same conditions and under and subject to the same restrictions as native-born citizens." It was approved, 18,903 for, 1477 against. It became obsolete in 1888, with the adoption of the Bourn amendment.

The Bourn amendment, adopted April 4, 1888, approve 20,068, reject 12,193, enfranchised adult male citizens of the United States, naturalized as well as native, resident in Rhode Island two years and in a town or city six months, who had registered before December 31 in the year preceding, but excluded such persons from voting on "any proposition to impose a tax or for the expenditure of money," and in the election of city councilmen, unless the person within the year next preceding paid a tax in the town or city of residence "assessed upon his property therein valued at least at \$134." The registry tax was repealed; instead the assessors of taxes were directed to assess upon all persons eligible for suffrage a tax of one dollar annually or so much as with his other taxes would amount to one dollar. The statute submitting the amendment to the referendum required that the ballots cast in April be counted "after the first Tuesday in November, 1888, and before the third Tuesday," and that the Governor should "announce the result by proclamation, on or before the fourth Tuesday in November, 1888." The effect of the counting provision was to postpone the operation of the amendment until after the popular vote for presidential electors and Congressmen in Novem-

§In re Newport Charter, 14 R. I. 655.

ber, 1888; but the amendment might affect the electorate in by-elections necessitated by the operation of the majority election statutes. The late counting also placed the determination of the result in a period between the May and the January sessions of the General Assembly, giving the Assembly no opportunity, unless a special session were called, to adopt legislation that might be desirable, if not indeed necessary, to carry the amendment completely into effect.

Such questions as these were suggested: "Was registration under the statutes previous to November 16, 1888, the date of the Governor's proclamation, valid for purposes of the amendment, or must all registrations be made anew? No new registration legislation having been enacted, how could registration be accomplished under the amendment?" Governor Taft asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion on these questions: "1. Does the recent constitutional amendment repeal 'the registry act?'" "2. Is there any officer or class of officers now authorized to receive the registry of persons entitled to register . . . ?" "3. Will the persons that have registered this year . . . or who shall register . . . be legally registered, or will they be obliged to register anew?" "4. Will persons taxed on personal property . . . be entitled to vote?" Four justices of the court, Justice Wilbur being absent, agreed in advising\* (1) that as the court had already held that a statute may be constitutional in part and unconstitutional in part,† the test being whether they are so interwoven and interdependent that they can stand only as a whole‡ or whether they are capable of separation, and as the registry sections of the election law in the Public Statutes "are so distinct and independent that they may stand and be administered without in any way conflicting with the constitution as amended," registration under the prevailing laws was valid both before and after the amendment, and that town clerks might continue to register voters. On the fourth question the court ruled that the amendment did not change the status of persons who paid a tax amounting to one dollar which had been assessed on \$134 of personal property. In the event that the tax did not amount to one dollar, however, the person must register; in the event that the tax amounted to one dollar, but the property taxed were valued at less than \$134, the person continued as registered but not eligible to vote on the property list. Another decision might have invalidated all registrations in 1888 for 1889, unless the General Assembly were called in special session and made provision for new registration in December, 1888.

In a later advisory opinion,§ 1890, the court ruled that the names of persons taxed for personal property, removed from the property list for failure to pay the taxes, are to be placed on the registry list.

Suffrage qualifications, as adjusted by the Bourn amendment, were destined to remain unchanged for forty years. The restriction upon complete suffrage in the proviso of the Bourn amendment placed the control of city councils in the hands of taxpayers, and continued to exclude all but taxpayers from participation in financial town meetings. As applied to Newport, Pawtucket and Woonsocket it excluded from voting for city councilmen native citizens who did not qualify by owning real estate or by paying taxes on personal property, thus depriving many of suffrage already enjoyed. The amendment of 1928 abolished this restriction in all cities, including Providence, Central Falls and Cranston in which none but taxpayers had participated in city council elections. The term "property qualification," which under the Charter and Constitution to 1888 had meant, as the term was commonly used, qualification by ownership of land, after 1888 was applied with reference to restriction of complete suffrage to land owners and taxpayers. The Bourn amendment enfranchised naturalized citizens not landowners for participation in the choice of presidential electors, Congressmen,

\*In re the Constitutional Amendment, 16 R. I. 754.

†State vs. Clark, 15 R. I. 383.

‡State vs. Tonks, 15 R. I. 385.

§In re the Canvassers' Power, 17 R. I. 809.

general state officers, members of the General Assembly, mayors and other city officers chosen by popular ballot, and members of town councils and officers chosen by ballot in towns.

The prohibitory amendment of 1886 was annulled by a repealing amendment adopted June 20, 1889; and, in 1892, the General Assembly, by constitutional amendment, was authorized to "provide by general law for the creation and control of corporations," with the exception that no corporation could be created with power to exercise the right of eminent domain or to acquire franchises in streets and highways of towns and cities except by special act of the General Assembly, upon petition and with notice. At the same time that they approved the "corporations" amendment, the electors rejected an amendment providing for biennial elections, 18,749 approve, 13,907 reject. The majority of 4842 for biennial election was 2000 short of the majority required to make sixty per cent., and thus biennial elections were postponed for twenty years.

MAJORITY AND PLURALITY ELECTIONS—Three times under the Charter, in 1806, 1832 and 1839, the election of Governor by popular majority failed. In 1806, the Lieutenant Governor served as Governor; in 1832, after five failures to elect Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Senators, officers holding over were continued in office; in 1839-1840, there having been no popular majority for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Samuel Ward King, first Senator, acted as Governor. Under the Constitution, except in 1846, when the General Assembly chose Byron Diman, there was no failure of a popular majority for Governor until 1875. In that year and the following year and again in 1880, the Republican disagreement on prohibition so split the party at the polls as to prevent the achievement of a majority for the party candidate for Governor, and thus threw the election into the grand committee of the General Assembly. The House of Representatives in 1887 requested an advisory opinion of the Supreme Court on the legality and constitutionality of election by plurality instead of majority, in view of the provision in the tenth section of Article VIII of the Constitution, which provided: "In all elections held by the people under this Constitution a majority of all the electors voting shall be necessary to the election of the persons voted for." Specifically the court was asked to answer four questions, substantially as follows: "May a plurality of the electors voting elect lawfully and constitutionally (1) a member of Congress, (2) a presidential elector, (3) a member of the city council of Providence, (4) any civil officer in the election held by the people?" The court advised:\* 1. That the office of Representative in Congress is created by the Constitution of the United States, and that the manner of election is left by the Constitution to the state legislature, which may provide for plurality election. Under the Rhode Island practice in 1887 election by plurality might follow failure to elect by majority in the first election. 2. That the appointment of presidential electors under the Constitution of the United States is "in such manner as the legislature . . . may direct," and that the practice of plurality election in use since 1798, was constitutional. 3 and 4. "It is unquestionably competent for the General Assembly to determine that the officers elected by the people to fill the various offices in the state shall be elected by a plurality, unless the Constitution contain some provision which makes a majority necessary." The court construed the language of section 10 of article VIII, "under this Constitution," as applying only to the officers mentioned in the article VIII, that is, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General and General Treasurer, holding that the General Assembly might by law provide for plurality election of all other officers. Nothing was done, however; the General Assembly did not amend the statutes requiring majority elections.

The question raised in 1887 in connection with the election of a congressman was suggested again in 1889, 1890 and 1891 by failure of the people to elect Governor and other gen-

\*In re the Plurality Elections, 15 R. I. 617.

eral officers by majority vote; in 1893 the election machinery was close to utter failure, with the Secretary of State alone of general officers elected on the face of unofficial returns, and the control of the grand committee and of both branches of the General Assembly left unsettled in the first balloting. The crisis had cast its shadow before it; Rhode Island, always intensely political, was never more so than from 1888 to 1894. The strength of the Democratic party in state elections from 1883 to 1886, inclusive, in which years, in spite of annual defeat, the consistent polling of 10,000 votes was maintained, has been noted; the election of 1886 witnessed the polling of the largest popular vote cast in Rhode Island up to that time. In the same election the people voted for two amendments to the Constitution—prohibition and votes for soldiers and sailors. Governor Wetmore, as a candidate for reëlection, polled a larger vote in 1887 than in the two earlier elections, in which he had won easily, but was beaten in 1887 by John W. Davis, Democrat, whose vote of 18,095 was the largest cast for Governor up to that date. It is altogether improbable that all soldiers and sailors enfranchised by the constitutional amendment of 1886 voted for Honest John Davis, as he was affectionately known by Democrats; yet the increase of 8000 in the Democratic vote corresponded almost exactly with the increase of 8000 in the total vote for Governor in the election of 1887 over 1886.

DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN 1887—With Governor Davis the Democrats elected Ziba O. Slocum as Attorney General and John G. Perry as General Treasurer. In grand committee the General Assembly elected Edwin D. McGuinness, Democrat, as Secretary of State, and Samuel R. Honey, Democrat, as Lieutenant Governor. The Democrats organized the House of Representatives with Charles E. Gorman as Speaker. Other causes than the extension of suffrage contributed to the Republican defeat. George W. Danielson died in March, 1884, and Senator Henry B. Anthony, in September of the same year. George W. Danielson is one of a few citizens other than state officeholders or members of the Assembly to whose funeral the General Assembly sent a delegation. Danielson and Anthony had been editors of the "Providence Journal," and had supported the party so consistently that the "Journal" had been recognized as the party organ. After a short interregnum Richard S. Howland became managing editor and treasurer of the newly organized Journal Company, and Alfred M. Williams the chief editorial writer. On June 3, 1885, the "Journal," editorially, announced that it was still Republican, but independent. Under the new administration it became constantly more independent than Republican, assuming with reference to economic issues a position that deviated emphatically from high protection, and in state politics an attitude that was critical of Republican as well as of Democratic errors. The Republican party in Rhode Island never needed a strong newspaper apologist so seriously as in the ten years from 1885; yet the sturdy support that had been given unstintedly and without question in such crises as the campaign of 1883 with William Sprague challenging, had been withdrawn.

MAY DEAL OF 1886—The "May deal," so-called, of 1886, was another cause contributing to Republican defeat in 1887. The General Assembly, following approval of the prohibitory amendment, elected General Charles R. Brayton as Chief of State Police under the new bone-dry prohibition law; and also created a system of district courts to replace the old town justice courts. For the twelve courts thus erected the General Assembly elected twelve judges and six clerks, with an annual salary schedule of \$21,000. Long perspective has softened the popular judgment of the May deal. The creation of a system of district courts had been recommended by Governor Bourn in his annual messages to the General Assembly in 1884 and 1885. Ultimately the organization was justified by its superiority over the justice courts theretofore existing, although in 1886 there might be a question as to the need for twelve district courts, and there had been partisanship in the election of judges and clerks. Five of the new judges were members of the General Assembly, who helped to elect themselves to

office; and the others judges and the clerks were not hostile, certainly, to the Republican organization. The Democratic party had been encouraged also by the success of the national Democratic party in electing Grover Cleveland as President in 1884, and as an organization had been strengthened by the distribution of federal patronage. It was supported also by a faction vigorously opposed to prohibition.

**REPUBLICANS RETURN TO POWER**—The Republican party returned to power in 1888, electing Royal C. Taft as Governor by 1833 majority. Governor Davis had lost 500 votes; Governor Taft polled 5500 more than Wetmore in 1887; the total vote had been increased nearly 4500. The "Journal's" comment on the election was this: "The contest would have been decided honestly by both parties, except for the fear of corruption by the other. But there is a purchasable and corrupt element in the state, which has existed for many years, sufficient to decide the elections, and both parties attempted to gain it. The Republicans had the most money and were successful." The answer of the Republican party was the formal reading of the "Journal" out of the party, at the state convention of May 3, 1888. The "Journal" announced the anticipated ceremony, thus: "It is understood that one of the solemn functions of the Republican convention today . . . will be the reading of the 'Journal' out of the party with the ceremonies of the major excommunication and quenching the candles upon it. In itself this may be regarded as somewhat of a work of supererogation, but the performance will undoubtedly be of considerable thaumaturgic interest." The convention adopted resolutions presented by Rathbone Gardner, as follows: "We deem it expedient at this time to put on record the fact that the newspapers published by the Providence Journal Company have long since ceased to represent the Republican party in this state. They have factiously opposed wise and well considered acts of legislation which were devised in the councils of the party and have been approved by the consent of the people. They have wantonly misrepresented the acts and motives of honorable gentlemen by whom those laws have been conscientiously and laboriously framed, enacted and administered. They have recklessly and without justification or excuse charged upon the party a selfish and corrupt use of the elective franchise and of the legislative vote; they have falsely and maliciously traduced the good name of the state; they have betrayed the party which they professed to support, and they have forfeited all claim to public confidence." The "Journal" confessed and avoided, thus: "This is a formidable list of crimes, and the worst of it is that they are all true. They completely disqualify the 'Journal' from being considered an organ of the Republican party. They deprive it of all standing in party conventions, all weight in party counsels, and all official recognition of any name and nature. So much must be admitted and endured by the 'Journal' with such suffering and humiliation as belong thereto. Nevertheless, despised and cut off from party fellowship as it is, there are certain rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States under the general terms of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' § among which is the privilege which the 'Journal' will claim of supporting Republican candidates when it believes them entitled to the suffrage of honest and intelligent citizens, and advocating Republican principles when it believes them calculated to subserve the interests of the country, incidentally telling the truth as it sees it at all times and courting the good will of no party or individual to whom the truth is offensive or honest criticism objectionable." Governor Taft had been elected in 1888 before the "excommunication" of the "Journal"; he was the last Republican to poll even a plurality of the votes cast in annual election of Governor until 1892. Honest John Davis, Democrat, polled a plurality, but not a majority, of the votes cast for Governor.

**BALLOT REFORM**—The poll of 1889 was 3500 greater than that for 1888. The postponement of counting the votes and proclaiming the Bourn amendment had limited new registra-

§Not mentioned in Constitution, see Declaration of Independence.

tion to the month of December, practically. The increase of 15,000 in 1892 over 1888, both presidential election years, is probably a more accurate measure of the effect of the Bourn amendment. The General Assembly in January, 1889, enacted for state elections an Australian type of secret ballot law to replace the older type of secret ballot in envelopes.\* The new statute required the furnishing of printed ballots by the Secretary of State, and the filing with him, in ample time for printing, of lists of candidates. Candidates for particular offices were to be grouped and listed alphabetically, with addresses and party designations for identification. The elector might indicate his preference for one candidate in each group by placing a cross to the right of a name.† Identifying marks made by the elector on his ballot invalidated it. The same type of ballot law, applicable to city elections, was enacted at a special session of the General Assembly in June, 1890, called by Governor Davis; and in 1891 was extended to town elections.

The need for an effective secret ballot law had become definite with the charges of bribery and corruption following elections. The envelope law might be made effective by the elector if he saw fit to prepare his own ballot and seal it in the envelope provided at the polls; but it was possible also under the envelope law to place a ballot in the hands of an elector and watch him place that identical ballot in an envelope and in the box. The use of envelopes would insure also single voting and guard against stuffing such as was revealed in one instance, in which wads of ballots printed on thin paper and folded together were found in the ballot box.‡ The effect of placing an identifying mark upon a ballot of the Australian type was to invalidate the ballot. The secrecy of this ballot might be avoided corruptly by claim of illiteracy and request for assistance of a supervisor.\*\* The charge was made frequently in the period that, though votes were seldom bought, instead the elector sometimes was paid a price for refraining from voting. The author on one election night after the closing of the polls witnessed the distribution of money to electors who had not voted. The Rhode Island secret ballot in its original form imposed a difficult task upon the elector; the number of ballots rejected as defective was large in proportion to the total number cast, and in one instance affected the result of the election of a candidate for the General Assembly, and ultimately the composition of the grand committee that might elect a Governor.§

For Governor, John W. Davis polled 4500 votes more than Herbert W. Ladd, his nearest competitor, in 1889, but failed to attain a majority because 4800 ballots were cast for candidates nominated under the party designations "Law Enforcement" and "Prohibition." The "Law Enforcement" group had combined as a protest against failure to enforce constitutional prohibition; it ceased to be a party with the annulment of the prohibitory amendment accomplished in the same election. Ziba O. Slocum, Democrat, was elected Attorney General by the people. Other Democratic candidates, like ex-Governor Davis, received pluralities but failed of majorities. The Democrats controlled the House of Representatives and elected Augustus S. Miller as Speaker. But the Republicans controlled the Senate, and the grand committee.

ELECTIONS IN GRAND COMMITTEE—The grand committee chose Herbert W. Ladd as Governor, and with him the Republican candidates for other general officers, except Attorney General. The Prohibition candidates for general officers in 1890 polled votes enough to prevent the Democratic candidates, who had pluralities, from attaining the majorities necessary for election. The Democrats controlled the grand committee and elected their state ticket. Again in 1891 the Prohibition party prevented a popular election; this year the Republicans controlled the grand committee and elected ex-Governor Ladd as Governor and their candi-

\*Held constitutional, in re the Ballot Law, 16 R. I. 766.

†The mark must be a cross, placed to the right of the name but not necessarily within the square. In re Vote Marks, 17 R. I. 812. And see In re the Ballot marks, 18 R. I. 822.

‡State vs. Kearns, 17 R. I. 391; State vs. Smith 17 R. I. 415. And see State vs. Collins, 16 R. I. 412; Murphy vs. Moses, 18 R. I. 100.

\*\*See report of committee in Pawtucket election, Assembly Reports, 1894.

§In re the Ballot Marks. 18 R. I. 822.

dates for general officers. The election in the presidential year, 1892, was closely contested; in 1892, the state and national elections were six months apart, and state and national issues were more accurately distinguished than under circumstances in which both occur at the same time, and a single ballot is used for both. In the largest vote polled up to that year, 54,679, D. Russell Brown, Republican, had a majority of 243. In the national election in November, 53,196 ballots were cast, and Benjamin Harrison had a majority of only 754. The figures given for Governor Brown's election are those reported by a majority of the committee of the grand committee appointed to count the ballots cast in the state election. The reports of majority and minority reveal that the ballots actually were not counted. The majority of the committee refused to accede to the request of the minority that an actual count should be made; instead the committee followed the practice established by usage, of tabulating the returns made by election officers. The grand committee rejected a motion to substitute the minority for the majority report, sixty-four to thirty-seven, thus confirming the majority of the committee in refusal to count, and elected the Republican candidates for Attorney General and General Treasurer, neither of whom had a majority of the popular vote. Then came the complete failure of the election laws in 1893.

THE FAILURE OF ELECTION MACHINERY IN 1893—The newspapers of the day following the state elections of 1893 reported "no election." On the face of the returns received from polling places it appeared that David S. Baker, the Democratic candidate for Governor, had a plurality of 183 votes over Governor Brown, who was a candidate for reëlection. The Democratic candidates for Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General also had pluralities; the Republican candidates for Secretary of State and General Treasurer appeared to have majorities. The first returns indicated also that the Republicans would control the Senate, nineteen to thirteen, with four seats to be filled by second elections. For the House of Representatives, twenty-one Republicans and twenty-five Democrats had been elected, but twenty-six seats remained to be filled because of failure to elect. Later returns gave the Republicans one additional Senator and three Representatives; and the Democrats three Representatives. The grand committee, to which the election of general officers would fall, was Republican forty-four, Democrat forty-one, with twenty-three places doubtful.

In the anxious days that followed, while by-elections were being conducted, the situation tended to become more tense, as it appeared that the stage was being set for a grand committee probably equally divided betwixt Democrats and Republicans, with the exception of the Lieutenant Governor, Republican, who was a member. Eventually the returns from by-elections made the grand committee Republican sixty, counting the Lieutenant Governor; Democrat fifty-nine. In the General Assembly elected in 1892, which was still dragging out the unfinished January session of 1893, Ellery H. Wilson proposed the Rhode Island counterpart of the federal Electoral Commission law of 1876; the Wilson law as passed provided that the initial roll of members of each house of the General Assembly should be made up by the Secretary of State from certificates of election filed with him, and that the houses after meeting and qualifying by taking the oath of membership should meet immediately in grand committee and count the vote for general officers. This procedure, if followed, probably would have given control of the grand committee to the Republicans; it was not followed. Instead the House of Representatives, controlled by Democrats, after electing Franklin P. Owen as Speaker, asserted its own right under the Constitution, article IV, section 6, as "the judge of the elections and qualifications of its members," and unseated two Republicans. The House then sent an invitation to the Senate to join it in grand committee to count the votes cast for general officers and to elect general officers in case of a failure to elect by the electors. The Senate declined the invitation, because, "since the organization of the House that body, to the knowledge of the members of the Senate, had unseated certain of its members, and seated a person not elected, in violation of law and in defiance of the Constitu-

tion of the state, thereby changing the character of the grand committee, and that therefore the House as at present constituted is not the body with which the Constitution contemplates that the Senate should meet for the purpose named in the resolution." The Senate voted to adjourn to meet at the State House in Providence on the last Tuesday in January, and transmitted this vote to the House. On the following day the Senate passed another resolution of adjournment, "owing to irreconcilable differences between it and the House of Representatives as to the time and place of adjournment," and certified the disagreement to the Governor.

ASSEMBLY PROROGUED—The House ignored both resolutions of adjournment, and the Governor prorogued the General Assembly under the provisions of article VII, section 6, of the Constitution, which reads: "In case of disagreement between the two houses of the General Assembly respecting the time or place of adjournment, certified to him by either, he may adjourn them. . . ." The votes cast in the popular election of 1893 were not counted; the State Manual carries this commentary: "Owing to a disagreement between the two houses of the General Assembly the ballots for state officers were not counted, and the state officers elected in 1892 held over."

The reasoning by which the House reached its extraordinary decision to deprive two members of their seats merits attention. Of these, William Hoxsie had been elected as Senator from Westerly, but had not filed his certification of election. The Westerly situation was complicated. For Hoxsie's seat in the House no successor had been elected, and as no second election was ordered Hoxsie planned to hold over in the House, and by not qualifying for the Senate permit the Senator elected from Westerly in 1892 to hold over. This would assure a full delegation from Westerly. The House of Representatives refused to permit him to sit in the House, for the reason that he had been elected as Senator. If nothing more than unseating Hoxsie had occurred the grand committee would be tied, fifty-nine to fifty-nine, with the casting vote in the possession of Governor Brown. He might not have chosen to vote for himself, in view of the fact that on the face of the returns he had polled a smaller vote than his Democratic opponent. He did take effective measures, nevertheless, to assure his possession of the office of Governor for another year, by appeal to the Supreme Court and by proroguing the General Assembly.

The second Republican unseated by the House was John B. Landers, who had been returned as elected in Jamestown. It appeared that the election officer had rejected six ballots claimed for his Democratic opponent, Orlando Smith, and that the six ballots, if counted for Smith, would assure the latter a majority. On the official ballot used in the election the name of Landers preceded that of Smith in alphabetical order. On the six disputed ballots the electors had made crosses to the right of Smith's name, but below the printed line, so that the crosses actually fell into the space opposite the blank line on the ballot left for writing in the name of a candidate not nominated.

Governor Brown asked the Supreme Court for an opinion, and the Court ruled\* that the ballots could not be counted for Smith. Democratic comment upon the decision was very bitter at the time, because no argument had been heard by the court, and because in an English case, under similar circumstances, the court had ruled that the elector's intention had been indicated, and that such ballots could be counted.

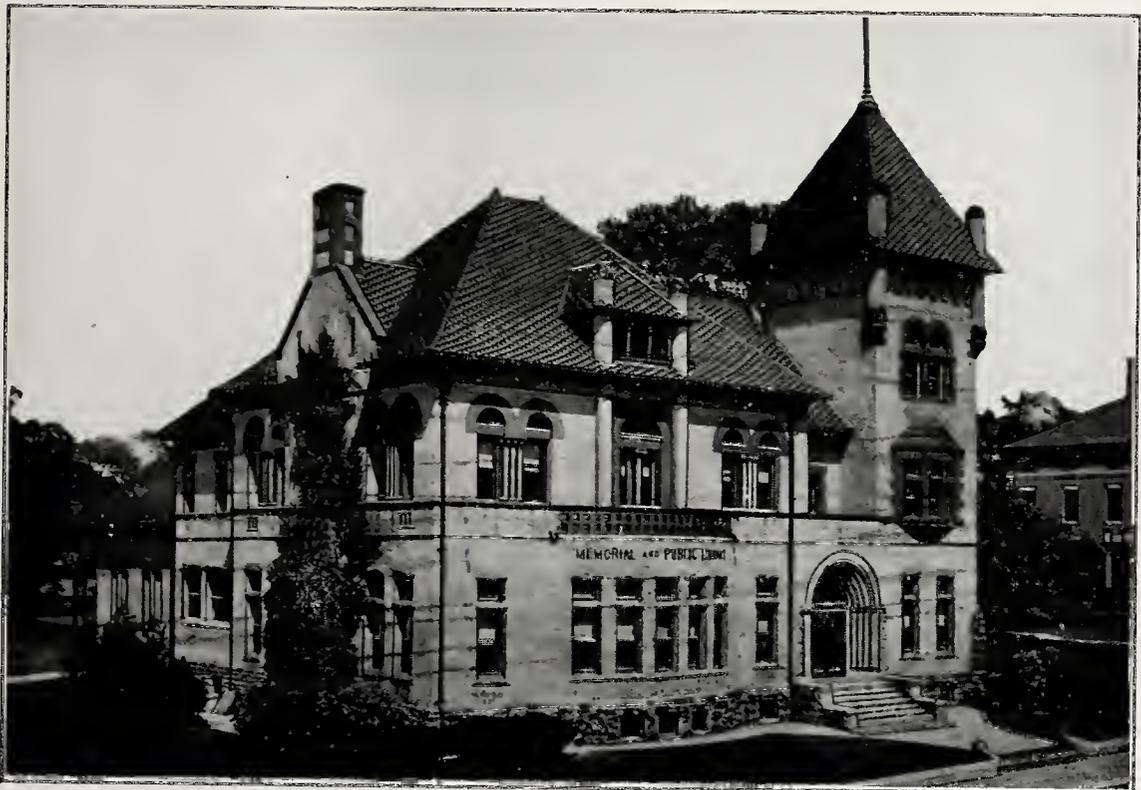
The Senator elected from North Smithfield died before the meeting of the General Assembly, and the Supreme Court, on request from the Governor for an opinion, ruled that as the death occurred when the General Assembly was not in session, the town clerk had a right to call an election to fill the vacancy.† In South Kingstown, after failure to elect Senator and Representative, the town council ordered a new election, which also failed. The town council did not order a third election, although the special statute applying to the town appar-

\*In re the Ballot Marks, 18 R. I. 822. And see 17 R. I. 812.

†In re the North Smithfield Election, 18 R. I. 817.



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ently required the ordering of repeated elections at intervals of not exceeding ten days. On an application for a writ of mandamus to compel the town council to order a third election, the Supreme Court ordered the writ issued, and the town council complied with the order.‡ In another case at the time, brought under the majority election law, the court held that ballots cast for a candidate who was legally disqualified for office could not be rejected as void, thus reducing the number of ballots cast.\*\* Had it been permitted to disregard the votes, Isaac Gill had been elected as councilman.

The House of Representatives asked the Supreme Court for its opinion of the legality of adjournment of the General Assembly by the Governor. The court answered first,†† that, assuming that the Governor had prorogued the General Assembly before the resolution asking for an opinion had been passed, it was under no obligation to take notice of the resolution because it had not been "passed by the House of Representatives." The court, waiving the question as to the legality of the resolution, because of "the gravity of the situation . . . and the importance of the principles involved" assumed the right and duty to answer: (1) That circumstances, such as "a palpable violation of the Constitution by the expulsion of members contrary to its provisions, whereby the character of the grand committee is changed," might warrant the Senate in its vote to adjourn for more than two days before proceeding to the imperative duty of counting the vote; (2) that the determination of the fact of a disagreement as to the time and place of adjournment rested with the Governor exclusively and was not subject to review by the court; (3) that the Governor had the power to prorogue the Assembly without restriction as to the condition of business pending before the Assembly, he and not the court having the decision. At the January session, 1894, the House returned to the Senate "unread" the annual message of the hold-over Governor, on the ground that the House was under no obligation to receive a message which the Governor was neither required nor authorized to send to the General Assembly.

At the same session of the Assembly, a committee of the House that investigated the election in Pawtucket in 1893 reported that enough electors to change the result of the election had appeared at a polling place with a printed list of candidates for the Assembly and had requested assistance of a supervisor in marking ballots, and that the warden without question as to ability to read had assigned the elector in each instance to one certain supervisor. The committee reported a resolution censuring a Representative from Pawtucket whose son had distributed the printed slips.

PLURALITY ELECTION BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT—Meanwhile, on November 28, 1893, the people approved, 26,703-3331, an amendment to the Constitution providing for plurality elections, as follows: "In all elections held by the people for state, city, town, ward or district officers, the person or candidate receiving the largest number of votes cast shall be declared elected." In the spring of 1894 the people reelected D. Russell Brown as Governor by 6507 plurality and 1725 majority over David S. Baker, his opponent in the election of 1893. For the time being the challenge of the Democratic party was ineffective in face of Republican pluralities averaging 10,000. The Democratic vote receded from the 25,433 cast for William T. C. Wardwell in 1892, the unofficial vote of 22,000 for David S. Baker in 1893, and the vote of 22,650 for Baker in 1894 to an average of barely 15,000. The change in leadership in national politics in 1896 affected seriously the coherence of the Democratic party in Rhode Island. Some men who left the party in the campaign on the issue of free silver coinage in 1896 never returned. To ease the consciences of some who could not support the free silver policy of the party, and who would not vote for a Republican for President, the gold wing of the Democratic party organized as the National Democratic party and nominated

†State vs. Town Council of South Kingstown, 18 R. I. 258.

\*\*Gill vs. Mayor of Pawtucket, 18 R. I. 281.

††In re the Legislative Adjournment, 18 R. I. 824.

candidates for President and Vice-President. The General Assembly directed the Secretary of State to place the names of the National Democratic candidates for presidential electors on the official ballot.

**ELECTION REFORMS**—The refusal of the majority in grand committee in 1892 to order an actual counting of the ballots cast in the election of general officers, instead of following the practice of merely tabulating and adding returns made by wardens, and the palpably careless way in which bundles of ballots were wrapped up by election officers for delivery to the Secretary of State, precipitated public discussion of the desirability of revising election laws and procedure. The committee which in 1893 counted the ballots cast in a by-election of Congressmen directed attention in its report to the facts that bundles of ballots had not been properly sealed in the first instance, and that several packages had been broken open. Papers that should not have been included with the ballots had been wrapped in the packages, and the ballots indicated improper handling by election officers, which would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to determine eventually, had it been necessary, whether the ballot laws had been complied with or not. The Assembly, in 1893, enacted legislation (1) requiring careful and complete sealing of bundles of ballots; (2) establishing a penalty for refusal by an election officer to receive the ballot of a legally qualified elector offering to vote, and (3) establishing a penalty for illegal voting. Governor Brown, in 1893, recommended the appointment of a non-partisan returning board to count the ballots and thus to exercise for the grand committee a function which the latter did not care to exercise.

The first movement in the direction of a comprehensive reorganization of the election system was the creation of a board of canvassers and registration for Providence in 1895, which was made in the following years a counting and returning board for certain municipal officers. For the state a bi-partisan returning board was created in 1901, with authority first to count the ballots cast in presidential and congressional elections, in state elections of general officers, and on questions submitted to the referendum. For the time being the counting of ballots cast for Assemblymen was left to town officers, the ballots to be delivered to the returning board and kept sealed in original packages unless a recount was requested. Eventually the returning board counted all ballots cast in state elections, and its certificates of election were used by the Secretary of State in making up the preliminary roll of members of Senate and House.

The counting by the returning board was and is public, with provision for the presence of candidates or their representatives, and, on the counting of ballots carrying votes on amendments to the Constitution, representatives of both major parties. The statute of 1901, regulated also the manner of conducting elections, required the use of check lists of voters and the checking of names as votes were cast, and the use of locked ballot boxes. In its general provisions and in most details the legislation was excellent; in practice its effectiveness in making an election an accurate expression of the will and the majority depended altogether upon the honesty of election officers. The Australian secret ballot first used in Rhode Island, by listing candidates alphabetically in groups determined by the office sought, made it necessary for the elector, pencil in hand, to proceed from group to group and make a selection in each. Modern educators have found out in their attempts to measure "intelligence" how serious a task checking, cancelling or filling blanks imposes upon most persons. The number of defective ballots cast in several elections, even after the law had been in operation long enough to assume familiarity, reached nearly ten per cent. of the total cast. Scant comfort could be found in the fact that in most instances the rejection of defective ballots was shared in its effect by both major parties and rarely affected the result of an election; occasionally it did. Thus, in the election of 1893, the rejection of six ballots as defective returned a Republican instead of a Democrat to the House of Representatives from Jamestown; the House majority, Democratic, undertook to repair the "error" by unseating the Republican and sub-

stituting for him his Democratic opponent, thus precipitating the situation that enabled Governor Brown to hold over. Governor Brown, in 1893, recommended a simpler form of ballot; other Governors made similar recommendations.

The use of voting machines, alleged to simplify the process of voting, and to return an accurate count of the vote immediately after the close of the polls, was suggested. In an advisory opinion the Supreme Court ruled\* that the General Assembly may enact a valid law authorizing a municipality to use the McTammany voting machine in elections therein, assuming that provision will be made to accommodate voters who wish to vote for persons other than those named on the official ballot. Justice Rogers dissented, holding that "a voter on this machine has no knowledge through his senses that he had accomplished a result." The use of voting machines was authorized by general law in 1900, and ten towns experimented with the new type of voting. Cumberland found the machines not entirely satisfactory and wished to return to paper ballots. The Supreme Court, in an advisory opinion, ruled that the introduction of voting machines, inhibited a return to paper balloting.† The General Assembly thereupon, in 1901, authorized towns to discontinue use of voting machines. Eventually all towns returned to paper ballots, although the law permitting use of voting machines continued in the statute book until it was omitted from the revision of the General Laws, 1923.

A commission appointed for the purpose of devising a simpler form of ballot reported a modified type of Australian ballot with all the candidates for each party arranged in a single column in such manner that an elector choosing to cast a straight party ballot for all candidates might do so by placing one cross in a circle at the top of the column. The simplified ballot was adopted in 1905. An elector wishing to select candidates for other than party reasons might ignore the circle and indicate choices by crosses placed to the right of the names of his candidates. An elector choosing to vote for several but not all of the candidates of a party might use the circle, cancel names not voted for and indicate choices by crosses. In the ballot law as practically perfected in 1905, it was declared that generally ballots should not be declared defective for failure to accomplish the indication of a choice of any particular candidate; and that only ballots so marked as to render identification possible should be rejected altogether. Secret ballot laws after 1889 had required the use of printed ballots furnished by the Secretary of State for state elections, and by towns for town elections in the instance of towns that accepted the provisions of the secret ballot law; if and when ballots were not provided, electors might "use any ballots and provide themselves therewith."‡ The printing of ballots necessarily implied filing lists of candidates with the Secretary of State or other officer charged with the duty of providing ballots; it became necessary, therefore, to determine the legality of nominations as between candidates claiming party designations.

**PRIMARY REFORM**—It was inevitable that the state should surround the caucus or primary election with the protection of law. A beginning had been made in Providence under the leadership of William Carroll, who as chairman of the Democratic city committee, drafted rules for conducting Democratic caucuses, including the use of check lists, locked ballot boxes, designation of caucus officers, and the counting of ballots after the caucus had been kept open for specified hours to assure an opportunity for participation of so many of the party members as wished to vote. The substitution of an entirely orderly procedure in Democratic caucuses for the haphazard, catch-as-catch-can methods that sometimes had carried internal quarrels to disaster at the polls was recognized as a significant achievement, and had a wholesome effect in stabilizing the party, which had much to do with its sustained strength after 1888. The General Assembly enacted a caucus law for Providence and Pawtucket in 1899, and later extended its provisions first to Newport, and then to other parts of Rhode Island.

\*In re Voting Machines, 19 R. I. 789.

†Re McTammany Voting Machines, 23 R. I. 630.

‡In re Hammond, 24 R. I. 269.

In principle the caucus act recognizes party regularity and the organized party committees in cities, towns, wards and districts. To assure protection against invasion of caucuses, lists of party members may be filed. Participants in a party caucus are barred from voting in the caucus of any other party preceding the next election. § Check lists, ballot boxes, and other necessary equipment are provided by public authority; and recount of ballots may be made by public officers upon reasonable request. Thus the primary election from which is derived the list of candidates for official election ballots is safeguarded; there are some who protest that the protection extends to regulation by public authority of a function which in its exemplification by the citizen should be so absolutely without restriction or suggestion as to assure unhampered action, particularly when it is the purpose of the citizen to accomplish at the polls the revolution by removal of officers which the ballot box is intended to make possible. There has been complaint also that the short period of time, two or three evening hours, within which caucuses are conducted, and the slow rate of voting when emphasis is placed upon the identification of voters, lend themselves to preëmption of caucus rights by early comers, to the exclusion of those who appear later. The consequence in some instances has been the formation of a long queue in front of the polling place hours before the opening of the caucus; and, on occasion, resort to dilatory tactics by the faction that appeared to have the advantage in early voting. Remedy is promised in caucus legislation enacted at the session of 1930, and in the reduction of the size of voting districts in the process of a new apportionment.

LATER CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—An amendment to the Constitution providing for (1) the substitution of the Lieutenant Governor for the Governor as presiding officer in the Senate with power to vote only in instance of a tie; (2) election of members of the House of Representatives in districts instead of on general tickets by towns, and (3) biennial elections, was proposed at the January session, 1895, approved at the May session, 1895, and rejected by the electors, September 25, 1895, by a vote of 10,603 reject to 7449 for approval. The Constitution forbade the General Assembly to incur state debts to an amount exceeding \$50,000 except in time of war or in case of insurrection or invasion, without the express consent of the people. Resort to selling tax assignment orders was taken in 1896.\* The Supreme Court ruled that no officer of the state can incur a debt without authority of the General Assembly; that the Assembly could not incur indebtedness to an amount exceeding \$50,000 at any time beyond the state's income, and that the word "people" in the expression "without the express consent of the people" means "all the electors, registry voters as well as taxpayers." † In a referendum on November 3, 1896, the people approved the borrowing of \$250,000 from time to time on the credit of the state, 22,631 to 15,733. This measure had been proposed in view of the large expenditures at the time for buildings for various state institutions, at the suggestion of members of the General Assembly who were opposed to incurring long term indebtedness and commitments for interest by bond issues.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION—The Governor was authorized in 1897 to appoint a commission of fifteen to draft a revision of the Constitution and report it to the General Assembly for submission to the referendum. His excellency appointed Thomas Durfee, ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; John H. Stiness, Chief Justice; Samuel W. K. Allen, Edward L. Freeman, William W. Blodgett, David S. Baker, Samuel P. Colt, Nathan F. Dixon, E. Charles Francis, Robert H. I. Goddard, Charles E. Gorman, Edwin D. McGuinness, Augustus S. Miller, William P. Sheffield, Jr., and William B. Weeden. Nathan F. Dixon died before the commission had completed its labor, and Ellery H. Wilson was

§That is the election following that for which the caucus was held.

\*Sustained. In re Tax Assignment Orders, 19 R. I. 729.

†In re the Incurring of State Debts, 19 R. I. 610.

appointed instead. The commission was notable, including as it did an unusual group of men who had been and were prominent in the political and economic life of Rhode Island. The majority were Republicans, but the Democratic party was represented in the commission by several of its most active and most capable leaders. The lawyers in the group, besides the two Chief Justices, were selected from the ablest in Rhode Island. The commission reported a complete draft of a revised Constitution for Rhode Island, which incorporated in it most of the changes that had been advocated by those who believed that the Constitution of 1842 had ceased to serve as a satisfactory fundamental law.

The proposed new constitution opened with a bill of rights in twenty-two sections, substantially similar to the bill of rights in the Constitution of 1842, with the exception that section four of the old bill of rights, "slavery shall not be permitted in this state," had been omitted because of the anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Section three, dealing with religious liberty, had been modified by slight change of language, and the addition of a proviso that "nothing in this section shall be so construed as to excuse any violation of the law on civil things." The clause, "nor shall he be deprived of life, liberty or property unless by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land" had been removed from section ten, rewritten as "or be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," and transferred to section twelve. The section dealing with eminent domain had been extended and amplified, as had that declaring freedom of speech, the latter to read: "Every person may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty; and in all trials for libel or slander, both civil and criminal, the truth, unless published or uttered from malicious motives, shall be sufficient defence to the persons charged." The more significant changes in the body of the proposed Constitution referred to (1) suffrage; (2) meetings of the General Assembly; (3) pay of Assemblymen; (4) the borrowing power of the General Assembly; (5) apportionment of representation; (6) reorganization of the Senate; (7) a limited veto power for the Governor; (8) elections; (9) the courts, and (10) the process of amendment. The changes in general detail were as follows: (1) the period of residence required for suffrage was reduced to one year for registry as for property voters, and a literacy qualification was proposed for new voters. The qualification proposed was adult male United States citizenship, acquired in the instance of naturalized citizens more than ninety days before election; residence in Rhode Island one year and in the town six months; registration. For all persons attaining majority or naturalized after the date of the adoption of the proposed Constitution a literacy qualification was prescribed thus: "he shall be able to read this Constitution in the English language and write his name." Idiots, maniacs, paupers and persons under guardianship, persons convicted of offences "against the fairness and freedom of election," or of offences punished by imprisonment, were to be excluded. The property qualification for participation in the election of city councilmen and in financial town meetings was retained. (2) The May session of the General Assembly at Newport was abolished by provision for one annual session in Providence opening on the first Tuesday in January. (3) The pay of Assemblymen was raised from one dollar per day of actual attendance to \$300 per year, with \$300 additional for the Speaker of the House of Representatives. (4) The power of the General Assembly to borrow money, restricted in 1842 except "in time of war or in case of insurrection or invasion," to \$50,000, was increased to \$500,000. (5) Membership in the House of Representatives was increased from seventy-two to 100, the apportionment to be made on the basis of population as disclosed by state or federal census, with not less than one Representative for each town, and not more than one-fourth of the total to any town, representatives to be elected by districts and not on the general ticket, the practice under the Constitution of 1842. The District of Narragansett was to become a town by separation from South Kingstown. (6) The Lieutenant Governor was no longer to be a member of the Senate; instead he was to replace the Governor as pre-

siding officer. The Senate was to consist of one Senator from each town. The Lieutenant Governor was to have no vote except in the instance of a tie. The creation of the town of Narragansett would continue the Senate as a body of thirty-seven members, the number before the removal of the Lieutenant Governor. The Senate was to elect a presiding officer *pro tem*, and its own secretary and clerks. Under the Constitution of 1842, the Secretary of State was *ex-officio* Secretary of the Senate. (7) The Governor had no veto power under Charter or Constitution of 1842. Under the proposed Constitution, he might exercise a dilatory veto; that is, if he disapproved a bill and returned it to the General Assembly, it might be passed by the Assembly, after reconsideration, by a majority of the members elected to each house. In the instance of adjournment of the General Assembly within the period for disapproval, the presumption of approval ran with the bill; that is, it did not fail to become a law by failure to approve; it became a law unless it was disapproved. (8) The proposed Constitution provided for biennial elections, on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of even years, and for the inauguration of general officers with the opening of the annual session of the General Assembly, on the first Tuesday in January following. (9) The Supreme Court was described as consisting of a chief justice and not less than two nor more than six associate justices, with power vested in the General Assembly to provide for the organization of appellate and trial divisions. Under the Constitution of 1842 a Supreme Court justice might be removed by concurrent resolution adopted in each house of the General Assembly by a majority of the members elected. The proposed Constitution provided for removal by impeachment or by concurrent resolution adopted by a majority of three-fifths in each house. (10) The Constitution of 1842 had provided for amendment by concurrent action of two successive General Assemblies, and ratification by sixty per cent. of the electors participating in a referendum.

The proposed Constitution permitted any General Assembly to propose an amendment upon a record vote of two-thirds of the members elected to each house, and the electors to ratify the amendment by a majority of the electors participating in the referendum. Furthermore the proposed Constitution made provision for revision of the Constitution in constitutional convention. Thus, in 1910, and every ten years thereafter, the question, "shall there be a convention to revise the Constitution?" must be submitted to the electors. Upon an affirmative answer the General Assembly was required to make suitable provision for the election of delegates equal in number to the total membership of the General Assembly, each town to elect one delegate at large corresponding to its senator, and one delegate at large corresponding to its representative, except that towns divided into representative districts should elect one delegate for and from each representative district. Any revision or amendment proposed by the constitutional convention must be submitted to the electors, and became effective if approved by sixty per cent. of those participating in the referendum. The proposed Constitution included also provisions for continuance of the government under the Constitution of 1842 until a new government under the new Constitution, if adopted, could be inaugurated; and provisions for registration of voters, election of officers and Assemblymen, continuance of laws consistent with the new Constitution and repeal of inconsistent statutes.

ENTIRE CONSTITUTION REJECTED—The new Constitution was submitted to the people on November 8, 1898, and rejected 17,660 to 13,510 for approval. It was submitted a second time on June 20, 1899, in a special election ordered for the purpose, and rejected more decisively 12,742 to 4097 for approval. The proposed Constitution had met the fate apparently reserved for most propositions to adopt whole Constitutions or extensive revision. Electors opposed seriously to any of the large number of new propositions had voted no; others had voted no because the new Constitution included part only but not all of what they wished, and they feared that acceptance of part might delay the attainment of all. There were vigorous

supporters of the proposed Constitution in the ranks of both Republican and Democratic parties, who interpreted the work of the commission as a sincere undertaking to accomplish a reasonably progressive revision; there were also in both parties equally vigorous objectors, Republicans because too much had been conceded, and Democrats because not enough had been obtained, by their representatives on the commission. Like the Albany plan for the union of the colonies, which had been too American to suit England, and too English to suit America; the proposed Constitution was too radical to suit conservatives, and too conservative to suit radicals. Many who believed that the Constitution should be revised by a popular convention voted against the proposed Constitution because it was the work of a small number of men, albeit a most able group. These voted against a method of amendment that would have made a decennial referendum on a constitutional convention mandatory. The total vote in the special election, 16,839, was small as contrasted with the vote of 1898, 31,170. In the second election, 9500 who had favored the new Constitution had changed their opinions or had refrained from voting. The utter hopelessness of the situation was grasped immediately, and return was made to the process of piecemeal amendment by submitting as a rule one proposition for amendment at a time, and each proposition as a separate question, the plan declared to be characteristic of Rhode Island by Governor Davis in one of his messages to the General Assembly ten years earlier.

Governor Dyer, commenting in his message to the General Assembly in 1900 on the failure to approve the "revised Constitution," recommended piecemeal amendment. Governor Gregory, 1901, said: "After the rejection of the so-called 'revised Constitution,' it was urged by supporters of the notion of a constitutional convention on the part of the people of Rhode Island that authority should be found for calling a constitutional convention with a corresponding determination to frustrate all future attempts to amend the instrument in the only way provided by the Constitution itself. This interpretation of the vote failed to take into account the fact that the rejection of the revision was accompanied by the return of a General Assembly which was opposed to a constitutional convention by an overwhelming majority. . . . It appears to me fair to assume that no sentiment in behalf of a constitutional convention is possessed by more than a small minority of our people, but that the great majority are prepared to continue to indorse propositions in amendment from time to time made in accordance with the method provided in the Constitution itself."

On the contrary, Governor Garvin, in 1903, declared: "The usual American way of effecting a change in the organic law of a state is through a constitutional convention. The objection raised in the past that an opinion of our Supreme Court stands in the way of legislative action was never anything but an excuse, and is less of an excuse today than ever before. . . . In our state, after an almost unanimous opinion had been given by our Supreme Court that the law of April 2, 1902, which limited the hours of labor for motormen and conductors at ten hours per day within twelve consecutive hours, was constitutional, that opinion had no binding force whatsoever upon the street railway companies. . . . Now if an advisory opinion expressed by the court had no weight with corporations which are creatures of the General Assembly, no reasonable claim can be made that such an opinion can have any binding force upon a coördinate department of the state government, the General Assembly. I, therefore, earnestly recommend to you the passage of an act providing for the election of delegates, fairly representative of the people, who shall assemble in convention at an early day and frame a new constitution of government, to be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection."

THE RAILWAY STRIKE OF 1902—The extraordinary situation to which Governor Garvin referred had been precipitated by a statute enacted at the January session, 1902, by which the General Assembly established ten hours within twelve consecutive hours as the legal working day for conductors, gripmen and motormen employed on street railways. The statute

was to become effective June 1, 1902. Before that date a notice was posted in the stations of the company operating the street railways to the effect (1) that the law applied only to conductors, gripmen and motormen, and not to other employes; (2) that the company would arrange schedules for conductors, gripmen and motormen who wished to work only ten hours with a reduction in wages proportionate to the shortening of the working day; (3) that conductors, gripmen and motormen who chose to work longer than ten hours would be continued in regular employment, at the company's risk, inasmuch as the statute imposed no penalty upon employes; (4) that the company believed the statute to be unconstitutional and void.

The company position was made clear through a statement published by Walter Angell, of counsel, on June 1: "We claim that under the Constitution of the United States, and under the Constitution of Rhode Island, a man has a right to contract to labor for eleven hours a day; that a street railway had a right to hire a man to work eleven hours; and that any law which denies to either party such right is unconstitutional and void. We shall commence proceedings as soon as we possibly can in the form which will bring the question at the earliest possible date into the Supreme Court of the United States for a decision. What the form of proceedings will be is now under consideration." The Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employes, Division 200, of which most street railway employes were members, met and threatened to strike unless the company complied with the law. The company did not recede from its position; instead it threatened final discharge of employes who participated in the strike. Many veteran employes who realized the difficulty that would confront them in finding places to work remained with the company, and operated the cars after the strike order had become effective.

The sympathy of the mass of the public was with the strikers, because the company had assumed the attitude of defying the law. A general boycott was started, and the cars carried very few passengers. In Providence the police were aggressive to prevent disorder, and enforced ruthlessly orders issued by the police commission that crowds should not be permitted to gather on the streets of the city, and that demonstrations of any sort should be suppressed. It was whispered at the time that a strong body of naval militia had been assembled in a building convenient to the centre of the city, and that it was held in reserve, fully armed and equipped for riot duty should occasion arise. More than a little dissatisfaction was created by rigorous enforcement of peremptory orders to move on issued to citizens who stopped in an orderly manner for conversation on sidewalks. Mounted policemen patrolled the principal thoroughfares. Police guards were assigned to crews operating street cars.

In Pawtucket, Mayor Fitzgerald refused to place policemen on the street cars unless and until it could be shown that there was a genuine need. His position, frankly stated, was that the company was asking the police to protect it while it was engaged in flagrant and willful defiance of the law, and that his obligation as head of the police department, to maintain order, did not call for the assignment of special guards unless it was certain that violence was threatened. The company obtained the services of deputy sheriffs. Stones were thrown, ropes on trolley poles were cut, obstructions were placed on the tracks in some sections. The company was not popular in Pawtucket, even before the strike, because of complaints of poor service. The company appealed to the Governor, and Governor Kimball sent 700 militia to Pawtucket, and proclaimed military law. Not since the Dorr rebellion, sixty years before, had the militia been called out for active duty. Service was restored on all electric lines gradually under military protection; the soldiers remained in Pawtucket until quiet had been completely restored. The experience cost the State of Rhode Island \$25,213.06 for militia, all of which was expended in maintaining order on behalf of a corporation that was defying the statute law.

Governor Kimball asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion on the constitutionality of the ten-hour law. Five of the Justices, Douglas excused because interested in one of

the companies to which the act applied and Blodgett dissenting, ruled that the ten-hour law was constitutional.\* The court had held in 1891 that a weekly payment law is valid under the statutory reservation of a right to amend a corporation charter.† The ten-hour law was sustained as an amendment to a corporation charter, as a valid exercise of the police power in the instance of a "public corporation, the use of a public franchise, and a provision for public safety," as a general law applicable to all street railways under the same circumstances, and as not in violation of any contract, inasmuch as it did not undertake to amend or abolish contracts for service made before the statute became operative. The strike was practically over, when the opinion was announced, and the company continued to operate in defiance of the opinion of the judges as well as the statute.

In the fall election Lucius F. C. Garvin, who had been defeated as the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1901 by 6531 plurality, defeated Governor Kimball as a candidate for reëlection by 7738 plurality. The Republican vote was reduced 1000; the Democratic vote was increased by 13,000. Governor Kimball called a special session of the General Assembly after election, the old General Assembly that had enacted the ten-hour law, not the new General Assembly elected with Governor-elect Garvin. The General Assembly repealed the ten-hour law to all practical intents and purposes by making it applicable to contracts for employment in which no hours were stipulated. Out of the conflict of opinions, colored by the passions aroused in the crisis of a strike that had paralyzed urban transportation for several weeks, one merits quotation as a sound and judicious summary of the situation.

Edward L. Freeman, on retiring from membership in the General Assembly, had been congratulated by his colleagues on the completion of more than thirty years of service as representative of his town. As Railroad Commissioner he reported, in 1903: "There is no doubt that the great majority of the people of the state believed that it was the duty of the railroad corporation to obey the ten-hour law, so-called, until it was declared unconstitutional or repealed. They could see no reason why a corporation should pursue a different course or be under different obligations in regard to an act of the General Assembly from those of any private citizen under similar circumstances. They believed that the act of the General Assembly could be taken to the Supreme Court, and until that tribunal had decided adversely it was the law of the state, and that all persons and corporations were bound to obey it." Governor Garvin, in his message to the General Assembly, 1903, recommended reënactment of the ten-hour law in its original form, but such action was not taken.

PIECEMEAL AMENDMENTS—Returning to piecemeal amendment, article XI of amendment was submitted to the electors November 6, 1900, and approved 24,351-11,959. It abolished the annual May session of the General Assembly at Newport after 237 years under Charter and Constitution with rarely an exception save during the Andros usurpation and during British occupation in the Revolutionary War. The January session was continued as the only stated session, commencing annually on the first Tuesday at Providence. Thus Newport ceased to be a capital, or "the metropolitan" as it had been called in colonial days; and Providence became the single capital of Rhode Island. The amendment also increased the pay of Assemblymen from one dollar per day to five dollars per day for not exceeding sixty days annually and mileage. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is allowed ten dollars per day. The annual election was removed from April to the Tuesday after the first Monday in November; the first election was ordered for 1901, and general officers and Assemblymen elected in 1900, whose terms under the Constitution before amendment would expire in May, were continued until their successors were elected. The amendment provided for succession and filling vacancies in general offices and for the organization of the grand committee. The closing of registration for suffrage was moved back from December 31 for

\*Opinion to the Governor, 24 R. I. 603.

†State vs. Brown and Sharpe Mfg. Co., 18 R. I. 16.

the April election, to June 30 for the election to be conducted in November. Governor Gregory, who had been reelected in November, 1901, died December 16, 1901; Charles Dean Kimball, elected as Lieutenant Governor, was inaugurated as Governor, 1902, in accord with the provisions for succession in Amendment XI.

Two proposed amendments were submitted to the electors in 1902 and both were rejected. The first proposed the division of Providence into representative districts for the election of members of the House of Representatives; the result would have been a division of Representatives betwixt Republican and Democratic parties, and actually a reduction of the voting strength of the Providence delegation from a solid block of twelve votes, or one-sixth, to a divided vote. The electors voted to reject 20,504 to 17,266 approve. This decisive vote probably affected adversely the result of the second proposition; to substitute the Lieutenant Governor for the Governor as presiding officer in the Senate, reject 20,769 to 18,949 approve.

Governor Brown in 1893 recommended a reorganization of the judiciary, and in August of that year the General Assembly enacted the "judiciary act," establishing appellate and common pleas divisions of the Supreme Court. The membership of the court was increased in 1897. The court, in 1902, in answer to a question from the Senate, ruled that the General Assembly could, under the Constitution, establish courts of inferior jurisdiction and authorize judges of these courts, not being justices of the Supreme Court, to charge juries,‡‡ in spite of the constitutional provision, "the judges of the Supreme Court shall, in all trials, instruct the jury on the law." An amendment to the Constitution†† was approved by the electors in 1903, declaring "the Supreme Court shall have final revisory and appellate jurisdiction upon all questions of law and equity. . . . The inferior courts shall have such jurisdiction as may, from time to time, be prescribed by law." The General Assembly appointed in 1904 a commission, consisting of John H. Stiness, Edward D. Bassett, Stephen O. Edwards, Charles E. Gorman, William A. Morgan, Nathan W. Littlefield and Ellery H. Wilson "to report on changes in the laws of the state necessary to carry into effect article XII of amendments of the Constitution." The commission reported "the court and practice act," which, besides providing for a Supreme Court and a Superior Court, was exhaustive and comprehensive in reorganizing the court system. The electors rejected in 1905 a proposition to increase the membership of the House of Representatives to 100, approve 20,167, reject 19,350, the measure failing to meet the requirement of sixty per cent.

Four years later three propositions were approved. The first\* increased the membership of the House to 100, elected by districts, apportioned on the basis of population with the limitations that no town should have less than one member and no town more than one-quarter of the total membership; approved 25,920-12,898. The second† substituted the Lieutenant Governor for the Governor as the presiding officer in the Senate, without vote except to break a tie; approved 27,390-9,151. The third‡ gave the Governor the veto power, subject to reconsideration and passage over the veto by sixty per cent. of the members present and voting in each house; approved 30,149-6,267. The state was districted in 1910, and the first House of Representatives elected under Article XIII met in January, 1911. An amendment§ providing for biennial elections was approved, 24,149-14,176, November 7, 1911. With the approval of these amendments, the program included in the rejected "revised Constitution" of 1898 had been practically completed, with the exception of slight changes in the Bill of Rights, and in the process of amendment. The simplified amendatory process of proposal by sixty per cent. of the members elected to both houses, and ratification by a majority of the electors, and the provision for submitting the question of holding a constitu-

‡‡The Judicial Department, 24 R. I. 628.

††Article XII.

\*Article XIII.

†Article XIV.

‡Article XV.

§Article XVI.

tional convention to the electorate every ten years, both had been lost, as had the one-year residence qualification for suffrage with a literacy requirement. The electors had voted on nine proposed constitutional amendments in six elections, had approved five and rejected four. The constitutional movement was at an end for the time being.

DIVORCE OF STATE AND NATIONAL ISSUES—The strong Democratic movement that had elected John W. Davis as Governor, 1887 and 1890, and had given him pluralities short of the majorities necessary to elect in two other years, 1889 and 1891, waned after the disappointing fiasco of 1892. For seven lean years, 1895-1901, the party-nominated annually a ticket of staunch Bourbons, who had remained faithful in spite of dissension in the national party because of the silver issue of 1896 and William J. Bryan's control of the dominant faction. Besides old loyalties, dissatisfaction with the policy of the Republican state government tended to maintain a solidarity in the state Democratic party. A comparison of statistics of state and presidential elections shows excess of presidential over gubernatorial pluralities for Republican candidates in 1896, 1900, 1904, and 1908 to be, respectively, 11,000, 5000, 16,000 and 12,000. The evidence supports strongly a suggestion that the people of Rhode Island were discriminating betwixt state and federal issues; that more were adhering to Republican national policies related to the tariff and finance, than to the policies of the dominant state Republican party. There were causes or pretexts for dissatisfaction and misgiving with reference to the party that controlled the General Assembly, elected usually its candidates for general officers, and was represented in the courts by an overwhelming majority of men who before reaching the bench had been stalwart Republicans.

Not all of the pretexts for complaint were justified; in foregoing paragraphs we have summarized constitutional changes and reorganization of political machinery, avoiding even a suggestion that much that was genuinely constructive as viewed with reasonable perspective may have been prompted immediately by presumed partisan advantage. It is the province of the party out of power rather than the recorder of facts to criticise the "government"; that is democracy in practical application. There were other measures, however, that awakened criticism, and kept alive a spirit of opposition awaiting favorable opportunity for expression, among them statutes striking deeply at the roots of the strong sentiment for local autonomy that has been characteristic of Rhode Island, such as the acts creating the police commissions for Newport, 1900; Providence, 1901; Tiverton, 1902. The Newport police commission act was declared to be constitutional,\*\* and the commission a state, rather than a municipal agency,†† although the municipality was responsible for salaries.‡‡ The members of the Providence commission, which was placed in control of the city police department and replaced the board of liquor license commissioners, were appointed by the Governor. The offence to local self-government was appeased only by the asserted improvement of police morale under commission control.

Other measures that were debated more vigorously outside than in the General Assembly related to the chartering of public service corporations, the granting of franchises, and the enactment of legislation apparently at the request of and on the terms suggested by great corporations with capitalization surpassing millions, these including the exclusive franchise act of 1891, the transfer station act of 1896, the so-called perpetual franchise act of 1898, the limited free transfer ticket act of 1902, and the repeal of the ten-hour law for motormen, gripmen and conductors in 1902.§§

\*\*Newport vs. Horton, 22 R. I. 196.

††Re Newport Police Commission, 22 R. I. 614.

‡‡Horton vs. Newport, 27 R. I. 283.

§§Chapter XXVIII; and *supra*.

THE YOUNGER DEMOCRATS—Meanwhile, also, a new and very aggressive type of Democrat was reaching majority, exercising suffrage, entering politics and seeking office. This third generation of immigrant stock, the second generation born in America, included large numbers of young men who were very well educated college graduates, some university graduates, and who were familiar with the successes attained by the second generation. They had been schooled in politics, and were familiar with the issues of the period. Many of them were skilled debaters, owing their preparation for public life to the public school system and the opportunities afforded for liberal college education. In view of the general reputation of college youth of the present generation for frivolity, the contrasted soberness of college life in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is remarkable. Yet it is true that the boys of those days were discussing more frequently economic and political problems than any other; and that that was particularly true of the student body at Brown University, so far as it was recruited in Rhode Island. The fraternity life of the time was different from twentieth century fraternity life; there was a closer association of graduate and undergraduate chapters, and much intimate contact between alumni and student, whereby the urge for politics was imparted to the rising generation. The essential factor of the filibuster of 1924—the starving of the party in control by interposing an impassable barrier in the path of the annual appropriation bill—was propounded by an undergraduate student at a Brown fraternity dinner before 1900! The older politicians present gasped; they were destined, some of them, to see the filibuster in operation as an effective (or was it ineffective) measure until somebody made the serious mistake of placing a gas bomb in the Senate chamber, thus changing utterly the trend of public opinion and arousing the love of law and order that has saved Rhode Island on many an occasion. The new Democrats for a while were content to follow the counsel of veterans; eventually they challenged the veterans for leadership. Witness the snatching of control of the Providence city convention for the nomination of members of the General Assembly in 1903, and the nomination of the youthful James H. Thurston for Senator. In Pawtucket the younger Democrats had established themselves in public office in the city with a forward look to state offices. One of the Pawtucket group, James H. Higgins, was to become Governor, the youngest ever elected in Rhode Island.

RAILWAY STRIKE AS AN ISSUE—The street railway strike in Rhode Island, 1902, happened at a time most opportune for the Democratic party. The ten-hour law for motormen, gripmen and conductors became effective June 1. Company defiance of the statute was followed by a strike early in June. All the popular resentment against the street railway company that had been smouldering because of franchise and transfer legislation, which the company had sought for advantage in dealing with the municipalities of the state, urged to action, and the sympathy of the general public for strikers in what was believed to be a just strike to force the company to obey the laws of the state was expressed most emphatically by boycott. With strong police protection for street cars in Providence there need be little fear of violence; yet the people refrained from riding, and cars once thronged with passengers were empty as men, women and children walked rather than patronize them. Registration for the fall election closed June 30; those who sympathized with the strikers against the company were urged to register and help to elect an administration that was favorable to law enforcement.

Seldom in Rhode Island's long and unique political history had an issue reached a crisis at the period for registration. The latter transcended experience; the polling of more than 60,000 votes on election day‡ was not only without precedent but most extraordinary for other than a presidential year. Had the strike occurred one month later, in July, registration would have closed before the strike and would have been probably no more than

‡Counting ballots rejected as defective.

normal. Governor Kimball, candidate for reelection, polled the normal Republican vote; the increase of 12,000 in the total vote over 1901 seemed to have gone to Lucius F. C. Garvin, Democrat. He was elected.

Governor Garvin might be said to epitomize all of opposition to the state Republican party in Rhode Island. He was an old campaigner, veteran of many elections, and had represented the town of Cumberland in the General Assembly for years. Even after his term as Governor, following the example of John Quincy Adams, who returned to Congress after having been President, Governor Garvin returned to the General Assembly. He had been prominent in reform movements of various types, and was a staunch advocate of the Single Tax as a solvent of most social, economic and political problems. He attended public meetings in all parts of the state, and spoke frequently as opportunity presented an audience; yet he never failed to turn his address, whatever the topic or purpose of the meeting might be, into an exposition of and plea for the Single Tax. He was an ardent supporter of movements for constitutional reforms. He advocated also proportional representation as a device for representing minority parties in the administration of public business. His plan for proportional representation in the election of councilmen in Cumberland was declared unconstitutional.\*

In his message to the General Assembly in 1903 he named four "abuses of government," to wit: (1) Enactment of laws that cannot be repealed, thus referring to the perpetual franchise act; (2) the creation of police commissions in two cities and one town, with control of from one-eighth to one-quarter of the municipal revenues; (3) post-election sessions of the General Assembly, such as the session of November, 1902, in which the ten-hour law had been emasculated; (4) "an irresponsible third house dominating both branches of the General Assembly and causing legislation, which should be just and solely for the public welfare, to become a mere matter of sale to the highest bidder." The last referred to the allegation frequently made in public that corporations had paid sums of money for legislation to persons who were not members of the General Assembly. The Governor also directed attention to "unjust representation" under the apportionment prescribed by the Constitution; and to the practical transfer of the appointing power from Governor to Senate by the enactment in 1901 of a general statute covering a long list of appointments,† practically all except the executive secretary and the members of the barber commission (1903). Under the statute appointments were to be made "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," but if the Senate chose not to approve a nomination made by the Governor it had a right to fill the vacancy by election. The Governor recommended (1) a modified veto for the Governor; (2) allowing registry voters to vote for city councilmen; (3) a constitutional initiative whereby a reasonable number of electors might propose amendments to the Constitution; (4) three-cent fares on street railways; (5) reenactment of the mandatory ten-hour law for street railway employes. The Republicans controlled both branches of the General Assembly; the Governor's program did not find favor with them, and no part of it was enacted into law. The Democrats had a substantial membership in the House, and exercised to advantage the opportunity for discussion of public questions. A particular attack was launched upon the sheriff of Providence County, Hunter C. White, who was accused of deriving from the fees collected through his office and from bonuses paid by deputy sheriffs for appointment an income sufficient to pay the normal campaign expenses of the Republican party. The Republican answer was election of the sheriff for a period of three years with an annual salary of \$5000 in lieu of fees. Later each of the county sheriffs was elected on three-year tenure with annual salaries.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1903—The fall campaign of 1903 was preliminary to the election of a United States Senator in 1907, with Samuel P. Colt as Republican candidate for Governor

\*Elections by Proportional Representation, 21 R. I. 579.

†Held constitutional, 28 R. I. 602; 28 R. I. 607.

against Governor Garvin, candidate for reelection. Governor Garvin's plurality of the previous election was reduced nearly 6500, but Colonel Colt "fell outside the breastworks," as the result of the election was caricatured in one of the newspapers. The total vote exceeded 62,000, and was the largest cast in the state up to that time. The campaigning was vigorous; Colonel Colt had been liberal in providing funds, and Republicans duplicated the Democratic effort to increase registration, and otherwise spared neither money nor work to perfect plans for success. So confident of victory were the Colonel's immediate friends that he was greeted by some of them as "Governor Colt" at a campaign dinner on the Saturday preceding the election. Party leaders and workers from all parts of the state had been gathered at the dinner, which was so sumptuous that it was likened by one newspaper to the "feast of Belshazzar," wanting only the handwriting on the wall. Colonel Colt lost not only the office but the advantage that possession of it would have given him as a candidate for Senator. George H. Utter, Secretary of State, 1891-1894, who had been the Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, was elected, and thus became the logical candidate for Governor in 1904.

In the presidential year the total vote exceeded 69,000 and Governor Garvin was defeated by 856 plurality. The second year of Governor Garvin's administration was marked by open conflict between the Governor and the General Assembly. The latter adjourned at the closing of the January session to November 15, 1904, thus indicating a purpose of resuming the post-election session, which Governor Garvin had condemned in his annual message in 1903. With the purpose of forestalling the post-election session, Governor Garvin issued a call for a special session to meet in September. For the special session the Governor had prepared a message. Both houses met on the day stated and adjourned, without receiving the Governor's message, to meet according to previous adjournment in November. Governor Garvin was a candidate for election once more in 1905, but was beaten by Governor Utter decisively by 5500 plurality. The total vote had receded 10,500, and the Democrats had lost 7000.

THREE YEARS LATER—The campaign of 1906 related to the annual election of general officers and General Assembly and anticipated the choice by the latter at the January session of a United States Senator. Because of the contest for the Senatorship‡ the campaign was unusually stirring, although as it proceeded, James H. Higgins, Democratic candidate for Governor, succeeded in making a state issue dominant in the contest between him and Governor Utter. Higgins was thirty years of age at the time, had been educated in the public schools of Pawtucket, and had been graduated from Brown University eight years before with the class of 1898, the last to receive diplomas from the hands of President E. Benjamin Andrews. Orphaned by death of his father, young Higgins contemplated leaving college, but was persuaded to remain by Andrews, who had recognized unusual qualities in Higgins and suggested measures that eased financial embarrassment. Thus a strong loyalty was born, and the youth was inspired by the teachings of "Bennie," as Andrews was known affectionately by everybody in the university. After two years at the law school of Georgetown University, Higgins was admitted to the Rhode Island Bar in 1900, and formed a partnership for the practice of law with John J. Fitzgerald, also a graduate of Brown and of Georgetown Law School, who was at the time Mayor of Pawtucket. Higgins represented Pawtucket in the General Assembly, 1902, and the following year succeeded his law partner as Mayor of Pawtucket. In high school and college he had excelled as a debater, being a member of both high school and college debating teams. In the practice of his profession he had won distinction for forensic ability, and, through active participation in several political campaigns, had become an excellent campaign orator. "Boy" he was called as a candidate for Governor, and "Boy Governor" he was called after his election.

The "Boy" placed his opponent on the defensive early in the campaign, but he was attacking a masterful speaker, for the Governor had an unusual gift for plain speaking and clear pre-

‡See Chapter XXIV.

sentation of issues, and a fine voice. Higgins chose "bossism" as the dominating issue and forced it. Traveling up and down the state in a campaign that was extraordinary for the number of public meetings that were held by both parties and for the quality of speaking and the enthusiasm displayed by orators and listeners, Higgins accused the Republican state organization of being dominated by General Charles R. Brayton, who was the party's acknowledged leader, and had been for years. Blind at the time and nearing the end of a career which had opened in youth with a brilliant military record as a soldier in the Civil War,\* Brayton was a prominent figure at the State House while the General Assembly was in session. Outstanding he would have been because of his stature in any group of men; tall, well proportioned, and erect because of his army life, with a massive and finely poised head. Hair whitened with age, and blind, General Brayton was even more conspicuous. He was a master politician, who never broke his word nor gave it unless he could fulfil his promise; a man who made friends and bound them to himself in remarkable loyalty. In his later days, less active because of his disability, he held court in the office of the sheriff at the State House; and thither men went to report, to receive instructions, and to solicit General Brayton's favor.

Bossism was somewhat in disrepute at the time in Rhode Island, and General Brayton must bear the onus of dissatisfaction with the Republican party's record in the General Assembly, because of its alleged friendliness for the public utility corporations, particularly the street railway companies. Higgins promised that if he were elected as Governor he would drive the "blind boss" from the State House; he accused Governor Utter of submitting to the orders of the "blind boss." He ended every address with several questions for Governor Utter, one of which invariably inquired what steps Governor Utter would take to drive General Brayton from the State House. Governor Utter at first ignored the questions, making his campaign in its early stages upon the record of the Republican party for constructive legislation, of which there had been a considerable volume. Eventually the Governor, pressing his campaign in the cities and larger towns, encountered hecklers, who asked him the same questions that had been propounded by Higgins. He was faced with the same questions from flaring billboards and transparencies, and from the headlines of daily newspapers, for the Democrats in this campaign, in which the election of a United States Senator was as much an issue† as was the contest for state officers, had come into the possession of "sinews of war" and had support in the public press that was without precedent.

Toward the end of the campaign Governor Utter faced an audience in Pawtucket, whose favorite son, "Jimmy" Higgins, was his opponent, and there the Governor answered the question; he, too, would take measures to drive the boss from the State House. That was the anteclimax in the campaign; Governor Utter had deserted General Brayton, and the result of the election, so far as the Governorship was concerned, thereafter was a foregone conclusion. James H. Higgins was elected Governor with a plurality of 1300, while the rest of the Republican ticket for general officers was elected comfortably, and the Republicans controlled both houses of the General Assembly and sixty-eight of 110 seats in joint assembly.

A BOY GOVERNOR—Governor Higgins in his message to the General Assembly returned to the issue of the campaign, as he had fashioned it, with this reference to lobbying: "I would also recommend a stringent law on the subject of lobbying. . . . The evils of lobbying have been practiced in Rhode Island to a disgraceful extent. The difference between lobbying in other states and that in our commonwealth is that in such other states the corrupt work had been done by many lobbyists, while here it has been reduced not only to a fine art, but to an exclusive and oppressive monopoly. One man alone does practically all the lobbying in the Rhode Island legislature. And to facilitate the carrying on of his corrupt practice, in past years he has been established permanently with full equipment in the high sheriff's office,

\*Chapter XXII.

†See Chapter XXIV for an account of the Senatorial election.

within this very state capitol. This is a condition of affairs which has been tolerated as long as it should be. The welfare of our state peremptorily demands vigorous and prompt action on this matter, action which will result in keeping from within these walls lobbyists like the one above described—one declared by my respected predecessor to be a menace to the State of Rhode Island.”

Other changes recommended by Governor Higgins included (1) reapportionment of representation in the General Assembly; (2) veto power for the Governor, to be overridden by a three-fifths vote in both houses; (3) abolition of the property qualification, because, as the Governor said, the bona fide real estate voters were overridden by “straw” personal property voters; (4) registration nearer to the period of election than June 30; (5) accommodation for registry voters, by opportunity for registration in their wards at convenient hours, instead of only during office hours in town and city halls; (6) extension of the Australian system of secret balloting to primaries; (7) restoration of the appointive power to the Governor; (8) provision for constant supervision and periodical examination of state banks, savings banks and trust companies; (9) legislation curtailing lobbying; (10) legislation that would prevent levies on or contributions by corporations for political purposes. He criticised the simplified form of Australian ballot, which had been introduced, because it made partisan voting too easy and discriminating selection of candidates too difficult. His objection was directed to the provision in the new ballot legislation that attached preponderating importance to a cross placed in the circle under a party emblem, and required the elector, besides marking a cross for a candidate not under the emblem, to cancel the name of the emblem candidate rejected. The attempt to elect a United States Senator, continued without result through daily meetings of the joint assembly until eighty-one ballots had been taken before adjournment on April 23, dominated the General Assembly of 1907. Governor Higgins continued his campaign against General Brayton, with requests addressed to the sheriff and to the State House Commission that both exclude Brayton from the Capitol. Eventually the pressure was successful, and General Brayton ceased using the sheriff’s office as headquarters.

Governor Higgins was reelected with an increased plurality in the fall of 1907. In his message to the General Assembly in 1908 he returned to the discussion of lobbying, saying: “I renew the recommendation made a year ago concerning the regulation of lobbying and corrupt practices in elections, primaries, etc. During the past year there has been some relief from the former evil. For a part of the time, at least, the lobbying headquarters have been removed from room 207 in this building. The people of the state have also been given assurance that no more lobbying is to be done in this capitol by the one individual who has done practically all of it here for the past thirty years. Such a result is indeed encouraging. But, whether or not the promises of the chief lobbyist shall be kept, the state certainly needs effective legislation to prevent a recurrence of the disgraceful scenes which have been enacted in the sheriff’s office in the state capitol for years.” He had succeeded in accomplishing General Brayton’s withdrawal from the State House by psychological if not moral suasion, much as he had demoralized Governor Utter’s campaign by persistent questions. Governor Higgins recommended (1) that lobbyists be required to register, the registration to include a statement of the corporation or interest represented;\* (2) that political parties be required by law to file reports of receipts and expenditures; (3) that contributions by corporations to political parties be forbidden, thus, that “corporate contributions to political parties or for the purpose of influencing legislation” be forbidden, as well as “political contributions directly or indirectly from state or municipal laborers and employees.”

THE PROPERTY QUALIFICATION AGAIN—Governor Higgins paid particular attention to the property qualification in actual operation, in an exposition that was suggestive of other

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\*A statute of the type was enacted, 1912.



NEW HIGH SCHOOL AT PAWTUCKET



reasons for change than the wish of the registry voter to attain a more liberal suffrage. The disclosure related to his own city of Pawtucket, with which he was completely familiar:

Perhaps no better example of its injurious nature can be found than in the city of Pawtucket. In that city there were 2601 persons eligible to vote on real estate. There were also 3025 persons assessed last year as personal property voters and eligible to vote as such. All but a few of these personal property voters were assessed for \$200 each, that amount being enough to cover the law, which provides that any person assessed for \$134, real or personal property, may vote for members of the city council or on any proposition to impose a tax. Of the entire number assessed for \$200, not more than 150 or 200 paid their own taxes. Practically all the rest were assessed without their own request or knowledge, without even appearing before the board of tax assessors, without knowing the location of their supposed property or of what it consisted. Under this unusual practice this large body of men has its taxes paid the last night such payment is allowable, by the political managers, who expect to get its votes on election day. Hundreds of men are put on the personal property list for \$200, and are absolutely unknown to the tax assessors, their names being given in bulk by the political leaders to the assessors. A short time ago 450 names were added to the personal property list in Pawtucket by the tax assessors, and not only were these names unknown to the assessors themselves, but they were placed on the tax roll on a list which included ten or twelve sheets of paper which were not even opened for inspection by the assessors. Many cases have been known where reputable men in possession of visible and tangible personal property sufficient to enable them to vote have asked to be assessed for the same. Their request has been denied, and they have thus been deprived of their vote and the city has been deprived of their taxes. On the other hand, on a number of occasions inmates of the state farm and workhouse, serving sentences for non-support, drunkenness, vagrancy, or some kindred charge, have been assessed for \$200 worth of personal property, their taxes have been paid by the political leaders, they have been released from imprisonment a few days before election and have been allowed to vote a full ticket even for members of the city council. It is needless for me to say that operations such as these nullify the effect of the bona fide real estate votes. For instance, the 2601 real estate voters in Pawtucket today are completely overcome and offset by the personal property voters assessed for \$200, whose taxes are paid by others interested in holding office or in securing privileges from the city government. It will thus be seen that this qualification deprives the city of many dollars in taxes, which it might receive from the bona fide holders of personal property, and that it destroys the supposed advantage of a discriminating property vote. But, while it works this injustice to the real estate voter, it also works a peculiar injustice to the registry voter. If, for example, a man be assessed for personal property and does not pay his tax, his name is dropped from the personal list at the final canvass, which is held a few days or a week before election, and he is placed on the registry list by virtue of his assessment, whether or not he has actually registered. The caucuses of all the parties are, under the law, held several weeks before election, and hence several weeks before this manufactured or straw personal property voter is dropped for non-payment of taxes. But, having been assessed, he is eligible to take part in all caucuses, including those for the selection of aldermen and councilmen, even though he should later neglect or refuse to pay his personal property tax.†

REPUBLICAN RETURN TO POWER IN 1908—Governor Higgins declined renomination for a third term in 1908, and Olney Arnold was named by the Democrats as their candidate for Governor. The schism in the Republican party had ended early in the year in the election of ex-Senator Wetmore as Senator to refill the seat which had been vacated by expiration of term on March 4, 1907. In the fall election, presidential year, 73,500 votes were polled, and Aram J. Pothier, Republican, beat Olney Arnold by 7200 plurality. Governor Pothier was reelected four times, defeating Arnold again in 1909, Lewis A. Waterman in 1910 and 1911, and Theodore Francis Green in 1912. The Democratic party, advocating constitutional and

†In *Lennon vs. Board of Canvassers of Pawtucket*, 29 R. I. 329 (1908) the Supreme Court found that the taxes of 1148 persons in Pawtucket were paid by a third person, and that a check for \$3800 was presented. Only 1293 persons had qualified by payment of taxes, including the 1148, leaving 145 bona fide personal property taxpayers. In *Lennon vs. Board of Canvassers of Pawtucket*, 29 R. I. 456, the Court held payment by a third party without request did not confer the right of suffrage and ordered 1148 names stricken from the roll, and set aside an election in the third ward of the city in which it appeared that 467 persons not qualified had voted, enough to change the result of the election. In *Barron vs. White*, 29 R. I. 482, the Court ordered the City Treasurer, who had refused to accept payment of taxes by one of those stricken from the roll, on the ground that the tax had been paid, to accept payment, thus to qualify the elector.

political reform in Rhode Island, was polling steadily 32,000 votes annually. Governor Pothier's pluralities varied from 11,700 (1909) to 1140 (1910). In 1912 his plurality of 1400 was small for a presidential year; the explanation lies in the 8457 ballots cast for the candidate of the new Progressive party.

During Governor Pothier's administration four amendments to the Constitution, Articles XIII, XIV, XV and XVI, were approved. Governor Pothier was elected for two years in 1912, under the biennial election amendment. R. Livingston Beeckman, Republican, defeated P. Henry Quinn, 1914; Addison P. Munroe, 1916; and Alberic A. Archambault, 1918, by large pluralities. An amendment to the Constitution was proposed in 1912, to provide for the calling of a constitutional convention in 1915 to consider revision or amendment of the Constitution, and for a referendum in 1924 and every ten years thereafter on the calling of a convention.

ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION—In the same year a bi-partisan commission was appointed to consider proposed amendments, to report not later than 1915, unless a constitutional convention had been ordered. The proposed amendment was not confirmed by the succeeding General Assembly; the commission reported in 1915 a complete constitution based principally upon the "revised Constitution" of 1898, which had been rejected in the referendum, but including striking innovations, and changes that were novel and radical for Rhode Island. The commission included Richard W. Jennings, William W. Douglas, William R. Fortin, E. Charles Francis, Charles E. Gorman, Sumner Mowry, John J. Richards, William P. Sheffield, and John H. Stiness. Judge Stiness died September 6, 1913, and was replaced by George A. Jepherson.

Of two significant changes in the Bill of Rights, one amended the anti-slavery section to read: "Slavery shall not be permitted in this state, nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime." The other aimed at reform of alleged unsatisfactory practices with reference to jury trials, providing that in civil suits, after a jury had failed in six hours of deliberation to reach a unanimous verdict, the trial justice might enter as the verdict of the jury a verdict agreed to by not less than nine jurors. The property qualification for voting was to be abolished, except that towns and cities might be permitted to establish qualifications not inconsistent with the Constitution for voting in town meetings or on certain types of questions in the municipality. For annual sessions biennial sessions of the General Assembly were substituted. The pay of members of the General Assembly was raised to ten dollars per day for not exceeding sixty days, with no extra allowance for mileage. No Senator or Representative was eligible, during the term for which he had been elected, to election or appointment to any office for which a salary was paid, but Senators or Representatives holding offices could be reelected within term. Senator or Representative could not serve as counsel for any corporation, or receive any fee from any person interested in legislation. To cure the evil of postponing legislation and enacting most on the last day of the session hurriedly, no bill could be introduced after the fiftieth day of any session unless by written request of the Governor and with the consent of two-thirds of either house to be ascertained by yea and nay vote recorded in the journal, and no bill could become a law if passed on the last day of the session. The General Assembly was forbidden to borrow or incur indebtedness in excess of \$500,000 without the consent of the people.

Irrevocable laws creating franchises or special privileges or immunities were to be void. The General Assembly was forbidden to permit towns to guarantee payment of the indebtedness of corporations, institutions or individuals. For years a great volume of legislation amendatory of town and city charters had engaged the time of the General Assembly and had cluttered the statute books. The commission proposed a radical change that would obviate the necessity for repeated requests to the General Assembly for enabling acts. The General

Assembly was directed to provide a uniform organization of local government for towns and cities, and forbidden to enact special laws for municipalities unless requested by a majority of the town or city electors at a meeting to which the special act had been submitted. Towns and cities were to be permitted to accept the general plan by a majority vote cast in any election. Any town with 20,000 or greater population might frame a city charter, to be adopted by the electors of the town and amended by them from time to time in manner not inconsistent with law. The General Assembly, as part of the general plan for municipal organization, might prescribe particular qualifications, not inconsistent with the Constitution, for electors participating in municipal elections, voting on questions submitted to the referendum, and on tax questions, to be operative if approved by the electors of the municipality.

Even more radical was the provision for reorganization of the Senate, that stronghold of the Republican party, to which an effective veto of the Governor's power of appointment had been entrusted. Instead of a Senate consisting of one Senator from each municipality, the new Senate would consist of forty-three Senators elected in districts, practically upon the basis of population. The arrangement of districts was novel, thus: I, Portsmouth, Middletown, Little Compton and Tiverton; II, Bristol; III, Barrington and Warren; IV, Cumberland; V, Johnston, Foster and Scituate; VI, North Kingstown, Exeter, Hopkinton and Richmond; VII, Westerly; VIII, Charlestown, South Kingstown and Narragansett; IX, Burrillville, Glocester and Smithfield; X, Coventry, East Greenwich and West Greenwich; XI, XII and XIII, Newport, Jamestown and New Shoreham; XIV and XV, East Providence; XVI to XX, inclusive, Pawtucket; XXI and XXII, Central Falls; XXIII and XXIV, Lincoln and North Providence; XXV and XXVI, Cranston; XXVII to XXX, inclusive, Woonsocket and North Smithfield; XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, Warwick and West Warwick; XXXIV to XLIII, inclusive, Providence. By counties, the Senate would be apportioned: Bristol two, Kent four, Newport four, Washington three, Providence thirty. Senators were to be elected for four years, and divided into two classes, odd and even districts, each class to be elected quadrennially after the first election in which Senators from odd districts were to be elected for two years. The House was to remain unchanged except as affected by reapportionment on the basis of population after a census.

Appointments, including all officers whose election was not covered by the Constitution, that is, general officers and justices of the Supreme Court, were to be made by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate, the Senate not to act upon an appointment within five days. The Governor's veto was to be extended to the rejection of items in appropriation bills. Judges were to be removable by three-fifths vote of both houses, not less than ten days after a motion stating cause, a copy of the motion to be served on the judge, and an opportunity for a hearing to be afforded. The Supreme Court was to continue the practice of rendering advisory opinions but might decline to answer. The article on education in the Constitution of 1842 was rewritten, with the purpose of strengthening the General Assembly's obligation to provide for a state public school system, thus: "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide for the maintenance and support of an efficient system of public schools for the education of the children and youth of the state, which shall be under the general supervision and control of the State Board of Education."

The proposed Constitution also included a simplified process of amendment and provision for the calling of constitutional conventions. The General Assembly might propose amendments by a two-thirds vote of the members elected, to become effective if ratified by a majority of the voters at any election. The amendatory clause also required that in 1920 and every twenty years thereafter the question "shall there be a convention to revise or amend the Constitution?" should be printed on the ballot, and that a convention should be called by the General Assembly on an affirmative vote by a majority. The convention should be composed of delegates elected in representative and senatorial districts; the revision or amendment

should become effective only if approved by a majority of the electors. The commission reported also a draft of an amendment for woman suffrage.

The commission report was signed by eight members of the commission; the ninth member, George A. Jepherson, dissenting, filed a minority report, which included the following: "The people of any community will demand in the Constitution that which they require. In this report there are changes proposed for which, so far as I know, there has been slight demand in Rhode Island. Some of them, so far as I know, have hardly been discussed here at all. The aim in revising a Constitution should be to voice public opinion, not to create it. Inasmuch as this aim seems not to have been adhered to by the majority of the commission, I am not ready to acquiesce in their report." Mr. Jepherson explained his attitude as due in part to the fact that he had been appointed to fill a vacancy on the commission, and had not attended most of the public hearings or heard much of the discussion by members of the commission. He seemed nevertheless to have gauged the probable opinion of the General Assembly—the proposed Constitution was altogether too revolutionary to anticipate other than what happened—and that was nothing. The General Assembly did not propose the commission report as an amendment, and it never reached a vote by the people. The constitutional movement of 1912 had resulted in failure in both aspects—the calling of a constitutional convention and the revision of the Constitution by commission. Moreover the movement had practically spent itself for the time being. Article XVII of amendments, ratified November 7, 1916, was scarcely political in its nature; it permitted the General Assembly for the state, and towns and cities exercising the right of eminent domain, to acquire more property than needed for actual construction.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE—Women voted for the first time in a general election in Rhode Island in 1920. The way had been prepared in 1917 by a statute conferring equal suffrage in presidential elections, a measure that lay within the right of the General Assembly, the Constitution of Rhode Island apparently to the contrary notwithstanding, because of the provision in the Constitution of the United States, "each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors."\* Under the statute of 1917 provision was made for registration of women to begin July 1, 1919, in anticipation of the presidential election of 1920, and the use by women of a distinctive form of ballot, thus to prevent illegal voting for general officers. Rhode Island was the twenty-third state to ratify Article XIX (woman suffrage) of amendments to the Constitution of the United States, January 6, 1920, and before the close of the January session, 1920, the General Assembly, in anticipation of ratification by three-fourths of the states, made provision for registration and voting, to become effective when the Secretary of State proclaimed ratification of the amendment, which he did August 20, 1920. The effect of the federal amendment was to cancel the word "male" as used in the suffrage provisions of the Constitution of Rhode Island, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, and to admit women to the polls subject to the same qualifications and restrictions prescribed for men. Doubt as to the rights of men who had been enrolled as qualified by ownership of real estate consisting of courtesy initiate was removed by a decision of the Supreme Court that both husband and wife may qualify on real estate owned by the wife in her own right, provided the wife's estate in fee, and the husband's courtesy, each is of the value of at least \$134.‡ The total vote in the state election of 1920, 168,842, was the largest cast in Rhode Island up to that time, and more than double that polled in 1918. Emery J. San Souci, Republican, was elected as Governor, defeating Edward M. Sullivan by the largest plurality, 53,175, ever polled in Rhode Island, the plurality being almost as great as the number of ballots, 55,963, cast for the Democratic candidate. Of French descent but American-born, son of a Civil War soldier who was mortally wounded at the battle of Salem

\*Article II, section 1.

‡Rice vs. Aldermen of Woonsocket, 43 R. I. 305.

Church, June 10, 1864, Governor San Souci had been Lieutenant Governor for six years. He was a fine type of good citizen who, because of ability and fair dealing, had been successful in business and politics. His popularity was attested by the multitude of people who thronged the State House on the evening following his inauguration, forming long lines as they waited to shake the Governor's hand and wish him well.

THE WOES THAT BESET A GOOD GOVERNOR—Governor San Souci's election had been achieved in spite of hard times and industrial unrest, which in the preceding administration had necessitated calling out the militia to suppress rioting, for the second time since 1842. The occasion was a strike of operatives at the National India Rubber factory in Bristol. The Adjutant General was notified on May 28, 1920, that the situation was serious; that because of a strike begun several weeks before and threats of damage to the plant, detectives had been hired as guards. The presence of the strangers was resented, and when the company announced that the factory would reopen and invited employes living outside of Bristol to return to work, there was a demonstration of violence at the railroad station and along the streets leading to the mill. Missiles were thrown, pistols were discharged, and several persons were injured, the list including strikers as well as strikebreakers and guards. Governor Beeckman issued a proclamation, in which he declared the town of Bristol to be in a state of insurrection, announced that militia would be employed to aid the civil authorities, and urged all citizens to obey the laws. Troops were sent immediately, and in the evening a platoon of mounted men rode down a crowd of strikers in front of the factory and cleared the streets. Military patrol continued for several days, with no further violence, and on June 3 the factory reopened without molestation.

Early in 1922 the United Textile Workers ordered a general strike affecting cotton and woolen mills. Governor San Souci promptly appointed a conciliation commission, but the strike passed rapidly into the control of radicals, and violent demonstrations succeeded peaceable picketing. Because of disorder at Natick and Pontiac, Governor San Souci sent militia to Pawtuxet Valley on February 20. The following day troops were called to Pawtucket to protect the Jenckes Spinning Company's mills. Strikers resisted reopening of the mill at Hope, March 2; the mill at Crompton was reopened, March 10, and it was announced on the eleventh that the Pontiac Mill would be dismantled and closed permanently. Discontent among street railway workers was forecasted in the operation of cars with one man serving both as conductor and motorman, April 3. On July 1, shopmen employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company went on strike. Injunctions against strikers at the plants of the United States Finishing Company and the Slater Yarn Company were issued, July 7. In the same week jitneys, affording a new, convenient, comfortable and popular transportation service, were excluded from competition with electric tramways by regulations enforced by the Public Utilities Commission. Because of a shortage of coal a fuel administrator was appointed. City residents seethed with discontent because of uncertainty with reference to trolley transportation as the financial distress of the operating companies was revealed and increases in fares were threatened. Goddard Brothers announced restoration of the old textile scale of wages in their mills early in September, and the textile strike in the Pawtuxet Valley ended, September 19. Governor San Souci called together a conference to discuss unemployment problems that were statewide, to meet October 4.

These economic disturbances, all quite beyond control by the Governor, in spite of his very affable disposition, genuine interest in the public welfare and willingness to exert to the utmost such resources as were available, troubled his administration. Besides that, the General Assembly was far from harmonious, because of factional quarreling among the Republican majority, additional to the perennial conflict with the Democratic Old Guard, which fought to the end and never surrendered. Witness the repeal of the jury act and abolition of the

office of Jury Commissioner as a rebuke to Jacob Eaton in 1920, as evidence of a breach in Republican ranks which continued to widen. Jacob Eaton died, March 20, 1921, and the Republican party lost one of the most astute politicians who ever sat in the General Assembly; his career, marking the rise of an indigent immigrant to a position in which he was able to dictate the policies of his party and to control the government of the state, illustrated aptly the opportunity that America offers to men with ambition and ability.

Eventually Governor San Souci felt constrained by the urgent requests of personal friends and regard for old loyalties to veto the education act of 1922.\* Had the veto been exercised within the time prescribed by the Constitution, it is quite likely that the quarrel over this measure would have abated until the opening of the next General Assembly; as it was, the Governor delayed too long the sending of his veto message to the Secretary of State, and the education bill became a law without his approval.† Than Emery J. San Souci Rhode Island never had a Governor with better intentions, and seldom one with more practical ability; yet there was never a Governor against whom forces beyond his control were woven more surely by the Fates for his political destruction. On the merits of his administration as a capable public servant, Governor San Souci deserved renomination by his party; as it was, rival factions of the party supported other candidates in the convention, and Governor San Souci withdrew. Harold J. Gross, who had been Lieutenant Governor, was nominated by the convention for Governor, and James E. Dooley for Lieutenant Governor. Against them the Democratic convention named William S. Flynn for Governor, and Felix A. Toupin for Lieutenant Governor; both candidates had been prominent as leaders of the Democrats in the General Assembly.

DEMOCRATIC LANDSLIDE OF 1922—The nomination of William S. Flynn for Governor by the Democratic convention on the first ballot reversed anticipation and was a tribute to the political skill of John J. Fitzgerald, law partner of ex-Governor Higgins. Back in 1902, after having been Mayor of Pawtucket, Fitzgerald had sought the Democratic nomination for Governor, but had been defeated in convention by Democrats of the old school, who supported Governor Garvin. On the closing night of the session of the General Assembly of 1920, Fitzgerald presided over a mock session of the Senate, which was "at ease" awaiting a message from the House of Representatives. Fitzgerald, taking the chair of the Lieutenant Governor, introduced himself as "leader of the dominant party" soon to be in Rhode Island. It was a prophecy that came near to being realized. By adroit appeals, man to man, to delegates to the Democratic convention in 1922, asking for a complimentary vote on the first ballot, Fitzgerald produced a small majority for William S. Flynn on the first ballot, whereas it had been expected that the initial voting might reveal the strength of rival candidates without being conclusive. The program prepared for the convention was so much upset by the ease with which Flynn had been named, that a conference was called before further procedure. Favoring the Democrats in the campaign of 1922 were all the economic forces that had produced strikes and discontent, unemployment and short time in Rhode Island; the mystifying financial operations attending the reorganization of the electric tramway system; the factional quarrels in the Republican party; the opposition of the French, particularly, to the new education law, popularly called the "Peck Bill"; and, almost on the eve of election, an "exposure" of alleged wholesale bribery by the Republican candidate for the United States Senate. An off year, there being no presidential election, the total vote was reduced by 10,000. Flynn gained 26,000 and Gross lost 25,000 as compared with the vote two years before, the result being that a Republican plurality of 53,000 was changed to a Democratic plurality of 7000. With Governor Flynn the Democrats elected Felix A. Toupin as Lieutenant Governor and presiding officer in the Senate, Herbert L. Carpenter as Attorney General, and Adolphus C.

\*See Chapter XXXII.

†45 R. I. 275.

Knowles as General Treasurer. Of the Republican candidates for general officers only the Secretary of State, J. Fred Parker, had survived, and he probably because, as his opponent was a woman, many doubted the desirability of change. Of the House of Representatives the Republicans had barely the majority necessary to control the organization and elect their candidate for Speaker; of the Senators more than one-third were Democrats. If the Republicans controlled both houses and thus had the initiative in legislation, the Democrats held an effective veto, because the Republicans did not have a majority in the House sufficient to override the Governor's opposition. The closeness of the party strength in grand committee was indicated in the election of the justice of the district court of the eleventh judicial district, in which 138 ballots were cast, sixty-nine for Hugh M. Devlin, sixty-eight for Roscoe M. Dexter, and one for an unidentified "Potter." His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, presiding, discarded the vote "for nobody," and announced the election of Devlin by a majority in a total vote of 137. The Supreme Court issued an injunction forbidding the Deputy Secretary of State to sign, attest and affix the seal of the state to a commission to Devlin, on the ground that the Constitution required a majority in elections in grand committee.\*

The January session of the General Assembly, 1923, was the longest and stormiest session in the history of Rhode Island with the exception of that in the following year. When adjournment was taken on June 9 the Senate had met eighty-four days and the House eighty-one days. Early in January the Senate Democrats began a filibuster with the purpose of delaying business. Led by the Lieutenant Governor, they demanded constitutional reform, including provision for a constitutional convention. As presiding officer, the Lieutenant Governor surprised the majority by the facility with which he ruled on points of order, by his novel interpretation of rules, by the argument and authority with which he sustained his position, by his ability to adapt precedent to his own purposes, by the keenness with which he discriminated his rulings from precedents, and by the ease with which, avoiding appearance of unfairness and simulating unctuous urbanity, with surpassing suavity, he sustained the minority program. He had no difficulty in seeing a Democrat first, if two Senators rose apparently simultaneously, and thus he gave advantage to the minority. Republicans had, for them, the almost unprecedented experience of feeling the "steamroller" in action and of enduring the discipline that a masterful presiding officer often administers with the purpose of facilitating a program, but used in this instance to clog action. Did the Republican majority wish to adjourn they were impotent to move adjournment until such time as the Lieutenant Governor happened to see a Republican rise or hear him address the President before a Democrat had obtained the floor. Lieutenant Governor Toupin was demonstrating the truth of a revolutionary proposition, to wit: That a minority plus a presiding officer may be more potent than a "mere majority." On April 14 the Senate session continued seventeen hours.

In the House the division on party lines was closer, but the Republican majority was sustained by the advantage of a friendly Speaker. House Democrats also were demanding constitutional reform, including particularly abolition of the property qualification and a constitutional convention. Sessions were prolonged by demand for roll call voting, and the roll call was resorted to frequently for the purpose of putting members of the House on record individually. On one occasion when the ranks of both parties had been reduced by absentees who were paired, the Democrats rose in a body to leave the House without a quorum, but were held in the chamber by locked doors and counted as "present but not voting."

In view of the bitterness of the struggle the volume of legislation in 1923 was remarkable, although an examination of it indicates that much of it was enacted because of compromises. Otherwise it is not easy to explain the passage of such Democratic measures as the law requiring the board of canvassers in Providence to visit every ward to accommodate registry

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\**Carpenter vs. Sprague*, 45 R. I. 29. In 138 ballots a majority must be more than half. See *Gill vs. Mayor of Pawtucket*, 18 R. I. 281.

voters, the act to prevent fraud in elections and to regulate political advertising in newspapers, the abolition of police commissions in Cumberland and West Warwick, the proposing of an amendment to the Constitution giving the Governor power to veto items in appropriation bills, and the appointment of a joint committee to examine the accounts of and ascertain the amounts of fees collected by sheriffs. The Governor vetoed a bill to increase the salary of the Deputy Secretary of State, and another authorizing the city of Cranston to issue bonds for the purpose of building a city hall.

The climax of the session was reached almost at the end, following a filibuster of almost ten weeks in the Senate, when the Lieutenant Governor ruled that the annual appropriation bill had not been passed by the majority required by the Constitution. The appropriation bill, following precedent, included items appropriated for payment to certain societies and institutions, including, for example, Rhode Island School of Design and Brown University, for scholarships. The Constitution requires: "The assent of two-thirds of the members elected to each house of the General Assembly shall be required to every bill appropriating the public money or property for local or private purposes." The usage established had been to call for the test of two-thirds majority in the preliminary stage of considering the appropriation bill by sections. On May 3, when the "private" sections were before the Senate they were approved without opposition on a roll call vote in which thirty-five members participated. On May 4, sixteen members of the Senate attempted to correct the Senate Journal as read by substituting for the record of "passed" that the sections had been adopted "to stand as part of the act," which was the actual vote on other sections as they were considered. On the final vote on the passage of the act as a whole, the vote was twenty-two yeas and sixteen noes. The Lieutenant Governor ruled that the appropriation bill had failed of passage, wanting the two-thirds majority on "private" appropriations required by the Constitution. The House of Representatives asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion, and the court held† that the Lieutenant Governor's ruling was in error; that the vote twenty-two to sixteen, wanting the two-thirds majority, did not pass the "private" sections, but was effective in passing other sections of the bill; that thereafter the bill was in the condition of a measure from which the Senate by amendment had stricken out the "private" sections, and that it should go back to the House of Representatives for "further consideration with a view to concurrent action or conference." Governor Flynn vetoed the bill as passed without the "private" sections on May 25. Whereas twenty-two votes in the Senate were not two-thirds, they were three-fifths, and the Senate might pass the appropriation measure over the Governor's veto; the Republicans could not muster three-fifths in the House, and the Democrats controlled the situation, and dictated the terms of a compromise which led eventually to a revolution in the administration of state finances. The compromise measures included (1) approval of a proposed amendment to the Constitution giving the Governor power to veto items in an appropriation bill, while approving other parts of it; (2) provision for participation by the Governor in the making of the annual appropriation bill, an act requiring all departments, commissions and officers, for which and whom appropriations were made, to file annual financial reports and estimates of expenditures with the Governor on or before January 15, with authority vested in the Governor to be heard by committees on appropriations; (3) requirement that every department should report annually to the Governor as well as to the General Assembly. Along with these measures went a new appropriation bill, which was passed and approved, and then the General Assembly adjourned, not to meet again, except on an after-session excursion to Block Island, until January, 1924.

THE FILIBUSTER OF 1924—The Rhode Island State Manual carries this commentary on the legislative year of 1924: "1925. January 6. January session of the General Assembly for the legislative year of 1924 expired by limitation at twelve o'clock, noon, no resolution of

†In re House of Representatives, 45 R. I. 289.

adjournment, *sine die*, having been passed at this session." The House of Representatives functioned normally, albeit it soon tired of sending measures to the Senate; the grand committee met and elected officers, including Ernest L. Sprague, as Secretary of State, January 16, to replace J. Fred Parker, who had resigned. In the Senate filibustering began early, so that by the time the annual appropriation bill reached the upper chamber, and was reported out of the finance committee, it took its place at the end of a long list of measures already on the calendar and awaiting action. The calendar never was reached, as the Senate debated in daily sessions approval of the journal or questions of personal privilege. The purpose of the filibuster was to delay enactment of the appropriation bill, thus to starve the government and to constrain the Republican majority to yield to the Democratic program for constitutional and other changes. If the majority failed to support a motion to adjourn they were held in fruitless session until they were tired out. If a member of the majority left the chamber he was brought back, and the Senate remained at ease until he returned. Occasionally a member of the majority was threatened with ejection unless he conformed to the "order" maintained by the presiding officer. Several times the majority and minority tested endurance, the possibilities for adjustment lying in the absence or withdrawal of the Lieutenant Governor, which would place the President *pro tem* in the chair and in control of the body; or on the withdrawal or absence of enough Republicans to give the Democrats a majority while maintaining a quorum for doing business. Several of the Republican Senators were elderly men, and scarcely able to withstand a long test.

On March 28, Lieutenant Governor Toupin expelled two "Journal" reporters from the Senate on the charge of publishing false and inaccurate reports of the proceedings in the Senate. The sessions of the Senate drew throngs to the State House daily, and there were reports at the time that crude weapons were found at times behind chairs and in the retiring room at the Senate, and that armed gangsters had been seen in the chamber. In 1923, pending the passage of the appropriation bill, resolutions were approved extending from time to time the period in which the General Treasurer might make payments on the basis of one-twelfth monthly of the annual appropriation in the preceding year; in 1924, no resolution could pass the barricade in the Senate. Accounts against the state were accumulating; many state employes, whose salaries were not established by statute and payable without action by the General Assembly, were unpaid; there were suggestions that inmates of public institutions were deprived of necessities. Henry D. Sharpe, on May 2, advanced money to pay the board of wards of the State Home and School, who had been placed out. In certain instances banks advanced credit to assist institutions; among the latter were Rhode Island State College, which negotiated a loan. For professors and instructors at Rhode Island College of Education bank credit was obtained on orders for salaries indorsed under authority of the Trustees.

Rhode Island was experiencing a new and novel type of revolution, in which the legal government was being starved systematically. In an endurance test aimed at the Lieutenant Governor he was fed by faithful supporters, and his personal wants were attended to, even to barbering, when he was shaved while occupying his place on the dais. In June there was violent disorder in the Senate, spectators and Senators joining in physical battle. The sheriff called for police, but the Lieutenant Governor refused to order the "people" ejected from the Senate.

THE GAS BOMB—Early in the morning of June 19, after a prolonged filibuster a gas bomb was placed in the Senate chamber, the fumes prostrating several Senators and driving others out. A few were removed to hospitals for observation. The "bomb" consisted of an ordinary laboratory test tube or flask in which a small quantity of chemicals had been mixed to produce a suffocating gas with an oppressive odor. The "bomb" could have been manufactured in one of the laboratories of the State House, but probably was not. The test tube came from another place. The "Providence Journal," on June 20, offered a reward of \$1000

for information that would lead to the apprehension and conviction of the person who had placed the bomb in the Senate.

The Lieutenant Governor was wide awake to an opportunity. With several Republican Senators incapacitated by reason of gas fumes, writs were issued under the constitutional authority of the minority to compel the attendance of a quorum, in which the Democrats might have a majority. Republican Senators, except Senator Sanderson, left the state on June 22, and on June 23 were reported as guests at Hotel Bartlett, Rutland, Massachusetts. Thereafter the Senate was called to order from day to day and adjourned for want of a quorum, disclosed by roll call. The House of Representatives adjourned from Tuesday to Thursday, and Thursday to Tuesday, eventually meeting, by gentlemen's agreement, practically as a committee for the purpose of recording "no quorum" and adjournment. Twenty-three banks joined a syndicate on June 23 to underwrite a credit of \$400,000 to assist state employes and state institutions by loans to meet the situation for the remainder of the year.

The summer and fall were rife with rumors of kidnapping expeditions to the vicinity of Rutland, of gangsters guarding Hotel Bartlett, of mysterious patrols on highways between Rhode Island and Rutland, of exiled Senators who stole home under cover of late Saturday night darkness and fled before midnight of Sunday to escape arrest on orders of the minority. The Attorney General made an investigation of reports that armed gangsters had attended sessions of the Senate, and an effort to find the perpetrators of the bomb outrage. A special session of the grand jury was convened, and on August 4, 1924, the grand jury returned indictments against William C. Pelkey, chairman of the Republican state central committee; John J. Toomey and William Murray, *alias* "Toots" Murray, all of whom were arrested and released on bail. The indictment, in several counts, charged the three with conspiracy, placing the bomb, and an assault upon the person of Felix A. Toupin. The charges against the three defendants were dismissed on October 6, when the Attorney General was unable to produce one Lally, the principal witness for the prosecution. In the discussion before the Superior Court on October 6, it was brought to the attention of Mr. Justice Hahn, who presided, that the missing witness, Lally, had been released on bail of \$1000, and that the small amount of the bond, in the instance of a material witness in a serious case, had been consented to by the Attorney General. The dismissal was ordered after the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the indictment and prosecution, admitted that though he was disappointed at the failure of Lally to appear, he could not be certain that Lally could be produced at any certain time for a trial. The defence offered to permit the trial to start, thus allowing time, while other witnesses were heard, to locate Lally; but the Assistant Attorney General declared that little could be proved without the star witness.

REPUBLICAN LANDSLIDE OF 1924—In the fall election Governor Flynn was the Democratic candidate for United States Senator, and Lieutenant Governor Toupin ran for Governor. Both were defeated by over 32,000 plurality in a total vote that reached 209,000. As a matter of fact, Toupin polled 4000 votes more in 1924 than did Governor Flynn in 1922, but the Republican candidate, ex-Governor Pothier, had piled up nearly 50,000 more than had been polled for Gross in 1922. In the Republican landslide Democrats were swept from all offices, and the Republican majorities in both Senate and House were increased in such manner as to give the party unquestionable and undisputed control. Among the measures introduced and passed at the January session of 1925 were a large number fixing the amounts of annual appropriations in such manner as to make them statutory and effective without action of the General Assembly, thus to reduce the effectiveness of another filibuster. Moreover, a beginning of the reorganization of the state finance forecasted in the budget measure of 1923 proceeded with the enactment of legislation creating a state commissioner of finance, to whom financial reports and estimates should be submitted, and whose duties should include the drafting of an annual appropriation bill to become effective for the continuance of departments if

the General Assembly failed to pass an appropriation bill before April 1. The reorganization proceeded with the substitution of a state comptroller for the state auditor, and eventually the change of the fiscal year from the calendar year to the year beginning July 1 and ending June 30. Governor Pothier was reëlected in 1926 and died February 4, 1928. Governor Norman S. Case, who succeeded Governor Pothier, was reëlected in 1928 by 8000 plurality in a total vote of 236,000. The Democrats in 1928 carried the state in the presidential election, Rhode Island's five electoral votes being cast for Alfred E. Smith.

Among the measures of Governor Pothier's administration were three proposed amendments to the Constitution, all of which were ratified November 6, 1928. The three amendments provided for (1) biennial instead of annual registration of voters; (2) reorganization of the Senate on the basis of one Senator for each town or city having less than 25,000 qualified electors; and for each town or city having more than 25,000 qualified electors one Senator for each 25,000 qualified electors or major fraction thereof up to not exceeding six Senators; (3) abolition of the property qualification in cities. Under the second amendment Providence elected four Senators in 1930 in districts, the provision for senatorial districts negating the probability of a bloc of four Senators from Providence of one party.‡ The Senate of 1931 will include forty-two Senators, Narragansett, 1901, and West Warwick, 1913, being new towns chartered after 1900. The suffrage amendment excludes registry voters from participation in financial town meetings, and permits the creation of budget commissions in towns or cities by the General Assembly with the approval of property voters expressed in a referendum. The amendment also covers transfers of real property and personal property voters to registry lists in the manner already established by usage.

In the election of 1930, the first in which the abolition of the property qualification was effective, a Republican candidate for United States Senator and the Republican state ticket were elected by small pluralities; and the party retained control of both branches of the General Assembly. In three city elections—Central Falls, Providence and Woonsocket—control passed from Republicans to Democrats. The Democratic party attained control of the city council in Providence for the first time in the nearly a century of city government.

‡Three Democrats, one Republican, returned in 1930.





## CHAPTER XXIV.

### ECONOMICS AND NATIONAL POLITICS.



HAD the Republican party continued to be merely an organization created to crystallize public opinion on a single issue—resistance to extension of negro slavery, and its eventual abolition—it should have ceased to exist with the completion of the work of Reconstruction in the South after the war. For the same reason, General U. S. Grant should have been the last Republican President. But the Republican party had been built in part upon the ruins of the old Whig party of Henry Clay and the tradition of protection by tariff as a stimulus for American industry. Besides that, there were members of the party, who viewed the slavery issue with William H. Seward as an “irrepressible conflict” between free labor and slave labor,\* because “the slave system is not only intolerable, unjust and inhuman toward the laborer, who, only because he is a laborer, it loads down with chains and converts into merchandise, but is scarcely less severe upon the freeman, to whom, only because he is a laborer from necessity, it denies facilities for employment, and whom it expels from the community because it cannot enslave and convert into merchandise also. . . . Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either a slave-holding nation or entirely a free-labor nation.” It was this struggle between free-labor and slave-labor, so keenly discerned and so clearly described by Seward, that explained the appeal of the Republican party to men of the North, drawn to it by intuition if not by understanding. The Republican party was, therefore, because of its succession to the Whig party and because of its appeal to free labor, an economic party, as well as a humanitarian party; with the settlement of the slavery issue by abolition and reconstruction, it continued as the party advocating Henry Clay’s “American System.”†

Once Rhode Island had exhausted measures for conciliation by participation in the Peace Congress of 1861 and by repealing the “personal liberty law,” it was ready for war to preserve the union. Rhode Island’s political support went to the Republican party as the party in control of the machinery of government of the United States, and charged with responsibility for the welfare of the nation because of its possession. Senators Henry B. Anthony and William Sprague were staunch adherents of the Lincoln government, and continued with the Republican majority after the assassination of the President. Both voted against President Johnson in the impeachment trial. Senator Sprague’s affiliation with the Republican party was strengthened by his marriage with Kate Chase, daughter of Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury in President Lincoln’s Cabinet until his resignation in December, 1864, to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by President Lincoln’s appointment. “This amazing woman,” wrote Bowers,‡ “surpassed by none in history in the imperial sway she held over men’s imaginations, suggested in her career the brilliant daughter of Burr. She had been the mistress of her father’s household at an age when many girls still find amusement with their dolls. The public men she thus met at the table of Chase had greatly stimulated her intellectual growth, and the atmosphere of politics had early become part of herself. While still in

\*Address at Rochester, New York, October 25, 1858.

†Address in United States Senate, February 2, 1832.

‡Tragic Era, 252.

her teens she was one of the most astute politicians in Ohio. . . . When Chase entered the Cabinet, she took the social sceptre from older hands, and at twenty-one she was the belle of the town (Washington). Her extraordinary beauty, grace, charm, her brilliant repartee, made her the darling of the Diplomatic Corps; her suitors were legion; her triumph was complete. . . . Ambitious, brilliant, her imagination pictured her father President, and herself presiding at the White House. That her marriage at twenty-four to Senator Sprague, whose fortune was great, was dictated by ambition for her father seems probable. At that time she was the most dashing young woman in the country, the most popular in official society since Dolly Madison. Her wedding had been a social event, her trousseau that of a princess, her guests the most notable in the land, and Lincoln had claimed the privilege of a kiss. In less than a year she was the acknowledged arbiter of the most exclusive society. . . . She dimmed the splendor of her raiment and outshone the brilliance of her jewels. . . . Wherever this enchantress went she dominated the scene. . . . Maybe it is the mind behind the beauty that makes her stand out regally among all the pretty women around her. . . . After all, it is not the mere physical beauty that makes her 'the enchantress,' but the distinctive intellectual charm of her manner, the proud poise of her exquisite head." The Chase-Sprague house in Washington—the Spragues made their home with the Chief Justice—became the centre of the brilliant social life of the capital city; when the Spragues removed for the summer to beautiful Canonchet at Narragansett Pier, Washington followed, and the Pier became the summer capital.

The Rhode Island Senators were most influential in Congress. Henry B. Anthony was a tower of intellectual strength. William Sprague had youth, money, ambition, an impetuous elan and an irresistible urge to activity in the causes which he supported; his magnificent service in raising and equipping soldiers in the early years of the war, and his personal bravery on the battlefield had made him famous before he went to Washington as Senator from Rhode Island. His marriage to the most brilliant and most beautiful woman in America, and his connection by reason of the marriage with one of Lincoln's most able secretaries confirmed his position. In the House of Representatives the Union party Congressmen—William P. Sheffield and George H. Browne, both eminent lawyers—were replaced by Republicans—Thomas A. Jenckes and Nathan F. Dixon—in 1863.

The Republicans continued carrying both congressional districts by majorities exceeding 5000 biennially until 1870. Senator Sprague was interested in the tariff because of his large investments in textile factories and other protected manufacturing interests, and was influential in promoting revision that favored Rhode Island. Senator Anthony, keenly appreciative of the effect of the tariff upon Rhode Island's economic welfare, supported Senator Sprague; besides that, Senator Anthony was a powerful debater and vigorous exponent of his party's principles. In the House Congressman Jenckes devoted his energies to civil service reform, and achieved distinction for his reports and success in obtaining legislation that have linked his name forever with one of the most significant movements for the improvement of governmental service. The labor of Congressman Jenckes led directly to the appointment of the Civil Service Commission, and the gradual substitution of the merit for the spoils systems in appointments to positions in the federal service. Civil service reform was not complete; it had scarcely begun when Congressman Jenckes had ceased to be a member of Congress. Garfield was to fall by an assassin's bullet before the nation was to awaken to the extent of the evil of the spoils system. But Jenckes had laid the foundation on which Cleveland, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson were to build the merit system. One of the most able supporters of Congressman Jenckes was another Rhode Islander—George William Curtis, brilliant writer, and editor at various times of the "New York Tribune," "Putnam's Monthly," "Harper's Weekly" and "Harper's Monthly." President Grant appointed Curtis as one of a commission to draw up rules and regulations for the civil service under the first civil service reform act, drafted

by Jenckes, and passed in 1868. Congressman Jenckes was also author of the national bankruptcy act of 1867.

HOW A RHODE ISLAND VOTE ELECTED PRESIDENT HAYES—The single vote by which Rutherford B. Hayes defeated Samuel J. Tilden for the presidency in 1876-1877 was cast by a presidential elector chosen by the Rhode Island General Assembly after it had been discovered that George H. Corliss, who apparently had been elected, was Commissioner from Rhode Island of the United States Centennial Commission. The Constitution of the United States provides\* that “no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.” Governor Henry Lippitt asked the Supreme Court of Rhode Island to render an advisory opinion. The Court, Stiness, J., dissenting, held (1) that Mr. Corliss, at the time of the popular election in November, held an “office of trust or profit under the United States” and was ineligible for election as presidential elector; (2) that he could not by declining the office create a vacancy that would give the other electors right under the statute to fill the vacancy, because he had not been elected and so could not “decline”; (3) that the provision for filling a vacancy in the statute covered only vacancies created after an election; (4) that resignation of the “office of trust” could not cure the situation unless the resignation preceded election; (5) that the disqualification did not result in the election of the candidate next in vote but in failure to elect; (6) that the vacancy caused by failure to elect could be filled under the statute by election by the General Assembly in grand committee.† Stiness, J., dissenting, held that the incorporation of the Centennial Commission by act of Congress made the corporation the trustee, and that members of the corporation held under the corporation charter and not as officers of the United States; hence Mr. Corliss was not disqualified. Governor Lippitt called a special session of the General Assembly to fill the vacancy, and the General Assembly, in grand committee, elected William A. Slater.

It will be recalled that, following the presidential election of 1876, contests from several Southern states were referred to an Electoral Commission created by Congress, and that the Electoral Commission decided contests in such manner that Rutherford B. Hayes was elected as President by one majority. The Rhode Island election was not contested, and the question was not taken before the Electoral Commission. On the recitation of facts above these possibilities are suggested: (1) that the vote cast by William A. Slater was the decisive vote, inasmuch as Hayes could not obtain a majority without it; (2) that if the November election of 1876 in Rhode Island resulted in failure to elect the fourth Presidential elector, and nothing further had been done, the decisions by the Electoral Commission in favor of Hayes would have produced only a tie vote, which would have thrown the election of a President into the House of Representatives in Congress and would have assured the election of Tilden by the Democratic majority in the House; (3) that had the ineligibility of Mr. Corliss been interpreted as clearing the way for the election of the candidate having the next highest vote, Tilden would have received the vote of one Rhode Island Democrat and would have been elected by that vote as President.

The closeness of the election of 1876, the long-continued suspense while the Electoral Commission was hearing evidence, the delays that carried the announcement of the result ultimately almost to March 4, the possibility that the Electoral Commission might fail, and eventually the doubt as to what action Congress might take when the Electoral Commission presented its report, all produced apprehension. Governor Lippitt, in his message to the General Assembly in 1877, expressed confidence in the “intelligence, patriotism and respect for law of the American people,” thus: “I do not consider it my province, and it is certainly not my intention, to discuss at length in a message of this kind, the condition of national affairs,

\*Article II, section 1.

†In re George H. Corliss, 11 R. I. 638.

despite their present uncertainty. I have not so far lost my faith in the intelligence, patriotism and respect for law of the American people as to anticipate any violent rupture of our government or its institutions. That some hot-headed partisans may see in the very close result of the presidential contest a circumstance that may lead to another civil war is apparent. It is equally so that the solid common sense of the mass of our people, entirely irrespective of party, would instantly crush any overt act in this direction. The time has not yet come, and this is not the generation, to pull down the Temple of Liberty erected by our fathers. I think I can answer for our own state, limited as she is in numbers and influence, that no such attempt would for a moment receive the support of any considerable number of the inhabitants. I have faith that the representatives of the people having this matter in charge will succeed in adjusting the difficulty. Whoever is found to have been legally elected will be inaugurated and receive the united support of the American people." The course of events in March, 1877, is familiar history. Samuel J. Tilden accepted the decision of the Electoral Commission and discouraged further agitation by his supporters. No one knew better than Tilden how ruthlessly the grim soldier in the White House until March 4, 1877, would have suppressed rebellion before or after the inauguration of President Hayes. From the South federal troops were withdrawn, and the Democratic governments chosen by the white people were inaugurated. The Civil War and Reconstruction both were at an end. Tilden was right; Governor Lippitt's confidence in the "intelligence, patriotism and respect for law of the American people" had been justified.

WILLIAMS AND GREENE FOR HALL OF STATUARY—When, in 1864, Congress invited each of the states to contribute statues of two distinguished citizens for a national hall of statuary in the chamber in the Capitol at Washington formerly the meeting place of the National House of Representatives, Rhode Island was the first of the states to respond. Roger Williams and Nathanael Greene were selected for honor, and the General Assembly ordered a marble statue of each. The statue of Nathanael Greene was completed first, and was the first statue placed in the new Hall of Statuary. In the dedication suitable exercises were conducted, and notable addresses were delivered on the life and character of Nathanael Greene and Rhode Island's glorious history. The statue of Roger Williams does not purport to be a portrait, for no picture of the most remarkable pioneer in democracy of the seventeenth century had been preserved, from which the sculptor might copy. The sculptor attempted to express in a face of marked serenity an idealistic conception of nobility of character and earnestness of purpose, along with that search for truth that dominated the life of Roger Williams. Otherwise the statue portrays a figure clad in the Puritan garb of the seventeenth century and carrying a large Bible. The statue of Greene is more nearly a portrait of the famous Revolutionary General, garbed in the uniform of a continental army officer. More lifelike than the statue of Williams, Greene's pose suggests the aggressive action that characterized his generalship. The statues are mounted on finely proportioned pedestals of Western granite, also the gifts of Rhode Island. An equestrian statue of Nathanael Greene, erected by Congress, adorns one of the squares in the capital city.

RHODE ISLAND CONGRESSMEN—The Rhode Island delegation in Congress—Senators Anthony and Sprague, and Representatives Dixon and Jenckes—remained unchanged through the Thirty-eighth to the Forty-first Congress, 1863-1871. Benjamin F. Eames replaced Jenckes and continued to represent the Eastern, or First District, as it was renamed in 1872, through the Forty-second to the Forty-fifth Congress, 1871-1879. James M. Pendleton succeeded Dixon as Representative from the Western, or Second District, 1871-1875, and was followed by Latimer W. Ballou, who served through the Forty-fourth to the Forty-sixth Congress, 1875-1881. All were Republicans, and all were elected by comfortable majorities, except Eames, who in 1870 was opposed by two Republicans as well as a Democrat and a Prohibi-

tionist. Congressman Ballou was challenged in 1878 by Jerothmul B. Barnaby, who, as a candidate for Governor in 1877, had reduced the Republican majority in the state election to less than 500. The time of electing Congressmen was changed in 1868 from spring to fall, and in 1870 to the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, thus coinciding with the presidential election in the quadrennium. Thereafter the vote polled in the congressional elections was large or small in four-year cycles, as the election fell in or out of presidential years. The Greenback party nominated candidates in 1876, 1878 and 1880, and polled its largest vote, 886, in 1878.

Rhode Island had not followed Senator Sprague in his opposition to resumption of specie payments. The General Assembly, in 1878, adopted resolutions approving the return to specie payments, and opposed the Bland bill with its concession to bimetallism. Governor Van Zandt called a special session of the General Assembly in April, 1878, to take such measures as might be desirable in view of the anticipated repeal of the national bankruptcy act. A committee was appointed to draft an insolvency act. The election of Senator in 1874-1875, following the retirement of Senator Sprague, recalled the senatorial election of 1835, in the course of which twenty-one ballots were taken before Nehemiah R. Knight attained the required majority. The balloting in 1874-1875 resulted in the selection of General Ambrose E. Burnside in joint assembly on the twenty-eighth ballot on January 26, 1875. The election of a Senator to succeed Senator Sprague was undertaken at the May session, 1874, twenty-one ballots being taken between June 10 and June 25 without success. Nathan F. Dixon, who had represented the Western District in Congress, 1863-1871, and who had been defeated for reelection to the Forty-second Congress, was General Burnside's strongest opponent in the early balloting. Eventually most of the Dixon votes were cast for Burnside, after the former had withdrawn from the contest. Senator Burnside was reelected in 1880 for six years from March 4, 1881, but died September 13, 1881. Senator Anthony, whose first election was in 1858 for the term beginning March 4, 1859, was reelected four times, the last in 1882; he died September 2, 1884. The passing of Senators Anthony and Burnside marked practically the ending of an era.

Senator Anthony, from being a stalwart figure in Rhode Island state politics from the period of the Dorr War, as editor of the "Journal," the organ of the Republican party, and as one of a group of men who succeeded in maintaining a unique and effective control in the state government, assumed a position of relatively similar significance in the councils of the nation. In the Senate he became a strong debater, supporting measures for the vigorous prosecution of the Civil War. As a member of the committee on printing he achieved the establishment of the Government Printing Office, destined to be the largest printing plant, with the finest equipment, in the world, all part of Senator Anthony's project for better printing in the government's own shop. The capacity of the Government Printing Office, in spite of all the demands made upon it from day to day by Congress, has been tested but never strained. Senator Anthony was twice elected President *pro tem* of the United States Senate. His influence with his Rhode Island colleagues was marked, and they constantly, with the exception of Senator Sprague, looked to Senator Anthony for advice and counsel. His relations with Senator Sprague were strained because of the latter's attitude on financial policies, and the quarrel which developed led Senator Sprague to list Senator Anthony and the "Journal" as among his enemies. Perhaps it was the linking of Senator Anthony and General Burnside in one scathing address delivered by Senator Sprague in the Senate that confirmed a friendship between Senator Anthony and Senator Burnside that scarcely had been expected by those in Rhode Island who supported Burnside against Dixon in the senatorial election of 1874-1875. Burnside and Anthony were intimate and friendly colleagues so long as both remained in the Senate. Senator Anthony's immediate successor was William P. Sheffield, who was appointed by the Governor, November 19, 1884, to fill the vacancy caused by Senator Anthony's death, pending an election by the General Assembly, which chose Jonathan Chace.

Governor Littlefield called a special session of the General Assembly in September 1881, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Burnside. The General Assembly elected Nelson W. Aldrich on October 5, 1881, and at the same session adopted resolutions on the deaths of President Garfield and Senator Burnside. Senator Aldrich was destined to become the dominating figure in federal politics known throughout the country as "General Manager of the United States." Both Senator Aldrich and Senator Chace had been members of Congress, when elected to the Senate, Aldrich as Representative from the First District from 1879, and Chace as Representative from the Second District from 1881. Henry J. Spooner was elected to succeed Aldrich in the Forty-seventh Congress at a special election on November 22, 1881; and Nathan F. Dixon to succeed Chace in the Forty-eighth Congress at a special election on February 5, 1885. Rhode Island's support of Republican candidates for the presidency was continued through the period from 1860 to 1892, although in the latter year the Republican majority dwindled to 754 in a total vote of 53,196. In state politics the Democratic party had become an effective competitor at the time.\*

MAJORITY VS. PLURALITY ELECTION—Henry J. Spooner, elected from the First District, November 22, 1881, to succeed Nelson W. Aldrich, was reëlected by substantial majorities four times, and defeated for reëlection the fifth time, 1890, by Oscar Lapham, Democrat, whom Spooner had defeated three times, 1882, 1886 and 1888. Congressional elections in the Second District were not so regular. Nathan F. Dixon, who was elected February 5, 1885, for the short term to March 4 as successor of Jonathan Chace, had been fourth on November 4, 1884, in a contest for the place for the term beginning March 4, 1885. The committee of the General Assembly which counted the Second District vote reported a majority of sixteen for William A. Pirce, Republican, in a total of 15,476. The committee had included in the count twenty-six ballots that had been found among ballots cast for presidential electors, and Charles H. Page, Democrat, who had been credited by the committee with 5995, contested the election for the reason that William A. Pirce had not a majority as required by the statute. The national House of Representatives on January 25, 1887 declared Pirce's seat vacant, for the reason that he had not been duly elected a member of the Forty-ninth Congress. The Supreme Court of Rhode Island, in an advisory opinion requested by the state House of Representatives, ruled that a member of Congress could be elected by plurality vote or by majority vote as prescribed by the state law.† Governor Wetmore also requested an opinion of the Supreme Court to determine whether he or the General Assembly order a new election to fill the vacancy created by the unseating of Pirce. The question was suggested (1) by the language of the Constitution of the United States, article I, section 2, "when vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies"; and (2) by the language of the Rhode Island election law providing "if no person have such majority the General Assembly shall order a new election at such time as they shall deem most expedient." The Supreme Court ruled that the statute referred to a vacancy caused by failure to elect, and that the Constitution referred to a vacancy after election.‡ "The only question," said the court, "is whether a vacancy which exists by reason of a failure to elect is . . . a vacancy which has happened. . . . We think it is . . . for we suppose we may assume that William A. Pirce received a certificate of election, and that on the faith of it he was admitted to a seat in Congress, which he continued to occupy as representative *de facto* at least, until the seat was declared vacant." The Governor ordered another election, and on February 21, 1887, Charles H. Page, Democrat, received a plurality of 295 over William A. Pirce, for the term ending March 4, 1887. For the same seat for the term beginning March 4, 1887, in an election held on November 2, 1886, Charles H. Bradley,

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†In re the Plurality Elections, 17 R. I. 617.

‡In re the Representative Vacancy, 17 R. I. 621.

Democrat, lacked 204 of a majority in a total vote of 11,628, receiving 5430 to 4854 for Nathan F. Dixon. Arnold B. Chace, Prohibition, and William A. Pirce, Republican, polled votes enough to prevent an election. The House of Representatives, on April 1, 1887, asked the Supreme Court to answer this question: "In case there is a failure at any election to elect a member of the House of Representatives to represent any district in the Congress of the United States, and no new election is called previous to the expiration of the term of service of the member holding office at the time of such failure to elect, is it the duty of the General Assembly or of the Government to call a new election?" The reason for the question appeared in the fact that the office had become vacant by expiration of term without the election of a successor on March 4, 1887. The Court ruled that, as the vacancy existed by reason of failure to elect under the majority law "the statute imposes the duty of ordering the new election upon the General Assembly, and that the Governor, even if he has power under the Constitution of the United States, may well wait for the General Assembly to act so long as it is in session."§ In an election held on November 8, 1887, Warren O. Arnold, Republican, defeated Charles S. Bradley, Democrat, by 837 plurality.

In presidential year, 1888, both districts were carried by Republicans by comfortable majorities, but in 1890 Oscar Lapham, Democrat, defeated Congressman Spooner in the First District by 1152 majority. Charles H. Page, Democrat, had a plurality of seventy-three over Warren O. Arnold, Republican, in the Second District, but failed of a majority because of one Tripp, John S., Prohibitionist, who polled 582 votes. In the second election, February 21, 1891, Page achieved a majority of 5720 in a total of 8088. Both Representatives in the Fifty-second Congress were Democrats, and both Senators were Republicans. Nelson W. Aldrich had been reelected as Senator in 1886, and Jonathan Chace in 1888. The latter resigned, and Nathan F. Dixon was elected as Senator April 10, 1889, on the eighth ballot, the closest competitor being ex-Governor Wetmore. Congressmen Lapham and Page, as candidates for reelection in 1892, ran second, respectively, to Melville Bull and Adin B. Capron, each of whom achieved a plurality in the year of the presidential election. In the second election, April 5, 1893, Congressmen Lapham and Page were reelected by pluralities. The Congressional election of 1892-1893 for the Fifty-third Congress was the last held previous to the plurality election amendment to the Constitution of Rhode Island. In the series of four elections, 1886 to 1892, three second elections in the Second District, and one in the First had been necessary, because of close contests by candidates of the major parties, and the intervention of the Prohibition party, a very weak third party, but strong enough to offset the margin between Republican and Democrat.

In the elections of 1894, 1896, 1898 and 1900, Congressman Bull was elected by pluralities so large as to be clear majorities also over candidates so popular as Oscar Lapham, George T. Brown, John W. Hogan, and Charles E. Gorman. In the Second District Warren O. Arnold, Republican, in 1894, and Adin B. Capron, Republican, in 1896, 1898 and 1900, defeated Lucius F. C. Garvin, Democrat, by large pluralities that were also majorities. The national issues at the period were the tariff—high protective or for revenue only—and bimetalism; on these issues Rhode Island stood squarely with the national Republican party. Ex-Governor Wetmore replaced Senator Dixon in 1895, and was reelected in 1900. Senator Aldrich was reelected with only four opposing votes in 1898, ten members of the General Assembly being absent. The string of Republican victories was soon to be broken, because of a renewal of Democratic strength in Rhode Island state politics, and a revolt in both state and national politics against the mighty combination of strong men who had grown careless and who no longer concealed the iron hand with which they had been directing the affairs of state and nation.

§In re the Congressional Election, 17 R. I. 624.

THE COMPLEX SITUATION IN 1902—The first break from unwavering support of the national Republican party came in 1902, when Lucius F. C. Garvin, Democrat, led his party to victory in the state election for the first time in twelve years since Honest John Davis had been chosen by the General Assembly of 1890. Back in 1890 the Democratic landslide had carried Daniel L. D. Granger into the office of City Treasurer in Providence, and he had continued there by annual reëlection until 1901, when he chose to be and was elected as Mayor of the city. Daniel L. D. Granger, favorite son of Providence, was pitted against Melville Bull, favorite son of Newport, as candidate for Representative from the First District in 1902, and Granger won by 663 plurality in a total of 31,016 votes. Both men were popular; Bull, by unctuous kindness and unstinted willingness to respond to a request from any constituent, Republican or Democrat, had won the esteem of men of all parties. Granger was twice reëlected to Congress from the First District by small majorities over John H. Stiness, who had resigned as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court a week before election, and Elisha Dyer, who had been Governor, 1897-1900, and whose father, Elisha Dyer, had been Governor, 1857-1859. In 1908, Congressman Granger was defeated by William P. Sheffield by eighty-one plurality in a total vote of 37,514. Congressman Granger was preparing plans to contest the election in the national House of Representatives, when he died, February 14, 1909, after more than twenty years in public service as Representative in the General Assembly, City Treasurer, Mayor and Congressman. The Second District remained staunchly Republican; Congressman Capron, who had been elected first in 1896 to the Fifty-fifth Congress, was reëlected six times, defeating, besides Lucius F. C. Garvin four times,\* Franklin P. Owen twice and Thomas F. Cooney. Congressman Capron's service of fourteen years in the House of Representatives was the longest credited to any Representative from Rhode Island; his nearest competitors were Dutee J. Pearce, twelve years, 1825-1837; Clark Burdick, twelve years, 1918-1930;† Tristram Burges, ten years, 1825-1835; and Ambrose Kennedy, ten years, 1913-1923. Senator Wetmore was reëlected in 1900, defeating Colonel Samuel R. Honey easily; Senator Aldrich was reëlected for the fourth time in 1905 to round out service of almost thirty years in the Senate, and over thirty years in Congress. He had achieved a position of acknowledged and unquestioned leadership in Congress; he was the undisputed final authority on economic questions; his was the master hand in tariff and financial legislation. The plan for the federal reserve banking system, enacted into law by a Democratic Congress, was his, although he had retired from Congress before the Democratic party, with Woodrow Wilson leading, adopted it as part of their program. He had been appointed chairman of the national monetary commission appointed by Congress to revise the national banking laws; the commission in 1911 announced the Aldrich plan for currency reform, which contained the essential principles of the federal reserve legislation adopted later. Senator Aldrich's part in making tariff bills is familiar; one tariff bill carried his name, but he was influential in the writing of most of the economic legislation that Congress enacted while he was a Senator. Senator Aldrich died in New York City, April 16, 1915.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1906—Senator Wetmore was a candidate for reëlection in 1907; colonel Samuel P. Colt was a rival Republican candidate. Senator Wetmore had served two years as Governor, 1886-1888, before his election as Senator in 1894. Colonel Colt's ambition to succeed Senator Wetmore was not concealed, nor even disguised. Colonel Colt had had a remarkable and distinguished career as lawyer, public officer, manufacturer, farmer and financier. Besides holding other public offices, he had been Attorney General, 1882-1886. He had been a member of the distinguished commission which in 1898 reported to the General Assembly a revised constitution for Rhode Island, to be submitted to the referendum. As a

\*Ex-Governor Garvin ran the fourth time in 1906.

†Reëlected for two years more, 1930.



OLD RHODE ISLAND STATE CAPITOL BUILDING AT NEWPORT



manufacturer he had been interested in rubber and rubber goods, and under his leadership one of the largest American manufactories of rubber boots and shoes had been developed in his home town of Bristol. As a farmer he had acquired and beautified Poppasquash Point, opposite the compact part of the town of Bristol, making the Colt farm there one of the most attractive estates in New England, broad in acreage, rich in forage crops, famed for its herd of sleek prize-winning cattle. As a financier he had been a prominent factor in the upbuilding of the Industrial Trust Company, until it had become one of the strongest banking enterprises in New England, with intimate connections in New York and other financial centres. Colonel Colt longed for new conquests, and a seat in the Senate of the United States, after the Roman Senate of antiquity the most august legislative body in the world, found favor in his eyes and matched his restless ambition. To attain the coveted place he must first wrest control of the Republican state organization from Senator Wetmore. The latter, far from being inclined to announce that he did not choose to run for a third term as Senator, was quite content to succeed himself and had been making preparations accordingly. Thus there were two Republican candidates for election as United States Senator in the campaign of 1906-1907, so far as it might be accurate to say that there was any Republican candidate until a state convention had assembled and had nominated a candidate.

It was understood perfectly well that his campaign for election as Governor in 1903 was the opening manoeuvre in Colonel Colt's contest for the Senatorship. Colonel Colt was defeated by Governor Garvin by 1303 plurality in a total of 62,035, the largest vote cast in Rhode Island election up to that time, a truly remarkable total for an off-year in politics, when there was no presidential election. Colonel Colt's total of 29,275 was the largest polled for any candidate for Governor to that time, save those for Governor Garvin in 1902 and 1903. While election as Governor in 1904 would have favored Colonel Colt's candidacy for the senatorial toga in 1906-1907, a second defeat in a popular election would be an irretrievable disaster, from the ruins of which Colonel Colt scarcely could contrive a reasonable excuse for seeking nomination as Senator. George H. Utter, Republican, was elected as Governor in 1904 in a closely contested election. Republican primaries had begun to assume an unwonted activity, as astute politicians grasped the significance of the major strategy in which Utter was pitted against Garvin, while both Colt and Wetmore were gathering strength for the real battle in 1906 to obtain for one or the other of them a majority in the joint assembly of 1907. Democratic primaries and conventions also became restless, and factional fights developed partly because the Democratic successes in 1902 and 1903 suggested other victories and spoils of office in which many were willing to participate, and partly also because the Republican strategy was projected into Democratic strongholds. In the close contest in the joint assembly that might be expected with two strong contenders such as Colt and Wetmore leading rival wings of the Republican party, the Democrats might hold the balance of power, and victory perch on the banners of the Republican who had the largest number of friends among the Democrats.

The "regular" Democrats were beaten unexpectedly in the Providence city convention in 1904 for nominating candidates for Senator and Representatives by the very simple expedient of nominating a complete list of candidates and forcing a vote upon it quickly, whereas the practice established by precedent was selection of candidates one by one. The "regular" Democrats retrieved the situation by rallying to support the ticket thrust upon them, thus establishing lasting friendship with the "invaders." The city party emerged from the family quarrel strengthened by reason of it, and the "insurgents" were elected, although in some quarters there was dissatisfaction that prepared the way for factional contests in the primaries of 1905. In both Republican and Democratic primaries in the year last mentioned strange new faces were seen, and contests were waged in places in which in other years little

opposition to lists of candidates prepared by ward committees had been manifested. Following the Democratic primary in the First Ward in Providence charges of irregularity were made, and the city board of canvassers was requested to recount the ballots and hear testimony. The number of ballots returned by the warden outnumbered by several hundred the electors who had participated in the primary, according to careful records kept by watchers. There had been, at the beginning of the primary, an acrimonious discussion by the warden and candidates for election in the primary, who insisted that they had a right to place watchers within the rail. To the warden's suggestion that he did not "need watching," the answer was made that an honest man "never feared watching." The balloting progressed regularly and continuously during the hours established by the caucus act, under which the primary was conducted. Then came the deluge—a deluge of ballots from the air that reached the table as the ballot box was emptied preliminary to counting. The procedure had been carefully planned even to the detail of checking by caucus officers on the lists of electors furnished by the board of canvassers a number of names additional to those properly checked by voting sufficient to account for the extra ballots. The return made by the warden of ballots and check lists had the appearance of regularity, and the board of canvassers sustained the primary, in spite of the fact that more than fifty men were called and testified that they, although their names had been checked as voting, had not attended the primary. The persons elected at this primary included a new ward committee, and the fires were lighted then to heat the irons for a new contest in 1906. For this ample preparation was made by the "regular" Democrats, now outside and no longer in control of the machinery. The preparations included the presence at Pioneer Hall, on South Main Street, in which the primary of 1906 was conducted, of a half-dozen of the best lawyers in the Democratic party at the time; checkers who took down in shorthand the names of every person who offered to vote, double record being made, that one list might corroborate the other; challengers who knew well the residents of the ward, and who might easily detect "substitutes"; watchers placed within the rail. The primary was orderly, though the atmosphere was tense, until a few minutes before closing time, and then events happened in rapid succession. To avoid a recurrence of the deluge of 1905 request was made that a space be cleared so that the counting of ballots might not be interfered with, and then, that instead of opening the ballot box and counting, it be sealed up and sent to the board of canvassers for a count to be made by them. In the course of the discussion of the requests a rush for the ballot box was made from the floor, and hands full of ballots were thrust toward the box. A burly young Democrat, a lawyer among the watchers, pushed the warden aside as the latter reached for the slide controlling the mouth of the ballot box. The lawyer threw his body against the slide and over the mouth, closing the box and holding on stoutly, in spite of efforts to pry him away, as the crowd surged backward and forward, until the police charged through and seized the box. Even as the box was being carried by the police down a long flight of stairs to the street, another rush and attempt to stuff it were made and were frustrated by the same burly fellow who had covered the box in the first instance. Thus the ballot box reached the office of the board of canvassers and there it was sealed up at the request of lawyers, who signed the seals. The board of canvassers, because no count and no return had been made, after conducting a hearing found "that no persons were lawfully elected or nominated at said caucus, and that said caucus was illegal and void."

The board of canvassers refused to designate a time and place or to furnish paraphernalia for another primary, and the Supreme Court refused to issue a writ of mandamus compelling the board to order another primary.\* The Supreme Court later refused to try the title of the rival ward committees in *quo warranto* proceedings,† or to review and revise the

\*Kelley vs. Whitley, 27 R. I. 355.

†Greenough vs. Lucy, 28 R. I. 230.

decision of the board of canvassers that the primary was illegal and void.‡ Thus the "regular" Democrats lost not only control of the party machinery in the First Ward, which continued with the hold-over committee, but the First Ward lost representation in the city convention for nominating candidates for Senator and Representatives in the General Assembly. The "regulars" had won in five of ten wards, in spirited primary contests, and controlled the convention. Thus it happened that the Providence delegation in the General Assembly of 1907 was staunchly regular in its democracy, and in its support of the third candidate for Senator, Colonel Robert H. I. Goddard, running as a Democrat in the interests of "good government."

A NEW NEWSPAPER—One of the strongest agencies supporting Colonel Colt in his campaign for the Senate was the "Providence Tribune," newspaper. In February, 1906, the "Evening Telegram" was purchased by a syndicate of newspaper men, consisting of Matthew A. Dwyer, Frederick H. Howland, Frederic N. Luther, Timothy F. Dwyer, Daniel J. Dwyer, Albert C. Rider, John J. Rosenfeld, Edmund E. Eastman, Charles R. Thurston, Frank E. Jones, Horace C. Belcher and Thatcher T. Thurston. All had been included in the staff of the "Providence Journal," and most had been editors by some classification. Along with them to the new enterprise went a large contingent of other "Journal" employes from editorial and reportorial staffs, counting room, and mechanical departments. The episode is referred to in "Journal" tradition as "Exodus," because of the many who went out, the number assuming such proportions that for a brief period of time it seemed almost that the "Journal" had departed in life and spirit, leaving only a building with deserted rooms, and shops. The recovery was almost instantaneous; telegrams dispatched to other cities brought men in large numbers who were glad to find employment on the "Dear Old Journal," as the newspaper was familiarly and affectionately known by newspapermen in eastern cities. Back to assume charge of the editorial staff came Frederick Roy Martin, a former chief editor; with or not far behind him were other old-timers, so that the new "Journal" staff was not entirely strange in its environment. So many arrived hurriedly in response to urgent request that they reached the "Journal" office direct from the railroad station, carrying personal baggage. And thus it happened that they were referred to as "carpetbaggers."

Later came as the new managing editor John R. Rathom, from Chicago immediately, but more remotely from California, China, the polar regions, South Africa and Australia—a man with world-wide experience—born in Australia, schooled at old Harrow in England, and educated in the University of the World. He had been reporter and war correspondent before he had been an editor, accompanying military and exploratory expeditions. The last "Evening Telegram" was printed March 10, 1906; the first "Evening Tribune," the name chosen for the new venture, was issued March 12, 1906. The "Sunday Telegram" was continued as the "Sunday Tribune," and on July 4, 1906, a new morning newspaper, the "Morning Tribune," the first morning rival of the "Daily Journal" in twenty years, was published for the first time. To emphasize the secession from the "Journal," and the suggestion that the "real" "Journal" had moved out of the old shell into a new and "lively experiment," the "Tribune" in type, makeup and general appearance, so nearly resembled the "Journal" and "Bulletin," evening edition of the "Journal," that one must read title carefully to distinguish one from the other. The "Tribune" was a penny paper, and it became popular immediately: (1) Because of the price; (2) because of the men who were publishing it; (3) because of excellent news service, local and telegraphic; (4) because it was new and enterprising; (5) because of curiosity; (6) because it was supporting Colonel Colt and the Republican organization; and (7) because of a great many other reasons. It was an excellent newspaper, and it achieved both

‡Dwyer vs. Board of Canvassers, 28 R. I. 401.

circulation and advertising patronage that warranted the investments made in new machinery, new features, and in first class service generally. Friends of the "Journal" characterized "Exodus" as desertion in pursuance of a plot to wreck the newspaper, and the printing of the "Tribune" in dress so nearly like the "Journal" as an attempt to deceive the general public. The "Journal" said nothing at all; regular editions were printed without failure and on time, news and editorial service was maintained; within a month the size of the paper was increased as new departments were inaugurated and old departments were strengthened. The mechanical plant was augmented. The "Journal" was meeting competition on the basis of a rivalry in excellence.

It had been for many years a tradition with the "Journal" never to mention other Providence newspapers in news or editorial columns, and this tradition was observed without exception. But the rivalry of the period, newspaper and political, produced a character new to Rhode Island—a certain Colonel Linkaby Didd—who became an occasional contributor to the "Journal" and "Bulletin." Colonel Linkaby Didd was jocular in his most serious moments, and serious in his marshaling of side-splitting humor. The Colonel never mentioned names, yet the most casual reader who was at all familiar with the political situation had no difficulty in identifying the politician or the newspaper that was being caricatured. The day following the publication of a statement of the number of papers printed by the "Tribune," Colonel Linkaby Didd related the story of a barge heavily loaded with waste newsprint paper being towed far down Narragansett Bay to a place where the paper could be sunk far beneath the surface of charitable waters. Colonel Linkaby Didd announced himself as a candidate for the United States Senate, and occasionally, in his letters, reviewed the progress of his campaign. He followed statements made by campaign managers or speeches on behalf of other candidates, riddling them with innuendo and satire. His attack was baffling and damaging because the politician ridiculed could not take up the gauntlet thrown down by Colonel Linkaby Didd without accepting the position or the rôle manufactured for him by the Colonel. All Rhode Island rocked with the laughter of the many, as the few whom the Colonel lashed with his sarcasm gnashed their teeth with rage to which they might not give expression without taking further punishment. Colonel Linkaby Didd gave no opportunity for libel suits; his methods were far too subtle; yet he was causing irremediable damage to pretentious political schemes. John R. Rathom had reached Rhode Island and was beginning to play the masterful rôle that he maintained until his death nearly a generation later, and to build up the "Journal" and "Bulletin" as distinctive among American newspapers. Colonel Linkaby Didd arrived on the same train with John R. Rathom, and died at the same moment.

THREE CANDIDATES FOR THE SENATE—The campaign of 1906, which had opened with bitter contests in political primaries, continued unabated in the months that intervened before election. Both Republican candidates for the United States Senate spared no effort to elect their candidates for the General Assembly against the Democratic and Good Government candidates pledged to vote for Colonel Robert H. I. Goddard. There was vigorous opposition in Rhode Island to Senator Wetmore, who, although a legal resident of Newport and properly qualified, was considered as a New Yorker rather than a Rhode Islander. Colonel Colt had made many enemies in the course of a career in which he had been successful and fortunate otherwise. In the emergency Colonel Robert H. I. Goddard was chosen by a group styling themselves advocates of reform and good government, and he was indorsed by the Democrats. The revolt at the time against alleged "bossism"\* contributed no small part to the triangular contest for the United States senatorship. With three parties in action, the state was canvassed thoroughly in stump speaking campaigns, and rallies in unprecedented number on behalf of rival candidates were conducted in sections of Rhode Island seldom given atten-

\*Chapter XXIII.

tion by practical politicians because of rock-ribbed regularity in returning unflinching majorities for one party or the other. The two Republican factions and the Democrats were amply supplied with campaign money to cover every conceivable legitimate expenditure—for rent of halls or theatres for mass meetings, for traveling expenses of speakers, for bands of music, for printing and paying postage on circular literature, for advertising in newspapers and on billboards; and, besides, there were rumors, because the three known candidates for the Senate were very rich men, that there was an abundance of money that might be made available for other purposes.

The participation of "strangers" in party primaries, and unusually large registration in several towns were alleged as reasons for suspicion that plans had been made for the use on election day of "repeaters," that is, persons who registered and voted in more than one polling place. So tense had the situation become by election day that watchers were placed by the good government party at the polls in every precinct, and a central headquarters was maintained for the purpose of receiving reports from watchers. The watchers were instructed to note unusual procedure, to challenge irregular voting, and not to leave the polls unless relieved until the counting of ballots had been completed and the bundles of ballots sealed up for delivery to the Secretary of State. Following the election, complaints of illegal voting were made and followed by arrests. In one case the Supreme Court held that a complaint alleging that an elector had voted twice illegally was bad for duplicity.† After the popular election in November the state waited patiently for the opening of the General Assembly in January, 1907, and the voting in joint assembly with the purpose of choosing a Senator.

The election of a Senator by the General Assembly followed procedure established by statute before the Civil War. The first vote was taken by roll call in the Senate and House of Representatives sitting apart; if the first vote resulted in a clear majority the meeting of the joint assembly was simply for accepting and announcing the result. If the first voting in separate houses failed to produce a majority for any candidate, then the joint assembly proceeded to ballot. The statutory procedure required a roll call record vote. In 1907 eighty-one successive ballots were taken without the majority required. On the first ballot the vote was: Robert Hale Ives Goddard 41, Samuel Pomroy Colt 38, George Peabody Wetmore 30, George H. Utter 1. The proceedings in joint assembly were dignified and impressive as Governor James H. Higgins presided. The roll call proceeded rhythmically as the names of Senators and Representatives were called by the clerks, and the members responded, rolling out the complete names of the candidates, "Robert Hale Ives Goddard," "Samuel Pomroy Colt," and "George Peabody Wetmore." The nominating speeches in joint assembly at the opening session were splendid orations, eulogizing the candidates and enumerating reasons why one or another should receive the suffrage of the Assemblymen. Notable was the address of Roswell B. Burchard of Little Compton, who had been absent on the day on which the first roll call was taken and whose position had not been disclosed until he cast his first ballot. If these were anticipations of weakness or changing of votes, these were soon dispelled as the joint assembly, meeting day after day and balloting once always and occasionally several times, continued to reach the same result. On the eighty-first ballot the vote was practically the same as on the first: Robert Hale Ives Goddard 40, Samuel Pomroy Colt 39, George Peabody Wetmore 30. The General Assembly adjourned *sine die* after the eighty-first ballot on April 23. Neither Colt nor Wetmore could be persuaded in favor of the other, and Goddard supporters were adamant. Thus the joint assembly failed to elect a Senator, and from March 4, 1907, when Senator Wetmore's term expired by limitation, Rhode Island had only one Senator in Congress.

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†State vs. Custer, 28 R. I. 222 and 228. See State vs. Fitzpatrick, 4 R. I. 269.

With the adjournment of the General Assembly preparations were begun immediately for a new canvass in anticipation of the election of 1907, in which a new General Assembly would be chosen. As between Democrats and Republicans there was little change in the General Assembly of 1908 from that of 1907, but there had been a change of sentiment within the Republican party. Colonel Colt, who was seriously ill, was no longer an active competitor. On the first ballot in 1908 in separate houses the result was: George Peabody Wetmore 68, Robert Hale Ives Goddard 36, Samuel Pomroy Colt 5. The joint assembly, meeting on the following day, declared George Peabody Wetmore elected as Senator for the unexpired portion of the term of six years beginning March 4, 1907. In the election of 1907 the total vote cast was only 400 less than in 1906, and Governor Higgins, candidate for reëlection, increased his plurality only slightly as he defeated Frederick H. Jackson. Essentially the electors had maintained steadfastly their preferences of 1906, with the exception indicated with reference to the Republican senatorial candidates. Colonel Linkaby Didd related, in one of his letters to the "Journal," after election, a story of a colonial coach with six horses which had been prepared to carry a new Senator on a triumphant journey from Bristol to Washington. The coach had been repainted and refitted with new wheels and springs; the horses were sleek prize-winners at horse shows. No longer needed, the coach was returned once more to the coach house to gather dust and cobwebs. Colonel Linkaby Didd himself retired from "public life" at the same time, venturing out only occasionally thereafter to express through the "Journal" his opinions of men and things.

RHODE ISLAND'S OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL TAX MEASURES—Congress submitted the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, income tax, on July 12, 1909, and the amendment was proclaimed on February 25, 1913, as ratified by thirty-eight states, four others ratifying later. Rhode Island, Connecticut and Utah rejected the income tax amendment, the Rhode Island action taking the form of a resolution, in 1910, that Rhode Island "refuses" to ratify. Congress submitted the seventeenth amendment, election of Senators by popular vote, on May 16, 1912, and ratification was proclaimed on May 31, 1913. Rhode Island was the only New England state that did not ratify the seventeenth amendment. The eighteenth amendment, prohibition, was submitted December 17, 1917, and proclaimed as ratified on January 29, 1919. The Supreme Court held\* that the amendment became part of the Constitution on January 16, 1919, when ratified by Nebraska and North Carolina as the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth states. Rhode Island and Connecticut did not ratify the eighteenth amendment. The nineteenth amendment, woman suffrage, was submitted June 5, 1919, and proclaimed August 26, 1920. Rhode Island ratified the woman suffrage amendment January 6, 1920.

Rhode Island protested against a federal inheritance tax in 1909, and increased the state tax on transfers of net estates, inheritance, only to take advantage of the maximum rebate permitted by the federal statutes. The last was a measure purposing to obtain as state revenue a tax that would have been taken by the federal government otherwise. The General Assembly in 1914 protested against the literacy test in the Burnett immigration bill, and in the following year urged the President to veto the Burnett-Smith bill prohibiting the admission of illiterate immigrants. The Assembly resolutions recalled the veto of similar bills by Presidents Grover Cleveland and William H. Taft and continued: "This bill would forbid the entrance into the United States of men like those who blazed the trail of civilization across this great Republic; men who have built its railways, constructed its streets, done all the hard, manual labor in camps, mines and forests, men who have been a valuable addition to our citizenship, men thrifty, honest and law-abiding."

\*Dillon vs. Gloss 256 U. S. 368.

NEW CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS—From 1902 the Democrats carried the First Congressional District regularly until the presidential year of 1908, when William P. Sheffield defeated Congressman Granger by eighty-one votes in a total of 37,514. In 1910 the First District reverted to the Democrats, and George F. O'Shaunessy defeated Congressman Sheffield decisively by 1800 plurality. In the same year ex-Governor Utter carried the Second Congressional District, defeating Thomas F. Cooney, by 5200 plurality. Congressman Utter died in office November 3, 1912, two days before election. The old division of the state into two congressional districts passed with the reapportionment of representation in Congress following the census of 1910. The First District had included Newport and Bristol counties, East Providence and Providence; the Second District, Washington and Kent counties, and Providence County except East Providence and Providence. In 1912 the state was divided into three congressional districts, thus: First District—Bristol and Newport counties, East Providence, and twelve Assembly districts in Providence; Second District—Kent and Washington counties, Foster, Scituate, Johnston, Cranston, North Providence, and nine Assembly districts in Providence; Third District—Burrillville, Central Falls, Cumberland, Gloucester, Lincoln, North Smithfield, Pawtucket, Smithfield, Woonsocket, and four Assembly districts in Providence. In the first election after re-apportionment and redistricting the Democrats carried the First and Second districts, and the Republicans the Third, the Congressmen elected being George F. O'Shaunessy, Peter G. Gerry and Ambrose Kennedy. The year was extraordinary in politics. The national Republican party had split after the regular convention had renominated President Taft, and a seceding wing of the party, calling itself Progressive, named Theodore Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson, leading the Democratic party, was elected President. The division in the national Republican party reached Rhode Island, and Woodrow Wilson carried the state with a plurality of 2700. The poll was: Wilson, 30,412; Taft, 27,703; Roosevelt, 16,878. Governor Pothier was reelected by a small plurality of 1400, when Albert H. Humes, Progressive, polled nearly 8500 normally Republican votes. In the First Congressional District Congressman O'Shaunessy polled a clear majority, with 13,057 to 9,663 for William P. Sheffield, Republican, and 3044 for John E. Bolan, Progressive. In the Second Congressional District Zenas W. Bliss was substituted for Congressman Utter, deceased, as Republican candidate on the eve of election and was defeated by 393 plurality. Claude C. Ball, Progressive, polled 3,642 votes, enough to defeat Bliss and to explain the regularity with which the Second District returned Republicans thereafter. Ambrose Kennedy carried the Third District by 1877 plurality over F. X. Leonidas Rattey, Democrat; the Progressive candidate, Edwin F. Tuttle, polled 2158 votes. Eventually most of the Progressives returned to the Republican party; for them the net result of the movement in Rhode Island was to bring new men into prominence, some of whom ran for office for the first time as Progressives and found it easy subsequently to obtain recognition in the ranks of regular Republicans. Congressman O'Shaunessy, who had redeemed the old First District from Republican control in 1910, continued to carry the new First District biennially until 1918, when he was drafted as Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. He polled majorities except in 1914, when Roswell B. Burchard challenged and in a closely contested race reduced the normal majority to a plurality of 900. An analysis of the vote by towns indicates that Burchard's vote in Providence was sufficient, had he received normal support in Newport County, to win the election; in the city of Newport, where local political contests frequently transcend in interest state or other divisional elections, Burchard ran so far behind as to suggest trading in which he was the loser. From 1918 Clark Burdick carried the First District biennially, by pluralities ranging from 3000 to 20,000, defeating Theodore Francis Green, 1918; Patrick J. Boyle, 1920; ex-Congressman O'Shaunessy, 1922;

Alfred H. Jones, 1924; Arthur L. Conaty, 1926; John J. Cooney, 1928; and Samuel W. Smith, 1930. The new Second District was reclaimed for the Republicans in 1914 by Walter R. Stiness, who defeated Peter G. Gerry, 1914; Sumner Mowry, 1916; Stephen J. Casey, 1918; and Luigi De Pasquale, 1920. From 1922 Richard S. Aldrich, son of Senator Aldrich, has carried the Second District regularly as a Republican, defeating Percy J. Cantwell, 1922; Charles M. Hall, 1924; Clarence E. Palmer, 1926; Sumner Mowry, 1928; and Arthur L. Conaty, 1930. Republican pluralities in the Second District have varied from 975 to 19,500. The Third Congressional District was Congressman Kennedy's own for ten years from 1912, during which he defeated F. X. Leonidas Rattey, 1912; Thomas P. Haven, 1914; Joseph McDonald, 1916; William G. Troy, 1918; and Herve J. Legace, 1920. In 1922 Congressman Kennedy was candidate for the Republican nomination as Governor, was disappointed by defeat in the convention, and refused renomination for Congress. Isaac Gill was nominated with the expectation that Congressman Kennedy might be persuaded to change his mind, and was defeated overwhelmingly by Jeremiah E. O'Connell. The Democratic landslide in 1922 which swept Governor Flynn and Lieutenant Governor Toupin into office was principally in the Third Congressional District. The Republican plurality in 1920 of 12,389 was replaced by a Democratic plurality of 14,566. In three succeeding elections Congressman O'Connell was opposed by Louis Monast. Congressman O'Connell won in 1924 by 2271 plurality, lost to Monast in 1926 by 457 plurality, and in 1928 defeated Congressman Monast by 11,382 plurality. Congressman O'Connell resigned in 1930, and was appointed as an Associate Justice of the Superior Court. In 1930 the Third District returned Francis B. Condon, Democrat, as victor over William R. Fortin, Republican. The election in the Third District was closely contested in 1918 with William G. Troy challenging Congressman Kennedy, whose plurality had been reduced to less than 1000 in 1916. On the Saturday afternoon before the election the "Providence Evening Bulletin" printed a "leader" charging that Troy had been removed from federal office for misappropriation of money. The charge was repeated in the "Sunday Journal," and iterated in the "Journal" and "Bulletin" of Monday and Tuesday. Without question the charge of misappropriation and the publicity given to it by the "Journal" and "Bulletin" affected the casting of many ballots; Congressman Kennedy was reelected by 1861 plurality. Troy sued the "Journal" for libel, asserting that the charge was both false and malicious. The question of truth turned upon an issue as to the proper disposition of a check paid to Troy and as to the time within which a return should be made to the United States government. The libel suit dragged through the courts, reaching the Supreme Court for decision on a technical matter of pleading\* and being remitted to the Superior Court for further proceedings; there was no final verdict or decision. The Superior Court record is that the case is a closed case, with no entry of procedure after the papers were returned from the Supreme Court. The record does not include an entry of the agreement to "settle" reached by counsel.

LAST SENATORIAL ELECTIONS BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY—The quarrel in the Republican party that had produced the deadlock in the senatorial election of 1907 had not been abandoned completely four years later, when Henry F. Lippitt was chosen Senator in joint assembly by a margin of two votes over the required majority. In the balloting in separate houses on the preceding day Lippitt lacked one of a majority of the House of Representatives, the vote standing Lippitt fifty, Brown thirty-four, Colt sixteen. In the Senate Lippitt had one more than a majority, the vote standing Lippitt twenty-one, Brown eleven, Colt seven. In joint assembly the vote was Henry Frederick Lippitt, Republican, seventy-two; Arthur Lewis Brown, Democrat, forty-four; Le Baron Bradford Colt, twenty-three. Senator Lippitt, prominent textile manufacturer, son of Governor Henry Lippitt, and brother of Governor Charles

\*Troy vs. Providence Journal Company, 43 R. I. 22.

Warren Lippitt, had been opposed by Arthur Lewis Brown, Justice of the District Court of the United States, and by Le Baron Bradford Colt, brother of Samuel Pomroy Colt, and Justice of the Circuit Court of the United States. In the next senatorial election, 1913, the last in which the Senator was chosen by the General Assembly, Judge Le Baron Bradford Colt received eighty-eight votes to forty-two for Addison P. Munroe, Democrat. Seven votes were cast for the Progressive candidate, and two members of the Senate were recorded as absent and not voting. Judge Colt was reëlected in 1918 and died August 18, 1924, so close to the biennial election that no special election was ordered by Governor Flynn. There was a possibility then that, had Governor Flynn called a special election and become a candidate, as he did subsequently, he would have been chosen Senator by votes of Democrats and Republicans, as the latter saw in the designation of Governor Flynn as Senator promotion of Lieutenant Governor Toupin from his strategical position as presiding officer in the Senate. With Lieutenant Governor Toupin out of the Senate chamber the filibuster of 1924 would have come to an abrupt termination.†

ELECTION BY THE PEOPLE—The Senatorial election of 1916, the first in which the people elected a Senator under the seventeenth amendment, was closely contested by Senator Lippitt, candidate for reëlection, and Peter G. Gerry, who previous to 1916 had served one term in the national House of Representatives as Congressman from the Second District. The election was extraordinary for several reasons, including the facts (1) that Governor Beeckman was reëlected as Governor by over 13,000 plurality, and (2) that Gerry defeated Senator Lippitt for reëlection as Senator by 7800 plurality. Governor Beeckman polled 10,000 votes more than Senator Lippitt, though both were Republican candidates, and the total vote for Senator and Governor was practically the same, a little over 88,500. Three explanations are suggested: (1) Strong opposition to Senator Lippitt by organized labor because of his outspoken advocacy of the open shop and strong opinions with reference to capital, and, on the contrary, the friendship of union labor which had been assiduously courted by Governor Beeckman; (2) a continuation of the old quarrel in the Republican party, capitalized in discriminating voting at the polls; (3) wide circulation of a story crediting Senator Lippitt with a statement that one dollar per day was adequate wages for an operative. As a matter of fact, the statement was a garbled version of a remark made by Senator Lippitt's father, years before, at a period when one dollar had been reasonably good wages. The political situation was intensely complicated. The "Providence Journal" supported Senator Lippitt vigorously, and attacked Ezra Dixon, Republican candidate for Congress in the First District with such effect as to make Congressman O'Shaunessy's reëlection almost a foregone conclusion. In spite of a canvass that was reassuring in its first stages, Senator Lippitt's defeat was definitely predicted by campaign speakers several days before election. The number of these was unusual; on the Saturday afternoon before election small groups of people were exhorted to vote against Senator Lippitt wherever at street corners a number could be gathered to listen to a man who carried a box, mounted it and began to speak. Very many of the soap-box orators were leaders of organized labor, making a final effort to accomplish the defeat of Senator Lippitt. He had been a stalwart figure in Congress, prominent in writing economic legislation, and a worthy successor of Senator Aldrich because of his command of facts and statistics related to industry. Rhode Island factories could have no better advocate in Congress than Senator Lippitt. But he had incurred, because of his unequivocal position with reference to union labor, the enmity of men who worked in the factories, and these used their pencils at the polls on election day to accomplish his retirement to private life. Peter G. Gerry as Senator and R. Livingston Beeckman as Governor, both loud in declarations of friendliness for labor and sympathy for working men, were elected by large pluralities, though contesting under different party banners. The defeat of Senator Lippitt was only one instance of the change

†See Chapter XXIII.

in senatorial elections that followed the transfer of the function of electing Senators from General Assembly to the voters. The senatorial election of 1918 was characterized by no unusual occurrence. To oppose Senator Colt, who was a candidate for reelection, the Democrats presented Congressman O'Shaunessy, who had completed eight years of service as Representative in Congress from the First District. Senator Colt's plurality was 4482; Governor Beeckman's was 6651, not a remarkable variation in a Rhode Island election.

THE ISSUE ON ABSENTEE VOTING—In February, 1918, answering questions addressed to it by the Governor, the Supreme Court advised that the General Assembly, except under the provisions of Article IV of amendments, could not provide for participation in the election by electors who were absent from the state on war service. The court ruled\* that military service included naval service, and that absent electors could vote for presidential electors, Representatives in Congress, and state general officers, but not for United States Senators or members of the General Assembly. Specifically the court held that "Representatives in Congress" did not include "Senators." The Governor, in April, renewed his question as to Senators, asking the court whether or not the General Assembly could, under the provisions of Article XVII of the Constitution of the United States, make provision for the participation of absent electors in the election of a United States Senator. The court declined‡ to rule on a question arising under the Constitution of the United States, on the ground that its function as an advisory body was properly limited to the Constitution of Rhode Island, and that a ruling would be merely a prediction of the decision that might be made by the United States Senate as judge of the election and qualification of its members. The General Assembly, as it had in the instance of an earlier decision which did not accord with its own view,§ ignored the court and made provision for the election in such manner as to permit absentee voting for United States Senators.

The court rulings together constituted factor one in a series of events which reached a climax in 1920. The second factor was the "Providence Journal's" "exposure" of William G. Troy on the eve of the congressional election of 1918, and the libel suit brought by Troy against the "Journal." The case reached the Supreme Court early in 1920 on exceptions, and was sent back to the Superior Court for further proceedings there, accompanied by a rescript in which the court, under the court and practice act of 1905 and the General Laws of 1909, reversed a rule of procedure which had been observed under earlier legislation. During the Assembly session of 1920 a quarrel over the election of a justice of the Supreme Court evoked a protesting letter, in which the method of electing judges was criticised by Justice Barrows of the Superior Court, who was an unsuccessful candidate for promotion at the time; this was factor three. Campaigning methods pursued by William G. Troy, who in 1920 stumped the state for the Democratic candidate, constituted factor four. The "Providence Journal" published reports of Troy's speeches, made from notes taken by "Journal" reporters who followed him on his speaking trips. Troy was exuberant and unrestrained. He was accused of declaring with reference to the Supreme Court, "These five individuals sitting in the courthouse on Benefit Street had the colossal nerve to decree that the men fighting in the trenches had not the right to vote," a statement which the court characterized as intended "plainly to cast discredit upon this court by an unfair and incorrect reference to the opinions of this court." The court was sensitive; it had on an earlier occasion punished the "Providence Journal" for contempt because of the court's construction of a "Journal" report of one of its decisions as being false.† Troy was also accused of citing the letter written by Justice Barrows as proof of corruption, and of declaring at Woonsocket on October 26, 1920: "Seats in the Supreme Court of this state are a matter of barter, b-a-r-t-e-r" . . . "in plain words

\*In re Right of Electors, 41 R. I. 118.

†In re Election of United States Senators, 41 R. I. 209.

§State for an Opinion, 35 R. I. 167.

‡In re Providence Journal Company, 28 R. I. 490.

are bought and sold." . . . "Who paid money, how much was paid and who got the money at the election of the last Supreme Court judge?" Troy was summoned before the Supreme Court, and at a hearing declared that he did not use the language quoted, and "I did not and would not have the people of Woonsocket or the people of this country, or, of this state for that matter, believe that I knew or would charge that any man from the district court to this Supreme Court corruptly obtained his election." At the conclusion of the hearing the court in its opinion† said:

We are convinced that the speech at Woonsocket was part of a campaign of false and malicious attacks upon the integrity of the members of this court and the judiciary of the state in general which the respondent had entered upon in a reckless attempt to excite popular prejudice against the courts as they are now constituted. We find the defendant guilty of gross official misconduct. Upon receiving his license as an attorney and an officer of this court he undertook to be faithful to the administration of justice. He must be held to know that much of the good order of the community, the safety of the citizens and the security of property, depends upon the confidence that the people may justly place in the integrity of the judiciary, and in the impartiality of their decisions. If the feeling becomes implanted in the public mind that positions upon the bench are corruptly obtained by purchase, the suspicion inevitably follows that the decisions of the court also may be the subject of purchase. Reliance is no longer placed in the fairness of such decisions and our government is weakened in respect to the very matter to secure which the state, in a large measure, was established, viz: that the citizen might be secure in his liberty, his person and his property through the protection of law. Thus in maliciously attempting to instill into the minds of the people a distrust of the integrity of the court, as one of the coördinate branches of the government, the respondent has attacked the state itself.

The court proceeded: "It is within the right of every citizen, whether a member of the bar or not, to publicly advocate and by fair and legitimate criticism and argument to urge changes in our law with reference to any matter, including the election of the judiciary. In so far as the respondent's address at Woonsocket was of that character we would not attempt to restrain him nor call him to account; and this opinion must not in any way be so understood. Because a man is a member of the bar the court will not, under the guise of disciplinary proceedings, deprive him of any part of that freedom of speech which he possesses as a citizen. The acts and decisions of the courts of this state, in cases that have reached final determination, are not exempt from fair and honest comment and criticism. It is only when an attorney transcends the limits of legitimate criticism that he will be held responsible for an abuse of his liberty of speech. We well understand that an independent bar, as well as an independent court, is always a vigilant defender of civil rights. . . . In Rhode Island the relation between this court and the members of the bar has always been unusually intimate and marked by mutual respect and friendliness. It cannot be otherwise than that the personal characteristics or the ability of the judges may have been the subject of comment and criticism among members of the bar, and that at times the representative of a defeated litigant, in the disappointment arising from an unfavorable decision, may have condemned such decision with heat and vigor; but never before has this court been called upon to consider the case of an attorney who maliciously, deliberately and in a public manner has sought to injure or destroy the influence of the court and its authority." Troy was suspended from practice for two years, as a penalty. He was elected in 1930 as Senator from the city of Providence from one of the districts created under Article XIX of amendments. The people in 1930 approved an amendment to the Constitution providing for absentee voting.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1922—In the senatorial campaign of 1922 the rival candidates were Senator Gerry, Democrat, who sought reelection, and ex-Governor Beeckman, Republican. The campaign opened most inauspiciously for the Republican party because of industrial unrest pervading the year preceding;‡ a factional quarrel in the state convention, which had

†In re Troy, Opinion, 43 R. I. 279.

‡See Chapter XXIII.

not terminated when the convention adjourned; and an "exposure" of alleged political corruption a few weeks before election. One Legace, a prominent Democratic politician, declared that he had received from a political agent for ex-Governor Beeckman a large sum of money to be expended during the campaign. The "Providence News" printed a fac-simile of bills of large denomination alleged to have been used in the transaction, with a news article relating the episode and details of the alleged transaction in a room at the Biltmore Hotel. Ex-Governor Beeckman at first bluntly and unequivocally denied the truth of the story; a short time later an explanation was made by his attorney, which admitted a payment to Legace and asserted that the money was to be used for legitimate campaign expenses, such as hiring places for rallies, printing and postage, incidental expenses and the services of persons employed. At this stage of the campaign, assuming the truth of the explanation, which was plausible, the most damaging factor was Legace's well-known affiliation with the Democratic party, of which he had been the candidate for Congress from the Third District in 1920. The ex-Governor had not explained his reason for disbursing campaign money to a Democrat. Ex-Governor Beeckman sued the "Providence News" for libel, and in December the "News" was indicted by the grand jury.

The campaign was one of the most bitterly contested in the history of Rhode Island. William S. Flynn, Democrat, was elected as Governor, with 7200 plurality; Senator Gerry was reëlected with nearly 14,000 plurality. Senator Gerry's vote was less than 1000 larger than Governor Flynn's; nearly 6000 Republicans who voted for Harold J. Gross as Governor did not vote for Beeckman, expressing in this way their estimate of the transaction with Legace. The campaign was notable for the Democratic emphasis upon the issue of corruption in politics.

LAW AND ORDER IN 1924—With Senator Colt dead\* and with no authority granted to the Governor to make a temporary appointment as suggested in the Constitution,† two senatorial terms were to be filled in the fall election of 1924, one the unexpired term of Senator Colt ending March 4, 1925, and the other a new term of six years beginning March 4, 1925. Governor Flynn was nominated by the Democratic state convention as candidate to fill both terms. Jesse H. Metcalf was chosen to lead the Republican ticket, not as a dyed-in-the-wool Republican so much as an advocate of law and order and good government, which had been molded and welded into an issue of the campaign because of the filibuster in the General Assembly of 1924. Metcalf had been a member of the General Assembly in 1889-1891, elected as a Democrat, and again in 1907, when he was elected by the combination of Democrats and advocates of good government who supported Robert H. I. Goddard as a candidate for Senator. He had been chairman of the Penal and Charitable Commission, 1917-1918, and of the Metropolitan Park Commission, 1910-1924. In 1924 he was staunchly opposed to "Toupinism," which was a term coined to indicate recourse to revolutionary practices such as the filibuster. Edward M. Sullivan, who had been Democratic candidate for Governor in 1920 was a candidate for the Senate, styling himself a "Liberal Independent." Senator Metcalf's pluralities were 26,375 for the short term and 32,004 for the six-year term. Governor Pothier's plurality in the same election over Toupin was 36,807. For President, Calvin Coolidge carried Rhode Island in the same year by 48,680 plurality. It was a bad year for Democrats in Rhode Island.

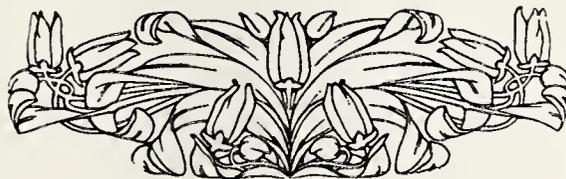
To oppose Senator Gerry for reëlection in 1928 the Republican state convention named Felix Hebert. Nearly a quarter of a million voters went to the polls in an election in which the interest was more national than state because of the rival candidates for the presidency—Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith. The total vote was 242,784, of which 107,557 straight Republican and 104,927 straight Democratic ballots were cast. The 30,300 electors who voted other than straight party ballots effected results such as the choice of presidential electors favor-

\*August 18, 1924.

†Article XVII, paragraph 2.

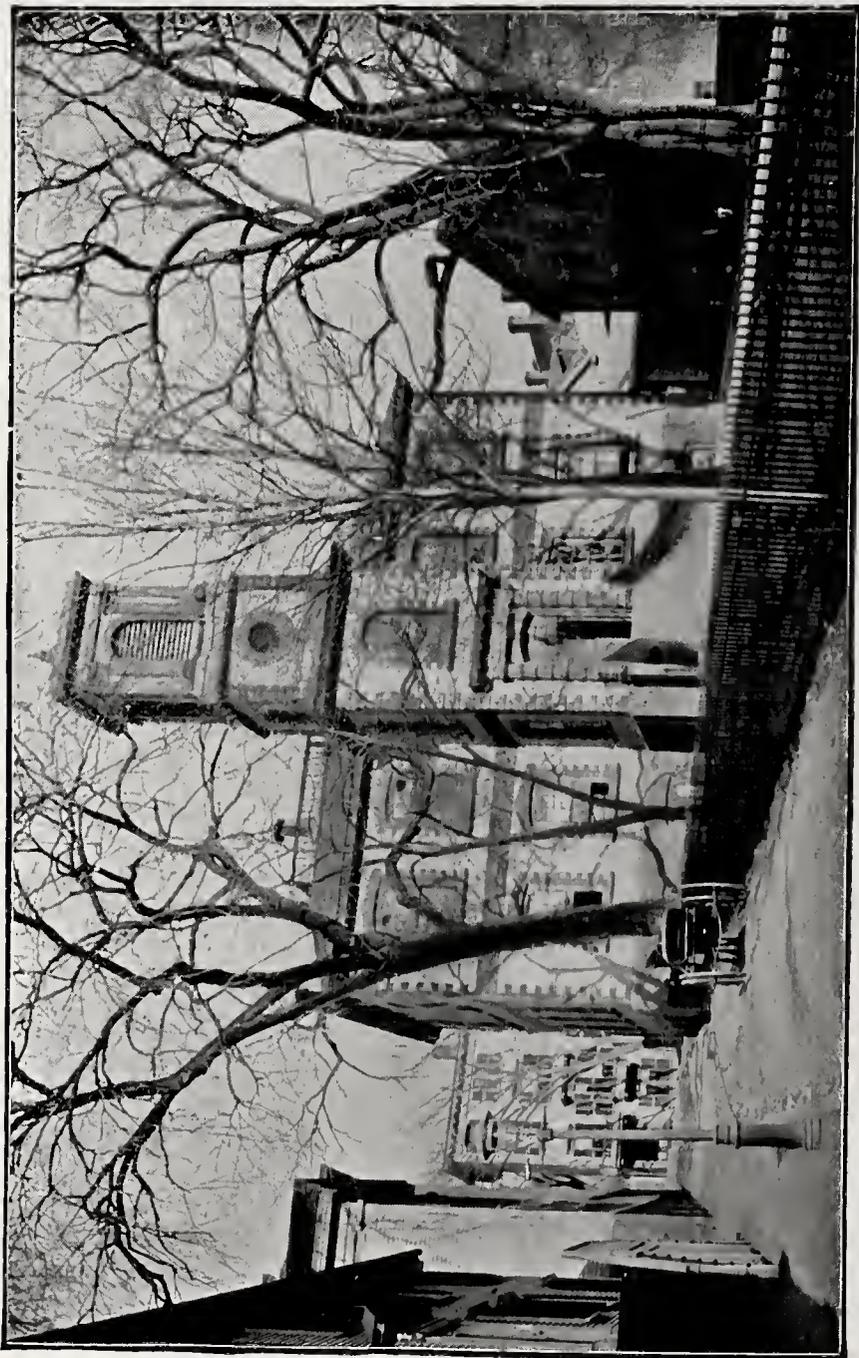
able to Alfred E. Smith, by 1451 plurality; the election of Hebert, Republican, as Senator, by 2994 plurality; the election of Republican Congressmen in the First and Second Districts by reduced pluralities, but the election of O'Connell, Democrat, in the Third District by 11,382 plurality; the reëlection of Governor Case and the Republican state ticket of general officers by pluralities averaging 8000. Senator Hebert had made an unusual campaign in the face of what seemed to be, when he was named in convention, odds so hopeless that for once the Republican party sought a candidate for Senator, whereas in other years candidates had sought the nomination. Perhaps the most significant factor in the election was the uncovering of an "independent" electorate of 30,300.

For the United States Senate in 1930 the rival candidates were Senator Jesse H. Metcalf, seeking reëlection as a Republican, and ex-Senator Gerry, Democrat. The canvass was painstaking and thorough, and the vote of over 220,000 in a year in which no presidential election occurred, was extraordinary. Senator Metcalf's election, in spite of divided counsels in the Republican party, was achieved by a plurality of 2500, as compared with a plurality of 3500 for Governor Case as candidate for reëlection.









OLD STATE HOUSE, PROVIDENCE

## CHAPTER XXV.

### EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.



It is proper to remark," said the Supreme Court in an advisory opinion,\* "that under the Charter the legislative power of the General Assembly was practically unlimited." That was one of the contentions of Dorr and others who had advocated constitutional reform before 1842.† The Governor in colonial days occasionally cited his own official impotence, without positive authorization to act, as an excuse if not the real reason for non-compliance with the requests of officious representatives of the crown. The Constitution, although by the declaration of the principle "of the distribution of powers"‡ it purported to establish an independent executive, did not increase the Governor's powers materially. It is true that he was directed to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed"; his actual powers were (1) to command the militia while in the service of the state; (2) to grant reprieves during recesses of the General Assembly; (3) to make recess appointments; (4) to prorogue the General Assembly in the event of a disagreement as to the time of adjournment, and (5) to call extraordinary sessions of the General Assembly.\*\* The Governor, neither under Charter nor under Constitution, had the veto power until 1909. It should be noted, however, that withholding from the Governor the power to veto was distinctly in accord with the principle of the distribution of powers, inasmuch as the veto enables the executive to participate in legislation, from which he is excluded if measures become law without submission to him for approval. On the other hand, withholding from the Governor authority to appoint administrative officers might be construed as neglect of the principle of distributing powers, inasmuch as the responsibility for enforcing law attaches ultimately to the department which has authority to appoint or elect. In Rhode Island the Governor eventually found himself to be only one of a large number of executive officers, most of whom felt responsibility only to the General Assembly. The position of the Governor has not been weakened by the development of an elaborate organization for government; rather it has not been strengthened. The General Assembly, as it has transmuted its own function to deal with particular situations into general law applicable to similar situations, has created new agencies for administration, and has jealously held the agencies responsible to it, whereas otherwise, had it chosen to do so, it might have magnified the executive department by giving to the Governor the power to appoint. The General Assembly, in grand committee, elected in 1843 and thereafter unless other provision was made, all officers not chosen by the people as provided in the Constitution, even to justices of the peace and public notaries.†† It was altogether extraordinary and without precedent that the Barnard public school law of 1845 authorized the Governor to appoint the Commissioner of Public Schools.

THE CIVIL LIST OF 1843—Aside from the five general officers elected by the people—the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General and General Treasurer—and the members of the General Assembly, not exceeding 103, the civil list in 1843 included the chief justice and three associate justices‡‡ of the Supreme Court, a clerk of the Supreme Court for each of the five counties, a clerk of the court of common pleas for each county, a sheriff for each county, long lists of justices of the peace and notaries public; an agent of the Providence and Pawtucket turnpike, three commissioners of shell fisheries, an inspector gen-

\*In re Constitutional Convention, 14 R. I. 649.

†Chapter XVIII.

‡Article III.

\*\*Article VII.

††Until in 1893 the power to appoint was given to the Governor.

‡‡Two associate justices until January 1, 1843.

eral each of beef and pork, lime, and scythe stones, seven inspectors of the state prison, and seven inspectors of ferries. The annual expenditures from the general treasury amounted, in round numbers, to \$80,000, including \$5000 for salaries, \$7250 for the General Assembly (per diem and mileage), \$17,500 for courts, \$1000 for expenditure by the Governor, \$5500 for maintaining the state prison, \$25,000 for public schools, \$2000 for the education of the deaf, dumb and blind, \$17,000 for miscellaneous expenditures of all kinds on orders by the General Assembly. The annual appropriation bill for 1930-1931 for the support of the state government, excluding particular appropriations not regular charges, carried more than \$8,000,000.

NEW OFFICES—The reorganization of courts under the Constitution included provision for the designation of one associate justice of the Supreme Court as the presiding justice in each of the courts of common pleas established for the counties; with him sat two associate justices elected by the General Assembly for each of the five counties. This arrangement continued until 1848, when state-elected judges for the county courts of common pleas were abolished, the panels being filled by local justices. State "courts of magistrates" were created for Providence and Newport, 1854; Woonsocket village, 1855; Pawtucket village, 1865; North Providence, 1873; Westerly, 1883. With the establishment of twelve judicial district courts in 1886, as tribunals of limited civil and criminal jurisdiction, justice courts were abolished. A fourth associate justice of the Supreme Court was elected in 1875. The General Assembly invariably elected justices and clerks of courts, until, in 1930, the Governor was authorized to appoint justices of the Superior Court, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The first administrative office created under the Constitution was that of Commissioner of Public Schools, in 1845. Henry Barnard, who had been conducting a survey of the public school system under the designation of "agent" was appointed as Commissioner by the Governor. Although Barnard in his commentary on the school law of 1845 expressed an opinion that appointment of a school officer is preferable to election, it is possible and probable that the provision for appointment by the Governor instead of election in grand committee, in this instance had the purpose of avoiding the constitutional requirement that "no person shall be eligible to any civil office (except the office of school committee) unless he is a qualified elector for such office."\* Barnard's home was at Hartford, Connecticut, whither he returned, after his service in Rhode Island, to take up the task of reforming the school system of his native state. The office of State Auditor was created in 1856, and William R. Staples resigned the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to accept election to it for a few months. The State Auditor acted as a comptroller; he was the General Assembly's agent in the General Treasurer's office, and his approval of an order or account was essential to authorize the General Treasurer to pay it. The General Treasurer was elected by the people; the State Auditor was elected by the General Assembly in grand committee. The General Assembly controlled the revenues, having both the taxing and the appropriating powers; it placed the State Auditor in the General Treasurer's office to hold the latter to the orders of the General Assembly. The appointments of a state sealer of weights and measures, of an inspector of kerosene, of cattle commissioners, and of an assayer of liquor, as these officers were created between 1864 and 1875, were entrusted to the Governor, but in 1876 the statute providing an inspector of cables placed the election of this officer in the grand committee. The Board of State Charities and Corrections, 1869; the Harbor Commission, 1876; the State Board of Health, 1879; the State Board of Pharmacy, 1882; the Board of Managers of Rhode Island State College, 1888; the Board of Control of the State Home and School, 1891; the State Board of Dentistry, 1891—all were appointed by the Governor, usually with the approval of the Senate. The State Board of Education, 1870, except the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, who are members, *ex-officiis*, was elected by the General Assembly in grand

\*Article IX, section 1.

committee. The deviation in this instance may be attributed to the fact that the Governor and Lieutenant Governor are members, although the more plausible explanation is that the act creating the board in 1870 was copied from a bill drawn in 1855 by Elisha R. Potter, who was then Commissioner of Public Schools, and presented to the General Assembly, but not passed. The power to appoint the Commissioner of Public Schools was taken from the Governor shortly after the State Board of Education was created, and thereafter the board elected the commissioner, who became the board's secretary and executive agent. The State Board of Education and the Commissioner, together, became a Board of Trustees for Rhode Island Normal School, which was reestablished in 1871 after a lapse of six years, thus continuing the normal school of 1854, of which the Commissioner of Public Schools had been director. He was assisted in the later years of the older establishment by a board of inspectors. The election of the Board of Sinking Fund Commissioners by the General Assembly may be explained, as in the instance of the Board of Education, by the fact that it included general officers as *ex-officio* members, or by the fact that it is a board intimately related to the General Assembly's control of public finance. It was created in 1878.

The early policy of the General Assembly with reference to the state bonds issued during the Civil War was retirement by purchase on favorable terms. After nearly \$1,500,000 of bond issues had been retired, the remaining bonds reached a market value which made them a satisfactory as well as remunerative investment. The General Assembly did not offer premiums for retirement or buy bonds that had advanced beyond par. Instead it appointed commissioners and made provision for the accumulation of a sinking fund. One other office was created, in 1886—that of Chief of State Police—for the purpose of enforcing the constitutional prohibitory amendment. This office was abolished in 1889. The lists of officers and boards and commissions indicate the extension of state public service in progress and the accelerated movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To those mentioned may be added an assistant attorney-general, a commissioner of dams and reservoirs, commissioners of inland fisheries, a State Board of Soldiers' Relief, and bank commissioners, the last for a brief period immediately after the Civil War to facilitate the reorganization of state banks as national banks.

GROWTH OF STATE PROPERTY—Another view of the extension of state functions is obtained from the accumulation of state property. The property owned by the state of Rhode Island in its corporate capacity in 1842 included five state houses, one in each of the five counties, at Newport, Providence, Kingston, Bristol and East Greenwich; a state prison built at Great Point on the Cove in Providence in 1838, and with it on the same premises a house for the warden and a county jail for Providence County; a county jail in each of the four other counties; an arsenal in Providence, with arms and equipment for the militia; besides other money in the general treasury, a permanent school fund accumulated from 1828 and invested in bank stock.\* The five state houses, when not in actual use by the General Assembly in the peripatetic career prescribed for it by the Constitution, were available for occupancy as courthouses, and continued in use as county courthouses when the number of capitals was reduced, in 1854, to two. The arsenal, because of the demonstration during the Dorr War of unsatisfactory location, was replaced soon after 1843 by the stone structure on Benefit Street in Providence subsequently occupied as an armory by the Marine Corps of Artillery. The Benefit Street arsenal was also used by courts while the General Assembly was in session in the State House in Providence. The prison had been built after careful investigation of penal institutions in other states, beginning so early as 1827, when a commission visited the New York State prison at Auburn. It was modelled after plans for a prison in Philadelphia, and condemned, almost as soon as it was occupied, as utterly unsatisfactory. Dorr's early

\*Except money borrowed by the state to meet current expenditures.

death was attributed to the year that he spent in solitary confinement in the state prison in Providence.

The state began to acquire land for the location of a group of penal and charitable institutions at Howard in Cranston in 1869, and continued buying parcels of land to complete the reservation and to control water rights until 433 acres had been purchased in 1877 with a total expenditure of \$34,300. A board of state charities and corrections, created in 1869, opened a state workhouse in July, 1869, in one of the farm buildings purchased with the first parcel of land at Howard. The construction of a stone building for state workhouse and house of correction was begun in 1872, and completed in 1873. The building was occupied in 1874. Two wooden pavilions for use as an asylum for the insane were constructed in 1869, besides a cottage for "excited patients," in 1870. The earliest public provision for the insane, except such custody and care as might be undertaken in almshouses, had been commitment to Butler Hospital, beginning in 1851. In later years indigent insane had been sent also to insane asylums outside Rhode Island. Both wooden buildings in the main asylum group were enlarged and two additional stone buildings were added to this group in 1875 and 1878. The wooden building vacated by the workhouse was remodelled for use as an almshouse in 1874. A new almshouse was erected in 1888. A stone barn, then one of the largest in New England, was built in 1875. The construction of water works, consisting of dam and reservoir, pumps, boilers, mains and hydrants, was undertaken in 1870. In ten years of intensive development accommodations for 1000 inmates had been provided. The state prison in Providence, enlarged in 1852 by addition of a new wing, had been inadequate for several years before 1878, when a new state prison and county jail were built on an estate in Cranston near the charitable and corrections group. Four years later the state reform school was removed from Providence to the new Sockanosset School for Boys and Oaklawn School for Girls, also constructed on land near the group of state institutions at Howard. The accommodations in the state group had reached 2400.

The steady increase in the business of courts, particularly in Providence County, which in 1865 included two-thirds of the total population of Rhode Island, and the utter inadequacy of the State House as a courthouse, led to the building of the Providence County Courthouse, at Benefit and College Streets in Providence, which was completed in 1878. Splendidly constructed, and remarkable in its day for the accommodations which it provided, this courthouse was occupied by the Supreme Court of Rhode Island until its removal early in the twentieth century to the building at Angell, Benefit and Waterman Streets; by the Superior Court for Providence and Bristol Counties from 1905 until the completion of one wing of the new Providence County Courthouse in 1930; by the District Court of the Sixth Judicial District from its creation in 1886 until its removal to the old State House in Providence in 1901. The courthouse of 1878 has been razed to make way for the extension and completion of the new courthouse of 1930.

Other property acquired by the state of Rhode Island included the Providence high school building, 1875, replaced by the city by a new building on Summer Street, and used by the Rhode Island Normal School until 1898, and by the Supreme Court after 1905; an estate for the State Home and School for indigent children, which was opened in 1885; an estate for an agricultural experiment station and for Rhode Island School of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, afterward Rhode Island State College, buildings for which were completed in 1888; for Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, for which a new building was available in 1892; land for a courthouse for Washington County, at West Kingston, on which a granite building was erected and completed in 1895; a courthouse for Woonsocket, completed in 1896; a training camp ground for the Rhode Island Militia, at Quonset Point, in North Kingstown, in 1892; land for state armories in Pawtucket, Newport and Bristol, 1893; land in Bristol on which buildings to accommodate the State Soldiers' Home were constructed, in 1897; land additional



RHODE ISLAND STATE HOUSE, COMPLETED IN 1900

It is of white marble, and was designed by McKim, Reed and White. It is said to be the last building designed by Stanford White.



to the old state prison site in Providence, on which a building for Rhode Island Normal School was erected in 1898. The program of acquisition and construction was carried forward without bond issues; it was made possible in part by the maintenance of revenues after the state had paid off the indebtedness incurred during the Civil War. Repayment by the federal government of part of the debt, reduction in interest charges, and relief from sinking fund commitments, made revenue available. The large program in the last ten years of the nineteenth century threatened exhaustion of the general treasury, and led to recourse to bond issues for the construction of the State House and other improvements.

**NEW STATE HOUSE**—The completion of the marble State House in Providence, in which the General Assembly met for the first time on the first day of the twentieth century, January 1, 1901, followed by half a century the report of a committee of the General Assembly, in August, 1850, of a plan for a combined State House and City Hall, the latter for Providence. The proposed structure was to be erected on an artificial island 400 feet in diameter, to be constructed by filling in the center of the Cove, and to be connected with the shore by four bridges. A mound rising five feet above the general level of the "island" was to be surmounted by a building 200 by 68 feet, of Anglo-Italian architecture, crowned by a copper-covered dome. The state was to occupy the western half of the structure as a State House, the city the eastern half as a City Hall. A bill carrying authorization and appropriation was postponed in 1850 and was not revived. Instead, nearly \$10,000 was expended for building an addition to the old State House. Providence erected the present granite City Hall, 1875-1878, at a cost of \$1,067,000, exclusive of land.

An Assembly committee to investigate the ownership of the Cove land, part of which had been filled in by Providence in 1857, was appointed in 1866, and the next year the Assembly ordered an abstract of title prepared. Providence was aroused by the suggestion that the Cove might be filled in by the state with the purpose of utilizing the land, which the state claimed as lying between high and low water mark. While some proclaimed the Cove a nuisance because of odors emanating from the mud flats uncovered at low tide, others praised the beauty of the tree-lined circular mall, nearly a mile around, which followed the wall of the Cove, and was a favorite promenade. The city physician of Providence opposed filling the Cove because of the alleged menace to health were the city's "breathing place" abandoned. Besides, he predicted injury to the harbor if the silt theretofore deposited in the Cove should be carried further south, and if the natural flow of the tide, which was siphoned at higher speed toward and away from the Cove, should be interfered with. The city physician, if in error with reference to health, tide, and geography, was certainly an accurate prophet in his prediction that a filled coveland would be the coldest place in winter and the warmest in summer in the entire city; it is. The state sold the coveland to the city in 1888, and authorized the city to fill in the Cove, leaving passages for the Woonasquatucket and Moshassuck Rivers, and to abandon the park that had circled the old wall of the Cove.‡ The second union railroad station occupies part of the coveland.

The State House on Benefit Street was outgrown in twenty years from 1850, and in 1873 the General Assembly received a report suggesting the old west burying ground in Providence, at present Hayward Park, as a site for a new State House. The site was not popular and the project was abandoned; in 1878 Governor Van Zandt recommended the erection of an office building to provide accommodations for state officers. Meanwhile the Providence County Courthouse had been completed, and the courts had removed. No project other than the building of a State House was more uniformly recommended by the Governor; thus: Padelford, 1870, 1871, 1873; Howard, 1875; Lippitt, 1876, 1877; Van Zandt, 1878; Littlefield, 1883; Bourn, 1884; Ladd, 1890, 1892; Davis, 1891. All found the accommoda-

‡Held constitutional, *Clark vs. Providence*, 16 R. I. 337; *Mowry vs. Providence*, 16 R. I. 422.

tions at the State House cramped and inadequate, in spite of the fact that as new divisions of service were inaugurated quarters outside were rented for them, and that the Elizabeth building, privately owned, had become so largely a State House annex or state office building that the state maintained a watchman there, to guard the state property. Besides the financial burden of rent, the scattering of state offices and inconvenience inevitably occasioned thereby were urged as good reasons for the construction of a building in architecture dignified and beautiful enough to represent the state of Rhode Island, and in accommodations reasonably adequate for housing state officers and their departments. Governor Ladd recommended approximately the present site in 1890, and in 1891 a commission presented plans for a structure to cost \$1,500,000. The people approved, 20,997 to 12,205, a bond issue in 1892, and a commission to build the new State House was created in 1893. The cornerstone was laid October 15, 1896.

REPLENISHING THE TREASURY—The general treasury was barren at the time save for the proceeds of an initial issue of State House bonds. The general revenues had been exhausted by extraordinary expenditures, which included the cost of three new armories, at Bristol, Newport and Pawtucket; of two new courthouses, at South Kingstown and Woonsocket; of buildings for the Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, Oaklawn School, Sockanosset School, and Rhode Island State College; of the building for Rhode Island Normal School, the walls for which had reached the second story; of the camp ground at Quonset Point; of the breachway to the pond at Block Island. Applications to the Supreme Court for advisory opinions brought answers that neither the General Assembly nor any state officer could borrow money on the credit of the state in excess of \$50,000 without the consent of the people, although debts could be incurred for the payment of which the General Assembly might increase the revenue by taxation;\* and that the proceeds of the bond issue for the State House could not legally be diverted, even temporarily, for other purposes.† The people approved in November an extension to \$250,000 of the General Assembly's borrowing power. The General Assembly authorized the General Treasurer to anticipate state taxes due from the towns by discounting tax orders. The court also ruled that the State House Commission was not limited by the original bond issue. Other bond issues for the State House carried the total bonded indebtedness for this purpose to \$3,000,000. The State House estate, buildings (including power house and tunnel), furnishings and decorations cost \$3,018,416.33. The city of Providence donated 454,838 square feet of land to the site. The architects were McKim, Mead & White of New York, and the design was by Stanford White. The Rhode Island State House was one of the last buildings designed by him. The builders were Norcross Brothers of Worcester. The dome, the only marble dome in the United States, rises, with the bronze statue on the lantern, to 313 feet above mean high water mark. The Secretary of State moved into the new State House in December, 1900, thus anticipating the meeting of the General Assembly in the New Year. The building, terrace approaches and grounds were completed June 11, 1904, almost ten years from the day on which ground was broken, September 16, 1895.

THE GOVERNMENT OF 1901—The General Assembly in 1901 consisted of the Governor as presiding officer in the Senate; the Senate, including the Lieutenant Governor and one Senator each from thirty-seven towns and cities; the House of Representatives, seventy-two members. The cities, with dates of incorporation, were: Central Falls, 1895; Newport, 1853; Pawtucket, 1885; Providence, 1831; and Woonsocket, 1888. Cranston rejected a city charter in 1895; and was incorporated as a city in 1910. Johnston rejected a city charter in 1897; the compact part of the town was annexed to Providence in 1898. The towns included the current list for 1930 except Narragansett, which was incorporated as a district

\*In re the Incurring of State Debts, 19 R. I. 611.  
 †In re the State House Fund, 19 R. I. 393.

in 1888, and as a town in 1901; and except West Warwick, which was taken from Warwick in 1913. The membership of the Senate was thirty-eight in 1901; thirty-nine in 1902, with the addition of a Senator from the new town of Narragansett; thirty-nine from 1902 to 1910, when the Lieutenant Governor, replacing the Governor as presiding officer, lost his membership; thirty-eight from 1910 to 1914, when the new town of West Warwick sent a Senator; thirty-nine from and after 1914; forty-two in 1930, with the addition of three Senators from Providence. The House of Representatives continued with membership of seventy-two until 1911. The people elected the time-honored list of general officers—Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, and General Treasurer. The Governor acquired the veto power in 1909.

The judicial department included a Supreme Court, consisting of a chief justice and six associate justices.‡ The court sat as a body on constitutional questions, but otherwise was divided†† into an appellate division, consisting of four justices, and a common pleas division. One justice presided at jury trials and sat in chambers. An ingenious member of the bar raised the question as to whether Rhode Island, under the practice which permitted the Chief Justice to assign justices to either appellate or common pleas division, had one supreme court or so many supreme courts as could be constructed by rotation of four of seven members.‡‡ The Supreme Court, in one of the ablest arguments ever written by it, held\*\* that the court as constituted was one supreme court in several divisions, each division exercising a jurisdiction assigned to it by the General Assembly under the provisions of the Constitution.\*† The argument of counsel had challenged the court to a most searching analysis of its organization and jurisdiction. The situation was cleared by the ratification of the Twelfth Amendment, 1903, providing for a supreme court with final revisory and appellate jurisdiction, and the court and practice act of 1905, which established a supreme court of five justices, and a superior court with trial jurisdiction in law and equity. The superior court, as established in 1905, consisted of a presiding justice and five associate justices. The number of associate justices was increased to six in 1913, to seven in 1922, to eight in 1930. Original jurisdiction of minor civil and criminal cases was vested in twelve judicial district courts, each with a presiding justice; in four districts there was also an assistant justice, and in seven a clerk. For ten districts justices of the peace had been designated to take bail and issue warrants. Minor police complaints were heard in Providence in a police court, two judges for which, presiding alternately, were elected by the city council. In each of twenty-four towns probate jurisdiction remained in the town council; in Bristol, Central Falls, Cranston, East Providence, Johnston, Lincoln, Newport, North Providence, Pawtucket, Providence, Warwick, Westerly and Woonsocket courts of probate had been established.

The principal boards and commissions in state service in 1901 were (1) the Commissioners of Sinking Funds, (2) the State Board of Education, (3) the Commissioners of Shell Fisheries, which, with the exception of *ex-officio* members, were elected by the General Assembly in grand committee; (4) the State Board of Charities and Corrections, (5) the State Board of Health, (6) the Board of Managers of Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, (7) the Board of Control of the State Home and School, (8) the State Board of Soldiers' Relief, (9) the Harbor Commissioners, all appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, (10) the State Board of Agriculture, (11) the State Board of Pharmacy, (12) the Board of Female Visitors to Institutions Where Women are Imprisoned, (13) the State Board of Registration in Dentistry, (14) the Board of Trustees of the Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, (15) the Commissioners of Inland Fisheries, (16) the Commissioners of Pilots, (17) the Commissioners of Birds, all appointed

‡Four, 1875 to May 27, 1891; five until May 3, 1897.

††By the Judiciary Act of 1893.

‡‡One hundred twenty combinations are possible with the chief justice as a member of the panel.

\*\*Floyd vs. Quinn, 24 R. I. 147.

\*†Article X, section 2.

by the Governor. The State Board of Education and the Commissioner of Public Schools constituted a Board of Trustees of Rhode Island Normal School. Executive and administrative officers, other than the five general officers elected by the people, were: (1) the Commissioner of Public Schools, appointed by the State Board of Education; (2) the State Auditor and Insurance Commissioner,\* (3) Inspector of Beef and Pork, (4) Inspector of Lime, (5) Inspector of Scythe Stones, (6) Inspector of Cables, elected by the General Assembly in grand committee; (7) the Commissioner of Dams and Reservoirs, (8) two Factory Inspectors, appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate; (9) Commissioner of Industrial Statistics, (10) Commissioner of Pawtucket River, (11) Sealer of Weights, Measures and Balances, (12) State Assayer of Liquors, (13) Railroad Commissioner and Deputy Railroad Commissioner, (14) Executive Secretary to the Governor, all appointed by the Governor. The Governor appointed also twenty-three medical examiners.

Incidentally to changing the time of electing and appointing members of boards and commissions, commissioners and other state officers, from the May session, which had been abolished by constitutional amendment which specified an annual session in January, to the January session, the General Assembly in 1901 made all appointments by the Governor, except that of Executive Secretary,† conditional upon approval by the Senate. The similar provision in the Constitution of the United States gives the President the power to nominate and the Senate the discretion to approve or disapprove, constraining the President, in the instance of disapproval, to make another nomination. The Rhode Island statute permitted the Senate to elect an officer if, after three legislative days, the Senate had not confirmed the Governor's nomination. The General Assembly thus curtailed the rising influence of the Governor associated with the exercise of the power to appoint; but, instead of taking to itself the prerogative of election in grand committee, the General Assembly designated the Senate as the ultimate repository of the appointing power, through the effective means given to the Senate to enforce its "advice" as the condition for its "consent." When Governor Garvin, Democrat, undertook, in 1903, to replace veteran public officeholders and some whose original appointments had been comparatively recent, the Senate laid the Governor's nominations on the table, and, after three legislative days in each instance, elected a Police Commissioner for Providence, two Factory Inspectors, a Commissioner of Industrial Statistics, members of the Returning Board, of the Board of Health, of the Board of Soldiers' Relief, of the Board of Charities and Corrections, of the Board of Pharmacy, Commissioners of Inland Fisheries, Trustees of the Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf and Commissioner of Pawtucket River. The list of elections by the Senate during the administration of Governor Higgins, Democrat, was even longer.

The statute of 1901 made provision (1) for appointments or elections occurring regularly at the expiration of legal term of office, and (2) for recess appointments by the Governor. The Railroad Commissioner and a member of the State Board of Agriculture died in 1907 while the General Assembly was in session, and Governor Higgins asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion as to the legal and constitutional method of filling the vacancies. The Court ruled that no provision for filling either vacancy had been made by statute or Constitution.‡ The omission was cured by statute which provided for filling vacancies occurring while the Assembly was in session in the same manner as if the vacancy were by expiration of term.

COURT OPINION ON APPOINTIVE POWER—In the following year, 1908, the Senate asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion as to the constitutionality of the statute of 1901 so far (1) as it "gives the power to appoint certain officers to the Governor and the Senate jointly," and (2) as it "gives to the Senate the power to appoint certain officers." The

\*The same person; the State Auditor was also Insurance Commissioner.

†The Barbers Commission act of 1902 provided for appointment by the Governor; whence it is said that the Governor has power to appoint his secretary and the Barber Commission.

‡In re Filling Vacancies by the Governor, 28 R. I. 602.

Supreme Court entertained a reasonable doubt that the statute was constitutional, which was not, however, so conclusive as to warrant a declaration that it was unconstitutional. § Three justices\*\* agreed that under the Constitution of 1842 (until the adoption of Article XI of amendments) "it is not clear that the elective power which was retained by the General Assembly could be exercised otherwise than by the two houses in grand committee. To alter the method of election so plainly set forth in the Constitution by giving to one constituent part of the grand committee (and that the lesser in number of members) the full power of election which the Constitution had given to both bodies assembled in grand committee would seem to be a subversion of the system of government which the people had adopted. Such a change could not be effected by a statute, but if desirable, must be secured by an amendment to the Constitution." Article XI of amendments expressly omitted the general elective power conferred upon the grand committee by Article VIII, section 3, which it replaced. The majority of the Supreme Court held, therefore, that the General Assembly could confer upon the Governor and the Senate jointly the power to appoint, or upon the Senate the power to elect officers, adding: "If the reasons which we have thus briefly adduced are not absolutely conclusive, they cannot fail, it seems to us, to sustain that reasonable doubt, which . . . ought to restrain a court from declaring an enactment of the legislature unconstitutional." Johnson, J., dissenting from the reasoning of the majority, concurred in the opinion, saying: "In my opinion the capacity of the Senate to receive and exercise the power of election was neither increased nor diminished by the adoption of said amendment. A consideration, however, of the provisions of the Constitution . . . has raised in my mind a reasonable doubt upon the question of the constitutionality of the statutes under consideration. In passing upon the constitutionality of a statute a reasonable doubt must be resolved in favor of its constitutionality. I, therefore, concur in the conclusion reached by the other justices." Blodgett, J., also dissenting from the reasoning of the majority, agreed with them that the statute in 1901 was constitutional. He argued that the Eleventh Amendment, "if it did not deprive the General Assembly of the constitutional authority for electing such other officers in grand committee, unquestionably relieves the General Assembly of the constitutional obligation to proceed in that manner, leaving to the Legislature to provide by statute for the election of such 'other officers.'" His lengthy review of practices and precedents led him to the conclusion that the General Assembly, unless the Constitution specifies otherwise, has power to provide at discretion for the appointment or election of public officers. "In common with many other Constitutions," said he, "our own Constitution does not make appointment to office an executive function; and if it may be conferred on the executive by statute, it is difficult to find the express constitutional prohibition against conferring the same power on other depositaries, as for example, upon a branch of the legislative department." Considering the suggestion that the statute of 1901 was "irrepealable" legislation, Blodgett said: "Whether the provisions are wise or otherwise is not our concern, since the questions submitted are questions not of policy but of power. It is sufficient to say that there is nothing in the terms of the act which purports to render it irrepealable. If it be objected that the power will not be voluntarily surrendered by the Senate, it may be replied that this power was voluntarily conferred by the House of Representatives, and that it is always in the power of either house to refuse to concur in the repeal of existing law in any case. . . . In either case the appeal is to the people at the polls." These were the facts that confronted and challenged the Supreme Court in its consideration of the legislation of 1901: (1) the General Assembly had abrogated its own power to elect officers in grand committee; (2) assuming that the provision for election in grand committee in Article VIII, section 3, limited the application of the principle of the distribution of powers to the extent that in Rhode Island the selection of administrative officers was not an executive

§The Election of Officers by the Senate, 28 R. I. 607.

\*\*Douglas, C. J.; Dubois, Parkhurst, J. J.

function, the limitation had been repealed by the Eleventh Amendment; (3) the General Assembly had conferred upon the Governor and the Senate jointly a power to appoint or upon the Senate alone a power to elect; (4) the Senate's power to elect was irrevocable without the concurrence of the Senate in legislation to repeal it; (5) the legislation of 1901 marked a radical change in the method of selecting administrative and executive officers, from election by the grand committee to election by a smaller constituent body; (6) the change was so radical as to suggest to the majority of the court a reasonable doubt that it could be effected without constitutional amendments.

The Supreme Court was in substantial agreement on one point, however, that the question before it was one of the allocation of power rather than one of policy, and four of the justices resolved a reasonable doubt of constitutionality in favor of constitutionality. The policy written into the statute of 1901 has become precedent; with the exception of the Barber Commission, 1902, the selection of boards and commissions created after 1901 has been by the method of appointment jointly by Governor and Senate or election by the Senate, the statutes providing for appointment by the Governor "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and a general statute declaring the Senate's power to elect if after three legislative days it has not confirmed the Governor's appointment. The same policy has been applied also to the selection of new officers, such as the Finance Commissioner and the Commissioner of Agriculture, and to the selection of judges (except the Supreme Court) in the statute of 1930 authorizing the Governor to appoint justices of the Superior Court by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

**MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY**—A Board of Canvassers and Registration for Providence was created in 1895. It was a new and novel type of state-municipal agency in Rhode Island, exercising functions as a practically independent body that theretofore had been inherent in town or city council. There was opposition to the measure as an invasion of municipal autonomy. It was justified by its proponents as an application of the principle that the state has a right to create municipal agencies and to designate their functions; the separate organization for the administration of public schools existing since 1828 might be cited as a precedent. In the creation of the board of canvassers the General Assembly was taking the first step in the direction of a thorough regulation of popular elections, which proceeded with the establishment of boards of canvassers for Central Falls, Cranston, Newport, Pawtucket and Woonsocket, the creation of the State Returning Board, and the enactment of laws governing party primaries as a fundamental part of the modern machinery of elections.

The boards of canvassers, in the determination of eligibility for enrollment as electors, in the making up of lists of voters for use in elections by adding names or striking names from the rolls, in counting ballots and declaring elections, exercised quasi-judicial powers. The Supreme Court hesitated to assume appellate jurisdiction;\* it held that "the board of canvassers and registration of the city of Providence is not a department of the municipal government; its powers, duties, liabilities and functions are created and defined by the Constitution and laws of this state and the United States. Although its jurisdiction and duties are technically limited to the city of Providence, they constitute a board of state officers exercising a state function rather than a board of municipal officers exercising a municipal function. . . . In the determination of electoral qualifications and the preparation of the voting lists the board exercises judicial power. . . . This power is conferred for the determination and decision of any question or the discharge of any duty required by law of said board; it creates a tribunal meeting at a fixed time and place for the purpose of counting ballots cast at a municipal election, . . . and the determination of the board as to the election of members of the city council of Providence is final."†

\**Kelley vs. Whitley*, 27 R. I. 355; *Greenough vs. Lucy*, 28 R. I. 230; *Dwyer vs. Board of Canvassers*, 28 R. I. 401.

†*Gainer vs. Dunn*, 29 R. I. 232.

Two months later the Supreme Court explained its decision as limited to finding of facts, holding that "the decision of the board upon questions of fact is final and not subject to review by the court." The court's attention having been directed in reargument to the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, "The Supreme Court shall have final revisory and appellate jurisdiction upon all questions of law and equity," the court held that "the court will consider questions of law arising in the determination by the board of canvassers and registration of the city of Providence of the result of the election of members of the city council . . . properly raised in *quo warranto* proceedings."‡ The dictum in *Gainer vs. Dunn*‡ has been most significant, as it laid the foundation for the revisory and appellate jurisdiction which the Supreme Court has since maintained over state and municipal boards as well as over courts of inferior jurisdiction.

The General Assembly in 1900 created a police commission for Newport, in 1901 a police commission for Providence, in 1902 a police commission for Tiverton, and at other times police commissions for Bristol, Cumberland, Lincoln, Warwick, West Warwick, and Woonsocket. The original police commission in each instance was appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commission, besides controlling the municipal police department, with power to appoint, promote, demote and remove, to determine the form of organization and scales of salaries, to make and enforce rules and regulations for discipline, usually also was given jurisdiction to issue licenses of all kinds, including liquor licenses. In the instance of the Newport police commission act the Supreme Court held§ that the General Assembly was within its constitutional rights in appointing a police commission with power to appoint a chief of police. "The most important laws," said the court, "are made by the legislature, and agencies are created to enforce them. Ordinarily the state makes use of existing agencies, like town or city officers, to do this, but none the less they are officers of the state. To say, therefore, that the state cannot assume control of these agencies in public affairs is to say that a town can nullify a state law, which it does not approve, by choosing officers who will not enforce it. That is not the national doctrine, and, for a stronger reason, it cannot be the state doctrine. . . . What the petitioners really claim is local independence rather than local self-government. . . . 'The state, as a political society, is interested in the suppression of crime and in the preservation of peace and good order, and in protecting the rights of persons and property. . . . The instrumentalities by which these objects are effected, however appointed, by whatever names called, are agencies of the state, and not of the municipalities for which they are appointed or elected. The whole machinery of civil and criminal justice,' says a learned judge, 'has been so generally confided to local agencies, that it is not strange if it has sometimes been considered of local concern. But there is a clear distinction in principle between what concerns the state and that which does not concern more than one locality.'"†† The Newport police commission was held to be a "state board or commission within the spirit as well as the letter of" the general laws, and as such entitled to the legal advice of the Attorney General.‡‡ Although a state commission, the members were held to be entitled to payment by the city of Newport,\*† on the ground that "when the General Assembly has the right to control the local police of a town or city it has an equal right to provide for the payment of the expenses of such local police department out of the local funds of the municipality." The Newport police commission was abolished in 1907, following the granting, in 1906, of a new city charter which substituted a representative council for the city council in Newport. The Providence police commission act was amended in 1906 to provide for appointment of the members by the Mayor with the approval of the

‡*Gainer vs. Dunn*, 29 R. I. 239. See *Carpenter vs. Comery*, 45 R. I. 266.

§*Newport vs. Horton*, 22 R. I. 196.

††*Stiness, J.*, quoted *Staples, J.*, in *Burch vs. Hardwicke*, 30 Gratt, 38.

‡‡*The Newport Police Commission*, 22 R. I. 654.

\*†*Horton vs. City of Newport*, 27 R. I. 283.

Board of Aldermen, the commission thus passing from state to local control. The appointment of police commissioners by the Governor has been considered generally an extraordinary measure, and most police commissions have been abolished or returned to local control. In an advisory opinion, in 1916, the Supreme Court ruled that the General Assembly could substitute an elected financial council for the financial town meeting in a town, holding that the "power of taxation is vested primarily in the state and may be lawfully exercised by the subordinate political bodies of the state only in so far and in the manner in which said power is delegated to them by the legislature."\* The Twentieth Amendment, 1928, abolishing the property qualification in cities, permits the creation by the General Assembly of budget commissions vested with "the authority to impose taxes and for the expenditure of money."

STATE PROPERTY IN TWENTIETH CENTURY—The opening of the twentieth century found the General Assembly in session in a new \$3,000,000 marble State House in Providence. The other property owned by the state included five old statehouses, four† of which were in use as courthouses; county courthouses at Providence and West Kingston, and a courthouse in Woonsocket; college and school buildings for Rhode Island Normal School, Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, Rhode Island State Home and School; a large tract of land with a group of buildings housing penal and charitable institutions at Howard in Cranston, including the Sockanosset and Oaklawn Schools, the asylum for the insane, the house of corrections, the almshouse, the state prison and Providence county jail; four other county jails; an arsenal, and state armories in Bristol, Newport and Pawtucket; the Soldiers Home at Bristol; a military training campground at Quonset Point. Other property, acquired in or after 1901, included: A new armory at Westerly, 1901; the State Armory, Providence, 1902-1905; the Armory of Mounted Commands, Providence, 1912; additional land and seven granite buildings at Rhode Island State College, 1901-1930; a twenty-four room practice school for Henry Barnard School at Rhode Island College of Education, 1928; land and a group of buildings for a new institution, Exeter School, formerly Rhode Island School for the Feeble-Minded, 1907-1930; additional land and building for Rhode Island School for the Deaf, 1907 and 1926; land and buildings for the State Sanatorium (for tuberculosis), 1905; additional land and buildings for penal and charitable institutions, including a new State Hospital for Mental Diseases, 1901-1930; a state system of public roads and bridges,‡ 1901-1930, including a new Rhode Island Stone Bridge across the Seaconnet River, 1904, and the new Washington Bridge across the Seekonk River,‡ 1930; the Metropolitan Park system, 1905-1930, including Goddard Memorial Park, at Potowomut, 1928; two state piers and other piers and harbor sites, 1910-1918;‡ courthouses at Westerly, 1911, and Central Falls, 1912; a new Newport County courthouse, 1927, and a new Providence County courthouse, 1930; a new state office building to accommodate an overflow from the State House, 1929; barracks for six patrols of state police; a state airport, 1929. Including loans for construction of the State House, the General Assembly has borrowed \$22,750,000 on long-term bonds to finance the acquisition of state property since 1900; besides that, much has been expended from current revenues. The principal items in the bonded indebtedness have been:§ State House, \$3,000,000; highway construction, \$1,763,000; State Armory, \$350,000; Armory of Mounted Commands, \$380,000; penal and charitable institutions, \$4,100,000; harbor improvements, \$976,000; metropolitan parks, \$1,150,000; bridge construction, \$1,800,000; Washington Bridge, \$3,500,000; Newport and Providence County courthouses, \$3,200,000; college buildings, \$1,260,000; state office building, \$925,000; airport, \$300,000.

\*In re the Warwick Financial Council, 39 R. I. 1.

†All except the old state house at Kingston.

‡Chapter XXVIII.

§Reduced in part by payment on sinking funds.

The last session of the Supreme Court in Newport was conducted May 26, 1905, 258 years after the creation of a "General Court of Trials" in 1647. "The Declaration of Independence," said Justice Blodgett, "which may, in a sense, be considered the beginning of our national existence, appears to us today, and after a lapse of 129 years, to be an event of the remote past, but that event is but midway between us of today and the beginnings of the sessions of the court here, since the highest court of the colony had even then been holding its sessions for 129 years in Newport. . . . I know of no building possessing equal antiquity in which the court of last resort has continued to sit until the present time as the court has continued to sit here. For more than 150 years of that period the court has been held in this ancient structure, from whose balcony the demise and accession of successive kings of England have been proclaimed, the Declaration of Independence was announced, and the proclamation has been made to successive generations of the citizens of the state of the result of their own choice of Governor and other general officers for more than 100 years. Within these walls the Declaration of Independence by the colony of Rhode Island 129 years ago this month was announced in Newport, May 4, 1776, antedating by two months the Declaration of the United Colonies July 4 of that year." Twenty-two years later, 1927, the old State House in Newport was abandoned by the Superior Court of Rhode Island and the District Court of the First Judicial District; both removed to the new Newport County Courthouse. With the courts went the famous Stuart "Washington," which disappeared mysteriously from the old State House as opposition to its removal was gathering force in Newport.

Of the other property, the State Armory in Providence, on Cranston Street, provides a drill shed large enough for regimental manoeuvres, between two head houses with offices and company quarters. The Armory for Mounted Commands, placed strategically on North Main Street, and thus convenient to three cities and the centre of the state's population, besides headhouse and stables, has a drill shed large enough for a squadron of cavalry. The buildings at Rhode Island State College include East, Ranger, Agriculture, Edwards, Bliss and Hammond Halls, Edwards Hall being a library and assembly hall combined. The buildings at Exeter School house 500. The State Sanatorium includes hospitals for treating both early and advanced cases of tuberculosis, with accommodations for 400. The enlarged state institutions at Howard provide accommodations as follows: Sockanosset School, 150 boys; Oaklawn School, 50 girls; State Infirmary, 750; Hospital for Mental Diseases, 2000; State Prison and County Jail, 700; Women's Reformatory, 50. The Metropolitan Park system includes 1753 acres of attractive reservations in Barrington, Cranston, East Greenwich, East Providence, Johnston, Lincoln, North Providence, Pawtucket, Providence and Warwick.

**MORE BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS**—Important administrative boards and commissions created in the twentieth century include the Returning Board, 1901, counting ballots and issuing certificates of election; Board of Public Roads, 1902, registrations and licensing of automobiles and motorists, construction of state public roads and bridges; Public Utilities Commission, 1912, regulation and supervision of railways, and public service companies; Tax Commission, 1912, determination of large part of state revenues; Board of Control and Supply, 1912, a state purchasing agency later merged in the Public Welfare Commission; Penal and Charitable Commission, 1917, replacing State Board of Charities and Corrections and Board of Control and Supply; Public Welfare Commission, 1923, replacing Penal and Charitable Commission. Boards and commissions to examine and license for occupations, professions and trades, and to regulate practice therein were established as follows: Barbers, 1901; accountants, 1906; embalmers, 1908; veterinarians, 1909; optometrists, 1909 and 1928; trained nurses, 1912, chiropodists, 1917; hairdressing and cosmetic therapists, 1927; chiropactors, 1927. Other state boards and commissions, directing particular activities or

administering state institutions or state property, include: State House Commission, 1902, custody of State House and new State Office Building, 1929; Metropolitan Park Commission, 1904, continued 1909, reorganized, 1919; Forestry Commission, 1906, reorganized as a bureau in the Department of Agriculture, 1927; Providence Armory Commission, 1906, building when completed in custody of Quartermaster General; Food and Drug Commission, 1909; Board to Survey Natural Resources, 1909, succeeded by Conservation Commission, 1910; State Harbor Improvement Commission, 1911, building piers, etc., replaced 1918; Board of Parole, 1915; First Newport County Courthouse Commission, 1917, to secure options on land; State Board of Labor, 1919; Board for Purification of Waters, 1920, protection of waters, rivers and bay resources against pollution; Narcotic Drug Board, 1920; Soldiers' Bonus Commission, 1920; Commission on Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1922; Soldiers' Welfare Commission, 1922; Criminal Law Advisory Commission, 1923; Providence County Courthouse Commission, 1923, to select a site and prepare preliminary plans; Newport County Courthouse Commission, 1925, to acquire a site, construct and furnish, courthouse completed and occupied October 3, 1927; Providence County Courthouse Commission, 1925, to acquire site, erect and furnish, part completed for occupancy, 1930; Committee of Inquiry on Joint Levies and Appropriations by the Congress of the United States, 1926; Athletic Commission, 1926, licensing and regulating athletic games and exhibitions; Judicial Council, 1927; State Public Health Commission, 1929. New state officers created included, State Librarian, 1901; State Probation Officer, 1906; Assistant Justice Sixth Judicial District Court, 1906; Bank Commissioner, 1908; Assistant Insurance Commissioner, 1909; Deputy Bank Commissioner, 1909; Commissioner of State Printing, 1912; Jury Commission, 1918, abolished, 1920, reestablished, 1926; Commissioner of Labor, 1919, replaced Commissioner of Industrial Statistics; Deputy General Treasurer, 1923; Superintendent of State Police, 1925; Children's Laws Commission, 1925; Commissioner of Finance, 1926; State Law Revision Commission, 1926; Commissioner of Agriculture, 1927; State Director of Public Health, 1929.

**SUPERCOMMISSIONS AND OVERLORD BOARDS**—The Returning Board, with the implication of state scrutiny of elections, and the Board of Public Roads, to become an agency for regulating automobile traffic and for constructing the state system of public roads, were departures of importance commensurate with the beginning of a new century. Ten years later four new state agencies—the Public Utilities Commission, the Tax Commission, the Board of Control and Supply and the Printing Commission—marked the beginning of a new era and new principles of administration in Rhode Island. Two were aggressive administrative agencies. One of these purposed regulation of the vast public service monopolies, the operation of which affected the daily life and economic welfare of more than nine-tenths of the state's population in direct and positive relation as patrons. The second was created to deal with taxation and revenue, one of the most important of state functions, as it reaches to the sources from which the state must obtain financial support for the projects undertaken by it for the people.

The Board of Control and Supply was also economic in its purpose; it aimed at conservation of financial resources by supervision and control of purchases and expenditures of public revenues. It was a supervisory agency to which contracts for purchases, construction, etc., must be submitted for approval. Its influence reached into every department, division, bureau and office in state public service. It was promptly styled an "overlord" board, and was within a short time in unconcealed conflict with the State Board of Charities and Corrections, the latter having under its supervision one of the largest organizations then in state service. Relations with other state divisions, while correct, were not invariably pleasant; the provision for buying commodities of which large quantities were used, such as coal, on contracts placed through the Board of Control and Supply, tended to disturb pleasant relations between state officers as customers and merchants and supply men.

The fourth new agency—the Commissioner of Printing\*—for the time being controlled only expenditures from the general state appropriation for printing; later the power of the Printing Commissioner was to be extended to placing all contracts for state printing, including those made by departments which had particular appropriations available for paying printing bills. The system inaugurated by the Printing Commissioner with reference to the annual appropriation for state printing, through his control of contracts and expenditures, made it possible for him to determine what should be and what should not be printed from that appropriation, including such rulings as (1) that the report of department A was not of sufficient importance to warrant printing it at all; (2) that the report of department B was too long, and could be printed only if it were curtailed to a specified number of pages; (3) that form 23 used by department C was superfluous and should not be printed; (4) that form 11 was too complex and should be replaced, if used at all, by a simpler and cheaper piece of printing. The Printing Commissioner effectually ended a practice under which heads of divisions wishing printing had sent copy and orders to the state printers (under contract); printing could be ordered only with the approval of the Printing Commissioner and by him. When heads of divisions had had sufficient experience with the Printing Commissioner to send to him orders for printing that he would approve, and to route other orders in such manner as to pay for them from division appropriations, thus by careful allocation getting most printing that was wanted, the authority of the Printing Commissioner was extended to control of printing paid for by the divisions.

The Board of State Charities and Corrections was abolished in 1917, after forty-eight years of service, beginning with the buying of land for and developing the group of state institutions at Howard. With the board went also the Board of Control of the State Home and School, and the Board of Control and Supply. Instead, the General Assembly created the Penal and Charitable Commission, which united the functions of the Board of State Charities and Corrections and the Board of Control and Supply, and assumed control of the State Home and School and the Exeter School. The latter had been established and administered for ten years by the State Board of Education, which in 1917 requested that it be relieved of further responsibility, principally because its plans for the development of the institution could not be realized with the appropriations and resources available, and because responsibility was divided with the Board of Control and Supply. The Board of Education said:

Under the practice inaugurated by the Board of Control and Supply, that board has assumed control of all expenditures except salaries, and through its legal control of purchases and supplies, it has assumed the selection of equipment and supplies, and thereby the direction of means to ends vitally affecting the management and development of the institution. In its report for 1912, the committee of management, after pointing out the extent of control already assumed, expressed the opinion that the Board of Control and Supply either "should have the entire charge of the institution or simply perform its functions of making contracts and purchasing supplies, directed in accord with law, by the board of management." In spite of the anomalous situation created by dual management and control by agencies of coördinate rank and authority, both the Board of Control and Supply and the Board of Education have labored together as harmoniously as might be under all the circumstances. Embarrassment has arisen, however, because of divergent ideals and necessarily conflicting policies which these ideals have directed. The function of the Board of Control and Supply is distinctly economic with emphasis upon immediate restriction of expenditures; it is this which has led it to assume the selection of equipment and supplies, and the substitution, in the name of economy, of its choice for the selection made by the committee of management. On the other hand, the function of the Board of Education, while economic in the broad sense that this board is engaged in a great work of conservation, is distinctly educational. Economy in education is not measured invariably by low cost. The Board of Education makes no plea for unrestrained and unrestricted expenditure, but it does recognize and practice a higher economy, to be measured, not by expenditure, but by improvement. . . . There has been no lack of harmony

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\*Agent at the time for a commission on state printing.

between the Board of Education and the Board of Control and Supply. . . . But the Board of Education believes that the division of authority between the two boards should be clearly defined if the dual control and management is continued. . . . Although the Board of Education has had charge of the care and education of the feeble-minded for many years and is deeply concerned in the proper and efficient conduct of this important institution, and would regret a discontinuance of the long and responsible service in behalf of the feeble-minded, it seriously believes that successful management of the school . . . . in the future will be best assured under a single board of management, and therefore requests the General Assembly to relieve it of its partial responsibility for the conduct of the institution.

The relation of the State Board of Education to the Board of Control and Supply thus plainly stated, was characteristic of relations of other state boards to the State Board of Control and Supply, so far as the latter had become a purchasing agency.

The new Penal and Charitable Commission of 1917 consisted of nine members, one for each county and four at large; it included five of the nine members of the Board of State Charities and Corrections and one of the members of the Board of Control and Supply. Another member of the Board of Control and Supply continued in the service of the new board as purchasing agent. Five years later, 1922, the Penal and Charitable Commission was reorganized, three women displacing three men in its membership; in 1923 the name was changed to State Public Welfare Commission. A commission, consisting of Frank H. Swan, Esq., Monsignor Peter E. Blessing and Dr. J. L. Wheaton, was appointed in 1928 to investigate the State Public Welfare Commission and all institutions and departments under its administration. The investigating commission recommended a smaller welfare commission and a general reorganization. A new commission, consisting of three members, was created. The commission appoints a director of state institutions, a purchasing agent, a fiscal agent, a secretary, a director of the Children's Bureau,\* a state probation officer, a psychologist, and a director of mothers' aid.† A division of child welfare in the State Board of Health was established in 1918.

LATER COMMISSIONS—A Children's Laws Commission, appointed in 1925, reported in the following year a long list of measures dealing with child welfare, some new and others amendatory of existing legislation; most of the program was enacted in 1926. A Soldiers' Bonus Commission was appointed in 1920 to distribute \$100 each to soldiers and sailors in the World War; the measure was financed by a bond issue of \$2,500,000. A Soldiers' Welfare Commission was created in 1922, and an appropriation of \$25,000 was made available for the relief of veterans of the World War. The statute creating a Jury Commission, enacted in 1918, was repealed in 1920; the office of Jury Commissioner was reestablished in 1926. A Deputy Jury Commissioner, a woman, was appointed in anticipation of the service of women on juries, which began in Newport County with the opening of the new county courthouse, which provided accommodations for women jurors. Women of Providence and Bristol counties will be drawn for jury service when the new Providence County Courthouse is completed.

A department of state police was organized in 1925, principally to patrol open country, and to assist in the enforcement of law and in the apprehension of criminals. The Rhode Island "troopers" are mounted on motorcycles. The need for state police had been discussed for several years earlier than 1925. Disorder in connection with the legislative filibuster of 1924, and resentment because of alleged officiousness on the part of the Providence Police Commission in sending patrolmen to the State House brought the discussion to focus. On several occasions after 1925, when the State House was visited by strikers or other persons in large numbers undertaking concerted movements to emphasize interest in pending legislation,

\*Established 1926.

†Work begun, 1922; bureau established, 1926.

the state police have patrolled the State House corridors and approaches. The time was ripe for "reform," and several commissions were appointed, the list including, besides the Children's Laws Commission, a commission to study adult delinquency, 1925; a commission to study marriage and divorce legislation, 1926; a criminal law advisory commission, a judicial council to study court procedure, a commission to study life insurance, 1927; and a commission on departmental reorganization, 1928. The filibuster and the consequent failure of the General Assembly in 1924 to pass the annual appropriation bill resulted in 1925 in the enactment of a number of laws establishing automatic annual appropriations to cover the routine needs of departments, thus to avoid embarrassment should another filibuster occur.

In 1926 the General Assembly reorganized the department of public finance by creating the office of Commissioner of Finance, to which the Governor appointed Honorable Frederick S. Peck, who had been for many years chairman of the House committee on finance, and unofficially, though *ex officio*, maker of the annual budget. The Commissioner of Finance appointed two assistants, and, among other duties, was directed to prepare the annual appropriation bill, on the basis of reports and estimates made by heads of departments. Under the statute the appropriation bill must be drafted by the Commissioner of Finance and submitted by him to the General Assembly on or before February 1; if no annual appropriation bill had been passed by the General Assembly, the appropriation bill drafted by the Commissioner became effective April 15. All measures carrying appropriations must be submitted to the Commissioner of Finance for approval or disapproval, except "emergency" measures identified as such by the Governor.

Thus the Commissioner of Finance became for financial measures practically a third house in the General Assembly. The annual appropriation bill of 1927, drawn by the Commissioner of Finance, was in new form, with departmental appropriations divided and classified under four general headings—personal service, general expenses, supplies, and capital expenditures. Departments were held to expenditures within the total amount appropriated, and for specific purposes within the classifications. The office of State Auditor was abolished in 1929; instead the Commissioner of Finance designated one of his assistants as State Comptroller. As the reorganization of the state financial system proceeded it was clear that the Commissioner of Finance had become the dominating public officer in the department, and that his control of the public purse strings had made him a factor to be reckoned with by all other departments and divisions in state service except the State Board of Public Roads and the courts, neither of which was included in the sweeping provisions for reorganization.

Doubt was raised so early as 1926 as to the constitutionality of parts of the legislation giving extraordinary powers to the Commissioner of Finance with reference to the annual appropriation bill. No one wondered or was surprised, therefore, at the announcement in the "Providence Journal" of February 18, 1929, that the "Journal" company's counsel had achieved a similar opinion; lawyers were amused at the "Journal's" statement that he had "declared" parts of the legislation unconstitutional, thus stealing the thunder of the Supreme Court. The retort of the Commissioner of Finance was a chuckle and suggestion that it had taken counsel for the "'Journal' a long time to find it out." The Commissioner of Finance had already prepared a new plan, following a suggestion made several years earlier, when the fiscal year was changed from the calendar year to the year beginning December 1 and ending November 30, that a much better arrangement would date the fiscal year from July 1 to June 30. With such fiscal year, corresponding to the federal fiscal year and thus simplifying accounting on joint ventures of state and nation, the General Assembly could, if it were willing, spend six months debating the appropriation bill, and still pass an appropriation bill before the new fiscal year opened. The provision in the Constitution limiting the salaries of Assemblymen to sixty days would tend to inhibit so long a session. The General Assembly of 1929 ordered

a short fiscal year of seven months, from December 1, 1929, to June 30, 1930; and a fiscal year thereafter beginning July 1 and ending June 30. Thus in 1930 the General Assembly enacted two annual appropriation bills, one for the short fiscal year of seven months, and another for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1930.

The commission on departmental reorganization consisted of B. Thomas Potter, William L. Sharpe, Addison P. Monroe, Senator Russell Grinnell and Representative George W. Parrott. It reported in 1929 a plan for reorganization of state public service "with a view to the promotion of efficiency and economy, and the prevention of duplication of effort." The principle accepted by the commission was practically the abolition of boards and commissions with executive agents or secretaries of the type familiar to Rhode Island, and a reorganization in the plan of departments headed in each instance by a commissioner appointed by the Governor by and with the advice of the Senate, with an advisory council instead of an administrative board, if any board were established. The principle had been applied in 1927 in the reorganization of the State Board of Agriculture, out of which had emerged a Commissioner of Agriculture and an advisory council of eleven appointed in part by the Governor, and in part by various agricultural societies or organizations. The Commissioner of Agriculture appoints six chiefs of divisions of service. The State Board of Health was abolished in 1929; instead a board of five Commissioners of Public Health was appointed, with a Director of Public Health as secretary, and a staff of specialists. Otherwise the report of the commission on departmental reorganization was referred in 1929 to the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, with instructions to continue for consideration at the session of 1930 a sheaf of bills purposing reorganization of several divisions of public service. Toward the end of the session of 1930 the chairman of the judiciary committee, answering a question, said that the committee had not considered the bills as "alive" at any time during the session of 1930.

The creation of new divisions of public service, and the growth of divisions, taxed the State House so completely that, beginning in 1917, the Smith estate, across Smith Street to the north, was used to accommodate the extra service inaugurated for war purposes. The Smith estate was purchased as a site for the new State Office Building opened in 1929. To it were removed the Board of Public Roads with its major divisions of automobile registration, and road and bridge construction; the Commissioners of Public Health, with their laboratories, and the boards and commissions associated with the State Board of Health; the Public Utilities Commission. The Public Welfare Commission has offices at the State House, but much of the organization is quartered at Howard.

OUTLINE OF GOVERNMENT—An outline of the government of Rhode Island in 1930 follows:

I. The people

- A. As the sovereign in an American commonwealth, a constituent of the United States of America
  1. Direct the casting of the state's electoral vote for President and Vice-president of the United States.
  2. Elect two Senators and three Representatives in the Congress of the United States.
- B. As the sovereign in an American commonwealth, member of a sisterhood of states—
  1. Have ordained and established a State Constitution.
  2. Elect a General Assembly biennially to make laws.
  3. Elect a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, General Treasurer and Attorney General biennially to execute and administer the laws.
  4. Have established a Supreme Court and courts of inferior jurisdiction to administer justice.
  5. As jurors temper the administration of exact justice and aid established courts in ascertaining facts for the application to them of laws.



STATE OFFICE BUILDING, PROVIDENCE  
As Seen Across Smith Street from the State House Grounds



6. Through the referendum approve or disapprove propositions affecting the indebtedness of the State.
7. Through the referendum approve or disapprove amendments to the constitution.
- C. As citizens of towns and cities into which the state has been divided for local government
  1. In towns
    - a. In annual town meeting order the assessment of taxes and make appropriations for the support of local government.
    - b. Elect a town council for the administration of town affairs.
    - c. Elect a school committee to administer and control public schools.
  2. In cities
    - a. Elect a city council to exercise the general functions of the town meeting.
    - b. Elect a school committee to administer and control public schools.
    - c. Elect a mayor (sometimes also other officers as local administrative officers).
- D. To vote must be citizens of the United States at least 21 years of age, resident in Rhode Island two years and in the town or city in which they offer to vote six months, and registered within the registration period next preceding the election. The registration period is two years ending June 30 next preceding the biennial election of general officers (even years). Persons whose names are enrolled as taxpayers qualified to vote need not register except in the first instance, and once qualified as taxpayers are carried on the registration roll through the current registration period. Only persons qualified by ownership of land of the value of \$134 or who have paid a tax on personal property valued at \$134 may vote in towns (as distinguished from cities) on propositions to impose a tax or for the expenditure of money.

## II. The General Assembly

- A. Consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives.
  1. The Senate\* consists of the Lieutenant-Governor, one senator from each town or city; for any city or town having more than 25,000 qualified electors one senator for each 25,000 electors or major part thereof.
  2. The House of Representatives consists of not more than one hundred members, apportioned to and elected by the towns in proportion to population.†
- B. Meets
  1. Annually at Providence on the first Tuesday in January.
  2. At any date agreed upon at adjournment.
  3. In special session called by the Governor.
- C. Is judge (house by house) of the elections and qualifications of its members, and may make rules of procedure.
- D. Exercises the legislative power, by concurrent action of the two houses.
- E. Provides for the support of the state government by
  1. Levying taxes through assessments on towns proportioned to the amount of taxes raised by the towns; by excises, licenses and franchises.
  2. Making appropriations for the payment of debts.
  3. Making appropriations for expenditure or apportionment by and under the direction of administrative officers.
  4. May not increase the debt of the state beyond \$250,000 without the consent of the people.
- F. Except the Supreme Court, which is established by the Constitution, establishes courts of justice and defines their jurisdiction.
- G. In grand committee elects
  1. Judges of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, clerks of the Supreme Court, of the Superior Court for the several counties, and judges and clerks of the district courts for the twelve judicial districts into which the state has been divided.
  2. Sheriffs for the several counties.

\*The Senate elected in 1930 to sit in 1931 and 1932 will comprise 42 members, including four Senators from Providence elected by districts.

†But not less than one to any town nor more than 25.

3. Members of boards and commissions and other public officers for the administration of public business, whose appointment or election is not otherwise provided for.
  4. The general officers otherwise elected by the people in instances of failure of election by the people, death, resignation, incapacity or removal from office.
  - H. Serves as a state school committee, whose duty it is to promote public education by law, with discretion as to the form and nature of legislation.
  - I. Receives reports from boards, commissions and other public officers including data for new legislation.
  - J. Charters towns and cities, and establishes town and city governments for local administration, and boards and commissions for local administration.
  - K. Establishes and maintains a state militia for public defence.
  - L. May impeach (try on charges and remove from office) any executive or judicial officer.
  - M. May submit to the people proposals for amending the Constitution.
- III. Executive and Administrative Officers elected by the people in biennial election.
- A. The Governor
    1. Serves from the first Tuesday in January two years or until his successor is elected and qualified.
    2. Is charged with the faithful execution of the laws.
    3. May call the General Assembly together in special session.
    4. May prorogue the General Assembly in instances in which the houses disagree on a time for adjournment.
    5. May veto bills passed by the General Assembly
      - a. Within six days (excluding Sundays) while the General Assembly is in session.
      - b. Within ten days after adjournment.
    6. Signs all commissions.
    7. Appoints justices of the Superior Court and other officers designated by statute, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.
    8. May fill vacancies\* in office until the same are filled by the General Assembly or the people.
    9. Is commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the state, except when they are called into the federal service.
    10. May grant reprieves except in cases of impeachment, and may grant pardons with the consent of the Senate.
    11. May be impeached and removed by the General Assembly.
    12. Appoints an Executive Secretary.
  - B. The Lieutenant Governor
    1. Presides in the Senate.
    2. Presides in grand committee of the General Assembly.
    3. Succeeds the Governor.
  - C. The Secretary of State
    1. Is ex-officio secretary of the Senate.
    2. Performs the duties and exercises the powers generally appurtenant to this office—
      - a. Is keeper of the state archives, custodian of state records, keeper of the seal of the state and custodian of the State Library.
      - b. Publishes state laws.
      - c. Issues charters of incorporation under general laws.
      - d. Conducts interstate correspondence.
    3. Appoints a Deputy Secretary of State and other assistants.
  - D. The General Treasurer
    1. Is custodian of the money in the general treasury.
    2. Receives money due the state from taxes and other sources.
    3. Disburses public money on proper orders drawn by the Comptroller.
    4. Borrows money on the credit of the state.
    5. Is a member of the sinking fund commission.
    6. Appoints a Deputy General Treasurer and other assistants.

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\*Except justices of the Superior Court.

## E. The Attorney General

1. Is the legal counsel of the Governor and all other state executive and administrative officers.
2. Is the people's attorney
  - a. In the enforcement of law by prerogative writs.
  - b. In the enforcement of public justice by indictment and presentment.
  - c. In all criminal proceedings.
3. Appoints four assistant attorneys general and other assistants.

## IV. Executive and Administrative Officers, Boards and Commissions Created by the General Assembly.

## A. Public Education Service.

1. Commissioner of Education
  - a. Appointed by State Board of Education.
  - b. State superintendent of schools.
  - c. Is ex-officio
    - (1). Secretary of the State Board of Education.
    - (2). Secretary and member of Board of Trustees of Rhode Island College of Education.
    - (3). President and member of Board of Managers of Rhode Island State College.
    - (4). Member of Board of Trustees of Rhode Island School of Design.
    - (5). Visitor of schools conducted by State Public Welfare Commission.
  - d. Appoints Director of Vocational Education, Director of Adult Education, Director of Surveys, and other assistants.
2. State Board of Education.
  - a. Membership—Governor and Lieutenant Governor, and seven members elected by the General Assembly.
  - b. Duties—General supervision of public schools of the state, enforcement of school law.
  - c. Serves also
    - (1). With the Commissioner of Education as a Board of Trustees for Rhode Island College of Education.
    - (2). As a State Board for Vocational Education.
    - (3). Appoints two of its members as trustees of Rhode Island School of Design.
  - d. Appoints the Commissioner of Education.
3. State Board for Vocational Education.
  - a. Membership—The State Board of Education.
  - b. Duties—Promotion of vocational and industrial education.
  - c. Appoints State Supervisors of Agricultural Education, Supervisor of Trade and Industrial Education, and Supervisor of Home Economics Education.
4. Board of Trustees of Rhode Island College of Education.
  - a. Membership—The State Board of Education and the Commissioner of Education.
  - b. Duties—Management and control of Rhode Island College of Education.
  - c. Appoints President, professors, other instructors, superintendent of buildings and assistants.
5. Board of Managers of Rhode Island State College.
  - a. Membership—Commissioner of Education, Commissioner of Agriculture, five members appointed by Governor.\*
  - b. Duties—Control and management of Rhode Island State College, care and control of agricultural experiment station.
  - c. Appoints
    - (1). President, professors and other instructors, director of extension service and experiment station, superintendent of college estate and assistants.
    - (2). One member of advisory council of department of agriculture.
6. Board of Trustees of Rhode Island School for the Deaf.
  - a. Membership—Governor, Lieutenant Governor, nine members appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Control and management of Rhode Island School for the Deaf.
  - c. Appoints director and teachers, and employes.

\*Except when indicated otherwise, appointments by the Governor are "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," the Senate having power to elect in instances in which it does not give its "advice and consent."

- B. Public Finance Service.
1. The Commissioner of Finance
    - a. Appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Prepares annual appropriation bill, and approves or disapproves all bills appropriating money or creating financial obligations.
    - c. Member of Sinking Fund Commission.
    - d. Appoints State Comptroller, Deputy Commissioner of Finance and other assistants.
    - e. Receives reports and estimates from all departments.
  2. The State Comptroller
    - a. Appointed by the Commissioner of Finance.
    - b. Draws orders on the General Treasurer, and audits accounts of General Treasurer and all boards, commissions and officers.
    - c. Member of Sinking Fund Commission.
    - d. Appoints assistants.
  3. Commissioners of Sinking Funds.
    - a. Membership—The Governor, General Treasurer, State Comptroller, Commissioner of Finance, chairman of the Senate finance committee, chairman of the House finance committee, two members elected by the General Assembly.
    - b. Duties—Investment of money set apart for the redemption of state bonds.
  4. Board of Tax Commissioners.
    - a. Three members appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Has general charge of, and control over, the assessment of taxes payable directly to the general treasury, including taxation of corporations, banks, public service corporations, insurance companies, inheritances.
  5. The Bank Commissioner.
    - a. Appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Examines state banks, trust companies and savings institutions; examines and supervises loan associations and credit unions; registers and licenses stock brokers, and regulates the sale of securities (stocks and bonds of corporations), serves as a member of Board of Bank Incorporators, licenses small loan brokers.
    - c. Appoints a deputy commissioner and three bank examiners.
  6. Board of Bank Incorporation.
    - a. Membership—Bank Commissioner, General Treasurer, and Attorney General.
    - b. Regulates the incorporation of banks, trust companies and savings institutions.
  7. The Insurance Commissioner.
    - a. Elected by the General Assembly.
    - b. Duties—The examination of domestic insurance companies, licensing of foreign insurance companies, licensing of insurance brokers, enforcement of rights of policy-holders, etc.
    - c. Appoints a deputy insurance commissioner.
  8. State Board of Accountancy.
    - a. Three members appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Examines and certifies public accountants.
- C. Public Conservation Service.
- i. State Department of Agriculture.
    - a. Commissioner of Agriculture.
    - b. Advisory Council—One member appointed by Governor, four appointed by Governor upon nomination of Rhode Island Agricultural Conference, six other members representing State College and agricultural associations.
    - c. Six heads of divisions, appointed by the Commissioner of Agriculture:
      - (1). Chief of Animal Industry
      - (2). Chief Entomologist
      - (3). Chief of Bureau of Markets
      - (4). Chief of Bureau of Forestry

- (5) Chief Milk Inspector
- (6) Chief Inspector of Apiaries
- 2. Metropolitan Park Commission.
  - a. Five members appointed by the Governor.
  - b. Duties—Acquisition of property for public park and recreation purposes, and its development; particularly, acquisition of property for the preservation of natural beauty thereof.
  - c. Appoints a superintendent of state parks.
- 3. Commissioners of Inland Fisheries.
  - a. Seven, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Protection and cultivation of inland fisheries including hatching of fish and stocking of streams and ponds, licensing of lobster fishermen, licensing of fresh water fishermen.
  - c. Appoint deputies to enforce fisheries laws.
- 4. Commissioners of Shell Fisheries.
  - a. Five, elected by General Assembly.
  - b. Duties—Protection of oyster and other shell fisheries; leasing of waters of Narragansett Bay for oyster culture; inspection of establishments for opening and packing oysters; planting, cultivating, propagating and developing shell fisheries; closing shellfish beds for protection of fisheries.
  - c. Appoint deputies to enforce law.
- 5. Commissioners of Birds.
  - a. Five, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Protection and conservation of wild bird life, restocking.
- 6. Board of Purification of Waters.
  - a. Three members, appointed by the Governor.
  - b. Duties—Examination of waters of rivers and bays, abatement of pollution nuisances.
- 7. State Conservation Commission.
  - a. Five members, including Commissioner of Labor, Commissioner of Agriculture, Director of Agricultural Experiment Station at Rhode Island State College, Chief of Bureau of Forestry, Secretary of Metropolitan Park Commission.
- D. Public Welfare Service.
  - 1. State Public Welfare Commission.
    - a. Three members.
    - b. Duties—Management, control and supervision of state prison and reformatory for men, jail in the county of Providence, state workhouse and house of correction, state reformatory for women, state hospital for mental diseases, state infirmary, state reform schools—including Sockanosset School and Oaklawn School, Exeter School, State Home and School.
    - c. Appoints—A secretary, a director of state institutions, a purchasing agent, a fiscal agent, a state probation officer, director of Children's Bureau, director of mothers' aid, psychologist, warden of state prison and superintendents and other similar officers for various institutions under its control.
  - 2. Board of Parole.
    - a. Membership—Governor, Attorney General, Warden of State Prison, Fiscal Agent, and three members appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Duties—Parole of persons sentenced to imprisonment for more than six months, except life prisoners and persons committed as habitual offenders.
- E. Public Health Service.
  - 1. Commissioners of Public Health.
    - a. Five, appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Duties—Supervision of public health, investigation of epidemic, infectious and contagious diseases, examination and licensing of practicing physicians and doctors, administration of state laboratories.
    - c. Appoint
      - (1). Director of Public Health.

- (2). Laboratory staff including bacteriologist, epidemiologist, chemist and sanitary engineer, sanitary chemist, toxicologist, pathologist.
- (3). Director of Child Welfare Bureau.
- 2. Board of Examiners in Osteopathy.
  - a. Three members appointed by Commissioners of Public Health
- 3. Board of Chiropractic Examiners.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
- 4. Board of Registration in Dentistry.
  - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Examines and licenses dentists.
- 5. Board of Examiners in Optometry.
  - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Examines and licenses optometrists, that is, persons measuring and prescribing lenses and other mechanical devices for correcting vision.
- 6. Board of Examiners in Chiropody.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Commissioners of Public Health.
- 7. Board of Examiners in Midwifery.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Commissioners of Public Health.
- 8. Board of Examiners of Trained Nurses.
  - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
- 9. Trustees for the State Sanatorium.
  - a. Five, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Control and manage state hospital for tuberculosis.
- 10. State Board of Pharmacy.
  - a. Seven members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Examination and registration of pharmacists.
  - c. Appoints—Registrar of pharmacists and inspectors.
- 11. Board of Food and Drug Commissioners.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Examination and analysis of foods and drugs, prosecution of makers and vendors of adulterated foods and drugs, licensing of bottlers, inspection of factories and stores, regulation of "cold storage."
- 12. Inspector of Meat.
  - a. Appointed by Governor.
- 13. Assayer of Liquors.
  - a. Appointed by Governor.
- 14. Narcotic Drug Board.
  - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
- 15. Board of Examiners of Barbers.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.\*
  - b. Examination of barbers, and inspection of barber shops.
- 16. Board for the Practice of Hairdressing and Cosmetic Therapy.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Examination of practitioners and inspection of parlors.
- 17. State Board of Veterinarians.
  - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Examines and licenses veterinarians.
- 18. Factory Inspectors.
  - a. One chief, one deputy, three assistants.
  - b. Inspection of factories, restaurants, shops for sale of food, bakeries, and food storage; enforcement of laws limiting employment of women and children, and all regulations for health and safety in factories and places of business.

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\*Confirmation by Senate not required.

19. State Athletic Commission.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Supervision and licensing of athletic games, contests and exhibitions.
20. Medical Examiners.
  - a. Thirty-two, appointed by the Governor.
  - b. Duties—Investigation of sudden deaths, and of deaths without attendance of a physician.
21. State Board of Registration in Embalming.
  - a. Three members appointed by the Governor.
  - b. Duties—Examination and registration of embalmers of dead human bodies.
- F. Public Transportation and Commercial Service.
  1. State Board of Public Roads.
    - a. One member from each county, appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Duties—Construction and maintenance of state public roads and bridges designated as part of state system by General Assembly; registration of motor vehicles; licensing of drivers of motor vehicles; enforcement of regulations of vehicles on public highways; collection of gasoline tax; investigation of highway accidents.
    - c. Employs chief engineer and bridge engineers and others.
  2. Public Utilities Commission.
    - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
    - b. Duties—
      - (1). Supervision and regulation of public utilities, including steam railways, electric tramways, public vehicles, telephone and telegraph, gas and electricity, distribution of water, heat, light and power.
      - (2). Approval of charges and rates for public service.
      - (3). Approval of routes and time of transportation schedules.
      - (4). Adjustment of public service to public need.
  3. Commissioners of Pilots.
    - a. Three appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Commission pilots and regulate the fees of pilots.
  4. Harbor Commission.
    - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
    - b. Duties—Laying out and defining harbor lines; supervision of public waters and harbors; protection of tidal waters and channels against encroachment and filling; removal of obstructions from channels; location of wharves and piers.
    - c. Appoints Commissioner of Pawtucket River.
  5. Commissioner of Dams and Reservoirs.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. Inspects dams and reservoirs.
  6. Commissioner of the Providence and Worcester Railroad.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. State's representative in directory of corporation.
  7. Washington Bridge Commission.
    - a. State Board of Public Roads—two citizens of Providence and two citizens of East Providence.
    - b. Directing construction until bridge was completed and opened for traffic.
  8. Airport Commission.
    - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
    - b. To acquire land for and construct state aviation field.
  9. Commission on Foreign and Domestic Commerce.
    - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
  10. Commissioner of Wrecks.
    - a. One for Block Island appointed by Governor; eight for maritime towns, appointed by town councils.
    - b. Custody of wrecks and shipwrecked goods until claimed by owners, or sold.

- G. Public Trade, Labor and Industrial Service.
1. Sealer of Weights, measures and balances.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. Has custody of standard weights, measures and balances furnished by United States; furnishes standard weights, measures and balances for towns; inspects and tests town standards; may inspect any weight, measure or balance used in sales or merchandise.
  2. Inspector of Lime.‡
    - a. Elected by General Assembly.
  3. Inspector of Scythe Stones.‡
    - a. Elected by General Assembly.
  4. Inspector of Cables.‡
    - a. Elected by General Assembly.
  5. Inspector of Steam Boilers and Deputy.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. Inspects steam boilers, formulates and enforces a standard code of rules for the construction, equipment, installation and inspection of boilers.
  6. Commissioner of Labor and Deputy Commissioner.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. Duties—
      - (1). Superintendent of decennial state census of population, agriculture, fisheries and business; the Commissioner of Labor and the Governor constitute the Census Board.
      - (2). Collection annually of statistics relative to labor and business in all mechanical, manufacturing, commercial and industrial business.
      - (3). Collection annually of statistics of revenue and expenses of towns and cities, including financial statistics of municipal industries, and of public debt, current public assets and current public liabilities of towns and cities.
      - (4). Investigation of labor conditions.
      - (5). Assistance to boards of mediation and conciliation appointed by State Board of Labor.
      - (6). Establishment and maintenance of free public employment offices.
      - (7). Reports to State Board of Labor monthly, and to General Assembly annually.
      - (8). Inspects coal and coke, licenses dealers, enforces law regulating marking of containers, etc.
  7. State Board of Labor
    - a. Consists of Commissioner of Labor and four other members, two representing labor and two representing employers of labor, appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Duties—Promotion of voluntary mediation and conciliation in controversies and disputes between employers and employes; avoidance of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, blacklists, discriminations and legal proceedings in industrial disputes; with the approval of the Governor, appointment of boards of mediation and conciliation in particular instances of industrial disputes and controversies.
- H. State Public Service.
1. State Returning Board.
    - a. Five members, appointed by Governor.
    - b. Counts ballots cast in state elections, and issues certificates of election.
  2. Commissioner of State Printing.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. Supervises state printing, and places contracts for printing for all divisions of state service.
  3. State Law Revision Commissioner.
    - a. Appointed by Governor.
    - b. Revision of legislative bills, and collation of continually revised text of public laws.
  4. State Librarian and State Record Commissioner.

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‡Offices without salary or function, yet filled biennially because laws have not been repealed.

- a. Appointed by the Secretary of State, with the advice and consent of the Senate.
- b. Duties—Librarian of state library in State House; conduct of legislative reference bureau; enforcement of law requiring fireproof repositories for public records in custody of towns.
5. Board of Commissioners for the Promotion of Uniformity of Legislation in the United States.
  - a. Three members appointed by the Governor.
  - b. Duty—Study of proposed uniform laws, and recommendation for enactment by General Assembly.
6. State House Commission.
  - a. Three members appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Custody, care and maintenance of State House, and State Office building; assignment of offices and other rooms; equipment and furnishing.
7. Custodians of other state property.
  - a. Courthouses owned by state in custody and care of county sheriffs.
  - b. Jails, except Providence county jail and other detention institutions at Cranston, in custody and care of sheriffs or jailers.
  - c. Armories owned by state, campgrounds, etc., in custody and care of the Quartermaster General.
  - d. Monuments erected by state, and parks in custody of Metropolitan Park Commission.
  - e. Bridges and roads in custody of Board of Public Roads.
  - f. State piers in custody of Harbor Commission.
8. Commission on Readjustment of State Boundary Line.
  - a. Three members, appointed by Governor.
  - b. Duties—Marking state boundaries, surveying state boundaries, placing and maintaining boundary marks.
9. Providence County Courthouse Commission.
  - a. Seven members appointed by Governor, one justice of Supreme Court, one justice of Superior Court.
  - b. Duties—Acquisition of land and construction.
10. Committee of Inquiry on Joint Levies and Appropriations by the Congress of the United States.
  - a. Membership—Attorney General, Chairman of Tax Commission, one member of Senate, two of House of Representatives.
11. State Bureau of Information.
  - a. Director, appointed by Secretary of State.
  - b. Publicity and publications.
- I. Public Relief Service.
  1. State Board of Soldiers' Relief.
    - a. Membership—Governor, General Treasurer, Adjutant General, nine members appointed by the Governor, limited to veterans of War of Rebellion and foreign wars.
    - b. Duties—control and management of Rhode Island Soldiers' Home at Bristol; relief of veterans and widows of veterans of War of Rebellion and of foreign wars.
  2. Board for the Expenditure of the Firemen's Relief Fund.
    - a. Two members appointed by the Governor, and one member appointed by the Rhode Island State League of Firemen.
- J. Law, Law Enforcement and Procedure.
  1. Criminal Law Advisory Commission.
    - a. Six members appointed by the Governor, with State Law Revision Commissioner, ex-officio.
    - b. Duties—Study of criminal laws, and recommendations for improvement.
  2. Judicial Council.
    - a. One justice each of Supreme Court and Superior Courts, one district court justice, and three lawyers, appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Duties—Study of legal procedure and recommendations for improvement.
  3. Department of State Police.
    - a. Superintendent appointed by the Governor.
    - b. Duties—Patrol and law enforcement.

4. Police Commissioner for the city of Woonsocket.
  - a. One appointed by the Governor.
- K. National Guard and Naval Militia.\*
  1. The Governor is Commander-in-Chief.
    - a. The Governor's staff—appointed from militia.
  2. The Adjutant General.
    - a. Elected by the General Assembly.
  3. The Quartermaster General.
  4. Commissioned officers.
    - a. Examined physically and mentally by examining board, and appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Adjutant General.
  5. The National Guard and Naval Militia (active).
  6. The enrolled militia—able bodied citizens, ages eighteen to forty-five (potential).
- V. Department of Justice. For the organization of courts see Chapter XXVI.

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\*Organized under state and federal laws.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

### RHODE ISLAND BENCH AND BAR.



DIFFICULT as it may be for a twentieth century Rhode Island lawyer, layman or student of politics to step out of an environment in which the theories of the distribution of powers and of an independent judiciary are accepted almost as axioms, one must do so if he would understand and appreciate, rather than depreciate, the judicial system of early Rhode Island. Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws"\* was published only a little more than halfway back in the three centuries in which Rhode Island has been holding forth a lively experiment in democracy, and the separation of powers was not part of the alleged American political inheritance from England. In the mother country no court, even in the twentieth century, ventures to dispute the constitutionality of an act of Parliament; and the House of Lords is still, as it has been, the final court of appeals. The only essential difference between new and old procedure and practice in England is the deference paid, since the trial of Daniel O'Connell, by lay lords to law lords, in so far as the former refrain from voting on appeals and by silence leave the decision to the latter, thus lending a juridical dignity to the solemn pronouncement of the House of Lords.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS—It is desirable to recall in this connection also that as the Rhode Island Constitution of 1842 combined much that had been advantageous in the past experience of Rhode Island with new plans for extending democracy, it repeated the Rhode Island principle of the "distribution of powers," as distinct from the principle of the separation of powers. Thus, article III, is entitled "Of the *Distribution* of Powers" and declares: "The powers of the government shall be *distributed* into three departments: the legislative, executive and judicial." On the other hand the Constitution of Massachusetts proclaims the *separation* of powers, thus: "In the government of the commonwealth the legislature shall not exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall not exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judiciary shall not exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men." A veto power resting in the executive is inconsistent with the declaration in the Constitution of Massachusetts, although there the Governor has the veto; but entirely consistent with the Rhode Island declaration, which authorizes the *distribution* of powers to three governmental agencies. So also the Rhode Island practice of restricting the appointive power conferred upon the Governor would be inconsistent with the *separation* of powers prescribed in Massachusetts, but is not inconsistent with the *distribution* of powers in Rhode Island. Furthermore the Constitution of Rhode Island does not confer *the* executive power on the Governor; his excellency never had complete executive power under the Charter; instead the Constitution stipulates only "the *chief* executive power," which warrants the interpretation that executive power may be conferred upon other agencies, provided that "the *chief* executive power" is reserved for the Governor. In other words, the Governor is not "the executive," but only "the *chief* executive" in Rhode Island.

A key to the relation of judiciary to legislature in the colonial and early state period may be found in the use of the word "court" in the Charter of 1663 and elsewhere with similar meaning. Thus the legislature of Massachusetts was and still is called the "General Court." In the Rhode Island Charter the words "General Court" and "General Assembly" are used synonymously and interchangeably, even with reference to the annual election meeting of the

\*Cited by Ames in *Taylor vs. Place* 4 R. I. 324.

General Assembly. If, indeed, the General Assembly was the "General Court," then any other court created by the General Assembly for the trial of causes might be regarded as an agency to which a part of the judicial authority of the Assembly had been delegated, and an appeal from agent to principal would follow logically. Sanction for this interpretation is found in the language of the Charter itself, in the enumeration of the powers of the General Assembly, thus: "And also to appoint, order and direct, erect and settle, such places and courts of jurisdiction for the hearing and determination of all actions, cases, matters and things, happening within the said colony and plantation, and which shall be in dispute, and dependent there, *as they shall think fit*; and also to distinguish and set forth the several names and titles, duties, *powers and limits*, of each court, office and officer, superior and inferior."

It is reasonably clear from the citation that the Charter did not create, but gave to the General Assembly authority to create a judiciary; it is also clear that it lay entirely within the power of the General Assembly to define and to limit the jurisdiction of the courts of justice established by it, and that the power to limit jurisdiction implied the power to retain appellate jurisdiction for the General Assembly. Such, however, was not the opinion of the English privy council, which in 1710, in the appeal of *Remington vs. Brenton*, denounced the exercise of chancery powers by the General Assembly as usurpation. Even before the Charter of 1663 a substantial identity of the repositories of executive and judicial powers appeared in the election in 1638 and 1639 of "judges" in the instances of William Coddington and William Hutchinson in Portsmouth and Newport, although it is possible to interpret the use of the word "judge" as title for the executive as resting upon precedents in the Hebrew state in Old Testament days, to which New England Puritans had recourse frequently. Thus, writing of democracy itself, which he cordially detested, John Winthrop said there "was no such government in Israel," and thus dismissed it from further consideration. When, in 1647, an elaborate code of laws for the colony of Rhode Island, then organized with the name of Providence Plantations under the Warwick Patent, was adopted, a General Court of Trials, forerunner of the Supreme Court, was established, to consist of the President and Assistants.

**COURTS UNDER THE CHARTER**—The Governor and the Assistants constituted a court under the Charter. The Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, established in June, 1729, included the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants. Not until February, 1746-1747, did the General Assembly provide for a separate court, which consisted of a chief justice and four associates. The name Supreme Judicial Court was applied in 1798. Under the Patent and Charter the essential relations appeared clearly in the facts: (1) that courts of justice were established and abolished in the discretion of the General Assembly; (2) that for a century, 1647 to 1747, judges of the principal court of justice were political officers chosen by the people and serving *ex-officiis* as justices in trial courts; (3) that after 1747 judges were elected annually by the General Assembly, and that changes were made so frequently as to render average tenure short; (4) that the jurisdiction, or "powers and limits," of courts was defined by the General Assembly from time to time by statute; (5) that neither the Charter nor the General Assembly conferred upon any court of justice a final revisory and appellate jurisdiction, and (6) that the rights of litigants to appeal to the General Assembly and of the General Assembly to set aside a verdict and decision were not seriously questioned. The fact last mentioned lends itself to the further suggestion that in the instance of the Superior Court appeal to the General Assembly afforded a convenient means of shirking responsibility, which the political officers serving as judges rather welcomed than resented. In one particular instance, in 1679, it would appear to modern eyes that court and assembly were engaged in a genial contest of "passing the buck." Thus in an action of "unjust molestation" the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff. The court, instead of entering judgment on the verdict, or setting the verdict aside and ordering a new trial, or entering judgment for the defendant *non obstante veredicto*, suspended judgment and referred the

purely legal question of jurisdiction and the existence of a cause of action to the General Assembly. The latter decided eventually that the case should be returned "to the wisdom and consideration of the General Court of Trials, together with our opinions, which are, that all cases of that nature are not actionable, and suppose judgment in this present case ought to be barred forever." Following an appeal to England from a decision of the General Assembly assuming chancery powers\* in the exercise of appellate jurisdiction, and a decree entered by the privy council declaring the decision null and void because "that the court had no jurisdiction therein," the General Assembly repealed the act conferring chancery powers upon itself, but provided that "appeals may be by way of petition." Thus the Assembly ceased entertaining appeals but authorized petitions for relief, and thereby continued substantially the same procedure under another name.

The detail of changing names of courts, of increasing or decreasing the number of judges, of defining jurisdiction of superior and inferior courts, of establishing county and other local courts to meet the convenience of the people, constitutes a labyrinth of legal history that appeals to the lawyer seeking precedents more than to the general reader. Incidentally also the emergence of a legal requirement of drawing jurors instead of appointing or electing them as political officers marked the development of a keener sense of the necessity for impartial justice. Litigation in Rhode Island courts tended to be lengthy because of the right, generally recognized, to a second jury trial if the first verdict proved unsatisfactory to either party. While two consecutive verdicts for either party were not so conclusive as to estop an appeal or petition to the General Assembly, variations in the verdicts of two juries tended to encourage appeals. It lay within the province of the jury to render a verdict upon both law and evidence, and the practice of lawyers was to appeal directly to the sense of justice or prejudice of the jurors. Twice at least the Assembly attempted to curb the zeal of lawyers, thus: In 1651, provision was made for two lawyers belonging to the court in each town, "solemnly engaged not to use any manner of deceit to beguile either court or party." The record lends itself to the interpretation that the lawyers were provided as part of the juridical machinery, and placed at the service of litigants. In final analysis the functions of these assigned lawyers would differ little from those of twentieth century lawyers, who aid court and jury to discover facts by careful examinations and cross-examinations of witnesses, and the court to find the principle of law and the approved interpretation or application of it by argument and brief and the collection of precedents. The difference between old and modern practice lies in the emphasis upon the duty of the twentieth century lawyer to advance the interests of his client principally, and to perform the other services incidentally. A later statute, in 1703, provided that no lawyer should be admitted to practice in any of the courts unless first sworn to plead to the merits of the case according to the law, and not from favor nor affection of any person.

The provision in the Constitution that "the judges of the Supreme Court shall, in all trials, instruct the jury on the law," appeared first in a statute enacted in 1827. It was intended to remedy a disregard for law in appeals to juries and in verdicts rendered by jurors. It incorporated in statute as a requirement a practice the origin of which in America is credited to Justice Story of the United States Supreme Court, who, when sitting as a trial judge, not only interrupted proceedings frequently by questioning witnesses and counsel, but also followed the lawyers' addresses to the jury by giving the jury his own view of the law in the form of instructions. As applied rigidly in practice the statute tended to curb the lawyer who asked the jury to return a verdict for his client in spite of the law. In modern practice latitude is permitted in appeals to the jury, and no record of the plea is made by the court stenographer; but the judge imposes reasonable restraint, and has the last word in his instructions.

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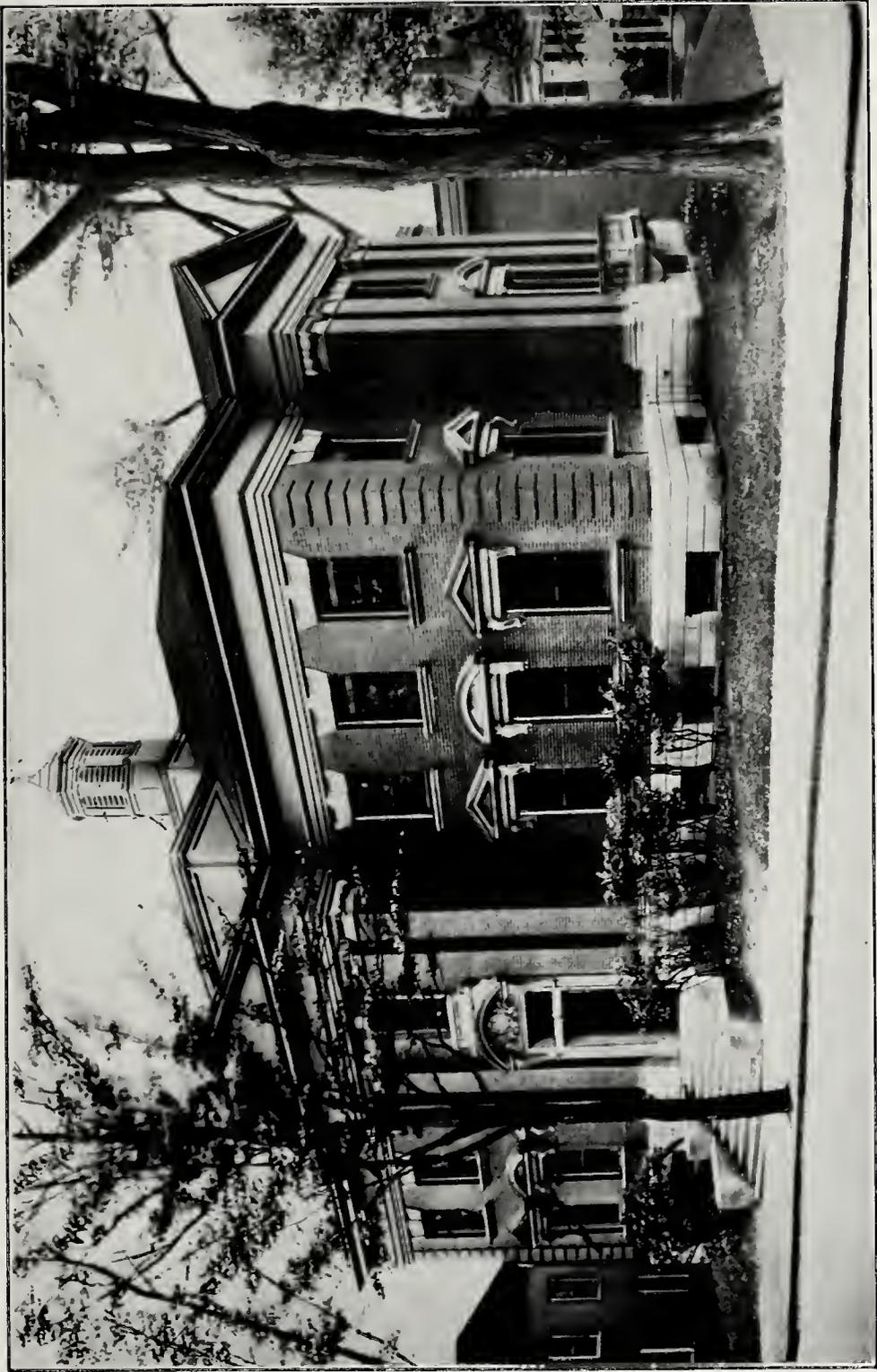
\*Remington vs. Brenton, appeal to Privy Council.

Even the courts were not entirely guiltless of disregard for law. Witness the answer by Justice Staples to Abraham Payne, Esq., who when asked to become Reporter of the Supreme Court consulted the judge: "You can take the office if you choose, but we shall make you all the trouble we can. We shall give you no written opinions, unless we are compelled to do so. We don't want any reporters or any reports. We mean to decide cases rightly, but we don't want to be hampered by rules, the effect of which would be to defeat justice. We had a petition for a new trial before us in Newport County last term. There was no rule or authority by which we could grant it; but we saw, if we did not grant it, an honest farmer would be cheated out of his farm; and we granted it without giving any reason for doing so." The rugged righteousness of Rhode Island justice, little hampered by precedent nor distressed by rigid adherence to the letter of the law, provided exactly the setting in which a masterful man, of the type to which Stephen Hopkins belonged, would shine as an illustrious judge, though he had not been trained for the profession of law. Not all the judges of the Superior Court were not lawyers, however; the names of lawyers appeared with greater frequency on the lists of judges toward the end of the eighteenth century than when the court was first created.

NO SEPARATE JUDICIARY—For the first century, 1647-1747, there was no separate judiciary in Rhode Island; the Superior Court consisted of the Governor and Assistants. From 1747 to 1843 the Superior Court was separate, but scarcely independent. There could be little independence while election was annual and while an appeal or petition to the General Assembly might lead to reversal of a verdict or decision. The insecurity of tenure or frequency of changes of judges appears in the large number of different names in the lists of five who constituted the court at any particular time; in periods of ten years from 1747 there were fourteen, eighteen, fifteen, sixteen, and fourteen judges, and the average tenure was approximately three years. Exceptions were Stephen Hopkins, fourteen years in three periods, twelve of the fourteen years as Chief Justice; and Thomas Tillinghast, thirteen years as Associate Justice; Peleg Arnold, sixteen years as Chief Justice; Joshua Bicknell, twelve years as Associate Justice; Walter Cooke, twenty years as Associate Justice, all belong to a later period, beginning with the ratification of the federal Constitution, 1790.

The General Assembly's estimate of the relation existing betwixt it and the separate Superior Court was manifested unmistakably in the proceedings in the General Assembly following the court's judgment in the famous case of *Trevett vs. Weeden*.<sup>\*</sup> Weeden, a butcher in Newport, refused to sell meat to Trevett, who tendered as payment paper money, which the General Assembly had made a legal tender. Trevett haled Weeden before the Superior Court, which dismissed the complaint for want of jurisdiction, thus sustaining pleas in abatement, alleging (1) that the act of the General Assembly under which the complaint had been made had expired in twelve months by express limitation; (2) that the act of the General Assembly placed the jurisdiction for suits to enforce the legal tender act in special courts without jury trial, and not in the Superior Court; and (3) that the act of the General Assembly was unconstitutional, and therefore void, because it denied the right of trial by jury. The Chief Justice, Paul Mumford, gave no reason for the decision, which was "that the said complaint does not come under the cognizance of the justices here present and that the same be and is hereby dismissed." The decision might be sustained expressly on the second plea in abatement, that jurisdiction had been assigned to other courts. But the practice of Rhode Island courts in not adhering strictly to decisions of bare legal points; the remarks of two of the judges, David Howell, that the statute was "repugnant and unconstitutional," and Thomas Tillinghast, to the effect that trial without jury was repugnant to the law of the

<sup>\*</sup>Chapter XIV.



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE



land; and particularly the impassioned pleading of General James Varnum, as counsel for Weeden, that the legal tender act was an invasion of human and constitutional rights, followed by newspaper reports that emphasized the address, sustained an impression in the public mind that the Superior Court had defied the General Assembly. Thereupon the General Assembly resolved, "whereas the justices of the Superior Court of Judicature have by a judgment declared and adjudged an act of the supreme legislature of the state to be unconstitutional and so absolutely void," to summon the judges to appear before the Assembly to show cause for their decision. The judges appeared, explained the decision upon the legal issue squarely presented, want of jurisdiction, and then continued by asserting that they owed no responsibility for decisions to the General Assembly. "I never did, I never will," said Justice Joseph Hazard, "depart from the character of an honest man to support any measures. . . . It is not possible to resist the force of conviction. The opinion was dictated by the energy of truth. I thought it right—I still think so. Be that as it may, we derived our understanding from the Almighty, and to Him only are we accountable for our judgment." A motion to remove the judges from office did not prevail, and they were excused from further attendance on the session of the General Assembly as being not clearly in criminal contempt. Four of the judges were not reëlected by the following grand committee, only Chief Justice Mumford, who had given no reason in court for the judgment and who had not appeared before the General Assembly, because of illness, being spared. Justice Tillinghast was reëlected four years later, after the paper money party had been removed from power. The case of *Trevett vs. Weeden* is cited sometimes as a precedent for the jurisdiction assumed by the Supreme Court of the United States to declare acts of Congress void as unconstitutional; Varnum's argument, printed subsequently and widely circulated, might lend color to the accuracy of the citation. It is worthy of note, however, that in their answer to the General Assembly the judges denied only the Assembly's right to call them to account for a judgment. Yet the Assembly had called the Supreme Court to account; it had summoned the justices to plead an excuse before the bar of the Assembly, and it had asserted a right to discipline the court by dismissing the justices; in the end it excused the justices from further attendance on the ground that no disrespect for the Assembly had been intended. Furthermore, at the next election the General Assembly removed the offending justices from office. There could be no reason to sustain a lingering doubt after May, 1787, that the General Assembly had justified its right to be called an omnipotent legislature.

LAY JUDGES—The ratification of the Constitution of the United States, 1790, concluded one of the most turbulent periods in Rhode Island politics.† The same quiet that prevailed otherwise following ratification was reflected in the security of tenure in the Superior Court; in ten years, in spite of annual election, there were only ten changes in the list of justices. Meanwhile the name of the court had been changed to Supreme Judicial Court in 1798. For seven years, from June, 1801, to May 1, 1808, there were no changes of judges; and changes were few relatively in the composition of the court until the reorganization of 1827. Meanwhile the brilliant James Burrill, Jr., 1816-1817, and Tristram Burges, 1817-1818, both eminent lawyers, distinguished Congressmen and remarkable orators, served each a year as Chief Justice. Next came Asa Messer, D. D., Baptist minister, who had been president of Brown University, but was not a lawyer, to take the place of James Fenner as Chief Justice, who refused to accept election. The General Assembly had not been committed by the election of Burrill and Burges to the policy of maintaining a professional Supreme Court composed of lawyers. Isaac Wilbour, last of the old Chief Justices, followed Messer and served for eight years. Wilbour was a farmer who had entered politics; his rise through various offices

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†Chapter XIII.

carried him to the Supreme Court as Associate Justice in 1818, and the next year he was elected as Chief Justice. He was not a lawyer; yet he added to an understanding of a limited number of legal principles a great abundance of wisdom, and he was a righteous judge. American law had been undergoing a change that was aptly epitomized by the remark attributed to Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court in concluding an opinion: "That, gentlemen, is the opinion of the court; Justice Story will discuss the authorities." Marshall was a lawyer who based the decisions through which he expounded the Constitution of the United States upon profound reasoning. Story was a learned lawyer, who, like Chancellor James Kent, combined with legal reasoning an acquaintance with legal literature.

A new type of American lawyer was rising, product of the law schools established in American universities. Law was becoming vastly more exacting and technical, and the decision of cases turned upon accurate interpretation and application of legal principles, more and more clearly defined in the white heat of forensic argument. Wanting a professional state court, so much of Rhode Island litigation as involved technical discrimination and as could be brought within the jurisdiction of federal courts, was removed to the District Court of the United States, and to higher courts, by Rhode Island lawyers, who realized the futility of argument before other than a court of lawyers. The change in the practice of law was recognized by the Rhode Island General Assembly in 1827. The Supreme Court was reduced to three judges, and the mandatory obligation that a justice should instruct the jury in the law practically excluded others than lawyers from the bench.

**FIRST PROFESSIONAL SUPREME COURT**—The first professional Supreme Court—Samuel Eddy, Chief Justice, and Charles Brayton and Samuel Randall, Associate Justices—served six years, 1827 to 1833, without change. Job Durfee succeeded Samuel Randall in 1833, and two years later became Chief Justice, in succession to Samuel Eddy, deceased. The Supreme Court of 1835—Job Durfee, Chief Justice; Levi Haile and William R. Staples—was the last Supreme Court under the Charter, and the first under the Constitution, as it remained in office unchanged until in 1843 a third associate justice was elected in the person of George A. Brayton. The court thus increased continued without change for five years to 1848. The status of the Supreme Court from 1827 to 1843 with reference to the General Assembly was that of a separate, professional court. The justices were elected annually, but the tenure established by reelection indicated a recognition by the General Assembly of a new dignity in the court, and little disposition to change it. Job Durfee served thirteen years; Levi Haile, nineteen; William R. Staples, twenty-one; George A. Brayton, twenty-six. Haile died while in office, and Staples and Brayton resigned.

**THE CONSTITUTION AND THE COURTS**—The Constitution of 1842 made possible a new status and a new dignity for the Supreme Court. It provided that the judicial power should be "vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the General Assembly" might "from time to time, ordain and establish"; that the several courts should "have such jurisdiction as may from time to time be prescribed by law"; that the judges of the Supreme Court should "in all trials instruct the jury in the law"; that they should also "give their written opinion upon any question of law whenever requested by the Governor, or by either house of the General Assembly"; that the judges should be elected in grand committee, to serve until, in the instance of any judge, "his place be declared vacant by a resolution of the General Assembly to that effect . . . voted for by a majority of all the members elected" to each house, and otherwise for removal by impeachment; that the compensation of judges should not be diminished during their continuance in office. Besides the gains through specific statement in the fundamental law, the advantages apparent immediately were (1) tenure during good behavior instead of annual election; and (2) irreducible compensation. Other

advantages remained for establishment through practice. The duty of the Supreme Court to render advisory opinions might be construed as advantageous so far as it would assist the General Assembly to avoid the enactment of unconstitutional measures, but actually imposed upon the court the embarrassment of being obliged to render opinions on moot questions, besides questions reaching the court in orderly sequence of actual litigation. The court's own view was expressed by Chief Justice Ames:\* "The advice or opinion given by the judges of this court, when requested, to the Governor or to either house of the General Assembly, under the third section of the tenth article of the Constitution is not a decision of this court; and given, as it must be, without the aid which the court derives, in adversary cases, from able and experienced counsel, though it may afford much light, from the reasonings or research displayed in it, can have no weight as a precedent." When in 1922, the opinion of the Supreme Court was requested on the interpretation of the amendment conferring the veto power upon the Governor,† the court requested briefs and heard arguments by counsel before writing its opinion.

DECLARATION OF JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE—The earliest opportunity for a declaration of independence by the Supreme Court came in 1854, when the General Assembly elected in May requested from the judges an opinion as to the constitutionality of "An act to revise and annul the judgment of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island for treason rendered against Thomas W. Dorr, June 25, A. D. 1844." The act, besides purporting to reverse the judgment, ordered that the reversal of the judgment should be written on the face of the record thereof. In its advisory opinion‡ the Supreme Court argued that the provisions of the Constitution "create two separate and distinct, but coördinate departments of the government, the one vested with the legislative, the other with the judicial power of the state. Each is vested with exclusive power in its appropriate sphere. Upon the General Assembly is conferred the exclusive power of enacting laws. Upon the Supreme Court . . . is conferred the exclusive judicial power. . . . The power exclusively conferred upon the one department is, by necessary implication denied to the other. The court, therefore, cannot enact laws . . . For the same reason the General Assembly cannot rightfully exercise the judicial power. This is conferred upon the courts, and necessarily prohibited to the General Assembly. The union of all the powers of government in the same hands is but the definition of a despotism. To guard against such a government was one great object of the Constitution. This was to be done by this distribution of powers. This is the great principle of American liberty. . . . The exercise by the General Assembly of the power to reverse the judgments of the courts is inconsistent with this distribution of powers, and with the existence of a distinct judicial department. . . . The General Assembly are authorized to establish courts inferior to the Supreme Court, but not superior. They are as much restrained from establishing a court with power to reverse or overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court, as if they had been expressly prohibited. Yet in so establishing such court they might preserve the legislative and judicial departments distinct. For much stronger reasons are they prohibited from assuming to themselves the power of reversal, because they thereby not only constitute themselves such superior court as is denied them to establish, but also thereby unite with their legislative powers those powers of the judiciary department which are essential and vital to its existence. It is the duty of the judiciary in all free constitutional governments to decide upon the constitutionality of laws passed by the legislature, and its decisions are final and conclusive. The judiciary of this state is invested with these powers. Suppose the court should decide an act to be unconstitutional, the General Assembly may reverse the decision,

\*Taylor vs. Place, 4 R. I. 324, at page 362.

†Opinion to the Governor, 44 R. I. 275.

‡3 R. I. 299.

and by a final judgment of their own, affirm the constitutionality of the act beyond redress. This would destroy all the safeguards intended to be secured by a distribution of powers into distinct departments. The fact that the state is a party to a judgment does not confer upon the General Assembly any judicial power over it. As party they may have the same power over a judgment that any other party has. They may remit a penalty, commute punishment, or pardon. They may release a judgment in a civil suit, or acknowledge satisfaction. But this gives no power to reverse the judgment. It is simply a power to release or surrender the right which the judgment gives or decides to be theirs."

It will be noted that the Supreme Court (1) not only denied the authority of the General Assembly to reverse a judgment, which would have been a sufficient answer to the question asked by the General Assembly, but (2) also asserted its own authority to declare acts of the General Assembly void as unconstitutional, which was not essential. Besides that, it should be noted also that the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court in this particular instance was altogether in accord with the wishes of the General Assembly which asked the question, and which sought for entry upon the legislative and judicial records of the state something that would be more effective for history and for public opinion at the time than its own repeal of the statute enacted by the earlier General Assembly. The latter was controlled by friends of Dorr; the former by his opponents. Perhaps the Supreme Court realized in the circumstances an opportunity to couple with the declaration of independence, which it was encouraged to make, an affirmation of a greater right eventually—that of determining the constitutionality of legislation—which had the effect of establishing not merely independence of two coördinate branches of the government, but the right of the judiciary to assume superiority of its judgment as to the interpretation of the Constitution over the judgment of the General Assembly. After asserting both independence and superiority of judgment, the Supreme Court proceeded to limit the application of its opinion to the reversal or annulment by the General Assembly of judgments of the Supreme Court, suggesting that the Assembly might have the ancient power exercised under the Charter of granting new trials. It was this supplementary discussion of an issue not involved in the question submitted to the court that evoked the declaration\* by Chief Justice Ames that advisory opinions have not the standing as precedents accorded to real cases actually tried with the assistance of adversary counsel.

DENIAL OF JUDICIAL POWER IN ASSEMBLY—It fell to Chief Justice Ames to write a decision repudiating the dictum† of the Supreme Court in the Dorr case. On petition the General Assembly set aside a verdict and ordered a new trial, and the case was taken to the Supreme Court for a decision on the constitutionality of the action of the General Assembly. The court held that "thus to set aside a verdict and grant a new trial in a suit at law . . . is the exercise of a judicial power." Asking the question, "Has the General Assembly of this state, under the Constitution, the right to exercise judicial power, or is the exercise of such power prohibited to it by the Constitution?" the court answered "If the law-making department of our government has also the power to interpret and to enforce their interpretation of the law, either acting wholly by itself or by directing and controlling, as a superior tribunal, all other tribunals of the state, every friend to a settled and well-ordered administration of justice amongst us—every lover of free government itself—has, indeed, cause to mourn. It was the celebrated maxim of Montesquieu that 'there can be no liberty where the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or body of magistrates,' or 'if the powers of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers.'" The court referred to argument of counsel in *Wilkinson vs. Leland*‡ that the General Assembly of Rhode Island

\**Supra.*

†*Taylor vs. Place*, R. I. 324.

‡2 *Peters*, 631.

had always exercised *supreme legislative, executive and judicial* power, and to Madison's statement that "the legislative department is everywhere extending the sphere of its activity and drawing all powers into its impetuous vortex,"§ and continued: "The question before us is substantially, whether, when in 1843 the people of this state adopted a Constitution, they attended to this truth, and heeded this warning so long before given, and constantly standing before them; or whether, leaving the General Assembly in the possession of full judicial power, as well as of legislative, and nearly of executive, this Constitution—declared in the first paragraph of the first article to be of paramount obligation in all legislative, as well as judicial and executive proceedings—was set up by them as a mere 'parchment barrier' against the enterprising ambition of the legislative department of the government, which, *as a court*, could expound away every restriction imposed upon it *as a legislature?*" . . . . "The powers of government, which, under the old Charter, as under all the old colonial charters in this country, had been aggregated in the *General Assembly*, as it was called in most of them and in ours, and in the *General Court*, as in some, were distributed among the appropriate departments, that thus a just balance of power might obtain among all; the judiciary, the weakest, and therefore the safest depository of such power, to control the tendency to excess of action in every other department, and especially to check encroachments upon the just limits of its own. The Charter . . . . had been outgrown by the necessities of the crowded, rich and flourishing state. The immense amount of property here in action . . . . required, for the purpose of justice, a much nicer and more systematic judicial administration than the comparative poverty and simplicity of the sparse population of colonial days. In the meantime the world-famous maxim of Montesquieu concerning the distribution of the powers of government . . . . had been acted upon in every one of the numerous state Constitutions of the United States, as well as in the federal Constitution, for the avowed purpose of securing, and as necessary to secure, the safety of the life, liberty and property of the citizens. . . . It is quite evident, too, that this distribution of powers was, in our Constitution, made for the special purpose of depriving the General Assembly of this long exercised judicial power, which, rightly or wrongly, that body had assumed under the Charter. The executive power had been nominal, merely, under the Charter; and the Constitution extends it very little. No jealousy of it, or of its assumption by the enterprising and all-absorbing legislative department of government,\*\* did, or could exist. It was the assumption of judicial power by the General Assembly which must have been aimed at by this clause of distribution—a power grown to be of great importance, as controlling the large and increasing property amassed in the state, and the complicated interests in it, which from time to time required to be judicially ascertained and adjusted." The court then cited the various provisions in the Constitution relating to the court as confirming its interpretation, and construed the words "the judicial power of this state" as meaning "that after the adoption of this Constitution, judicial power, in the constitutional sense, shall be exercised in this state, not by the General Assembly, but only by the courts of the state." The court emphasized the distinction between "the legislative power," meaning "all legislative power"; "the judicial power," meaning "all judicial power," because neither was qualified, and "the *chief* executive power" vested in the Governor. The same "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" that urged the framers of the Declaration of Independence to "declare the causes which impel them to separation" led the court to its concluding paragraph: "We have thus carefully and fully gone through with the reasons and authorities which bear, or are deemed to bear, upon two of the questions raised in this case; because, as we have had occasion to say before, at this very term,†† we should not feel justified in declaring an act of a coördinate branch of the state government unconstitutional and

§48 Federalist, 199.

\*\*See Chapter XXV for a discussion of the appointive power as curtailed by the General Assembly.

††In the matter of Dorrance Street, 4 R. I. 230, 240.

void, unless it plainly so appeared to us; and because we are solicitous, that upon so important a subject, and one in which we are asserting the constitutional power of our *own* department against the encroachments of another, not only *to be*, but to *seem to be*, in the right. In a case so clear from doubt as this is, we should be equally unworthy of the post of duty in which we are placed by the Constitution if we swerved from the duty which that post devolves upon us, either from want of a just attention to, or a just sense of, the rights of litigants before us, oppressed by an unlawful exercise of power by the Assembly, or from a false delicacy growing out of the conflict of power involved in the case between the legislative department of the government and our own. It is the Constitution which speaks through us, and not we alone, when we declare, as we now do, that the vote and resolution of the General Assembly, . . . is unconstitutional and void." . . . The Supreme Court had not only declared its independence, by denying the authority of the General Assembly to grant a new trial, but had asserted its own right to hold the General Assembly within the limits of the Constitution by declaring acts of the General Assembly void because unconstitutional.

The decision by the Supreme Court denying the Assembly's authority to set aside judgments and to grant new trials effectually concluded interference by the General Assembly. In later decisions the court was keen in discriminating legislative from judicial action, holding (1) that a special statute permitting sale of an equitable estate in an instance in which the court had no jurisdiction to order a sale was valid as an exercise of legislative jurisdiction; §§ (2) that a statute permitting the discharge of a tort debtor from jail after commitment on execution was not an interference with a court process or judgment; \*† (3) that a resolution to authorize an appeal from a judgment favoring the public was simply a release of the public interest in the judgment and resembled the right of a private litigant to release a judgment; †† (4) that a statute abolishing the tort liability of a stockholder in a corporation for a debt of the corporation, even after the court had refused to issue a writ of habeas corpus, was valid. \*† The reason for the decisions in these cases might be found in the simple fact that the action of the General Assembly in none of them actually affected a procedure or judgment of the court. The Supreme Court has avoided declaring legislation unconstitutional, holding (1) that a statute may be constitutional in part and unconstitutional in part; \* (2) that a statute will not be declared unconstitutional unless the part that may be unconstitutional affects the interest of the party raising the constitutional question; † (3) that a statute "not so clearly constitutional as to authorize the court to declare it void" must be sustained; † (4) that a reasonable doubt as to constitutionality must be resolved in favor of constitutionality; § (5) that the constitutionality of a statute cannot be tested unless a party's right is positively affected; †\* (6) that a statute must be sustained as constitutional unless unconstitutionality is clearly demonstrated; †\* (7) that every intendment will be construed as favorable to constitutionality. §\*

STATUTES DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL—The court has held to be unconstitutional (1) a statute making a report by auditors prima facie evidence, because it infringes the right of trial by jury; †† (2) a special resolution to authorize the mortgaging of an estate under guardianship in an instance in which it did not appear that the mortgage was primarily for the

§§Thurston vs. Thurston, 6 R. I. 296.

\*†In re Nichols, 8 R. I. 50.

††State vs. Dexter, 10 R. I. 341.

\*†Penniman's petition, 11 R. I. 333.

\*State vs. Clark, 15 R. I. 383.

†State vs. Amery, 12 R. I. 64; State vs. Mylod, 20 R. I. 632; Newport vs. Horton, 26 R. I. 196; Sackett vs. Paine, 46 R. I. 439; State vs. Heffernan, 40 R. I. 121.

†Cleveland vs. Tripp, 13 R. I. 50; State vs. Narragansett, 16 R. I. 424.

§The Election of Officers by the Senate, 28 R. I. 607.

†\*Sackett vs. Paine, 46 R. I. 439; State vs. Church, 48 R. I. 265; Fritz vs. Presbrey, 44 R. I. 207.

††Sayles vs. Foley, 38 R. I. 484.

§\*Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Co. vs. Clark, 41 R. I. 277.

††Francis vs. Baker, 11 R. I. 103.

benefit of the wards;§† (3) a statute excluding a type of evidence that had been valid so far as the statute affected evidence of matters preceding the statute;§‡ (4) a statute making the “notorious character of premises or notoriously bad or intemperate character of persons frequenting the same” prima facie evidence of “keeping for sale”;¶\* (5) a statute providing penalty by fine and imprisonment for “every person who shall keep a place in which it is *reputed* that intoxicating liquors are kept for sale;¶¶ (6) a statute providing that evidence of sale or keeping for sale shall be prima facie evidence of an *illegal* sale;¶† (7) a statute validating appeal bonds signed by an agent before the statute was passed;¶‡ (8) article VIII, section 10, of the Constitution of Rhode Island, requiring election by majority, so far as it applies to elections by Representatives in Congress;¶§ (9) a statute permitting the owner of an estate in fee to deposit security for a widow’s dower, so far as it affected dower already set out;¶\* (10) the Newport city charter, so far as it excluded registry voters from election of city councilmen;†¶ (11) a statute permitting commitment to an insane asylum that did not provide statutory process for obtaining release to be initiated by the person committed;‡¶ (12) a statute authorizing administration of the estates of persons absent and not heard from in seven years, since administration may not be granted on the estate of a living person;§¶ (13) a statute forbidding the giving of trading stamps with articles sold.‡§ On the other hand, the court has sometimes sustained the constitutionality of a statute by restricting its operation to an interpretation falling within the Constitution. Thus under a statute authorizing the Rhode Island Suburban Railway Company to “acquire by condemnation such lands in any town as said corporation may from time to time take, in manner provided, for its corporate purposes,” but requiring a court to determine whether the land was necessary to the corporation for its corporate purposes, it was held that the statute granted only the power to acquire land for public purposes, since “a conflict between the statute and the Constitution is not to be implied, and where the meaning of the Constitution is clear the court will, if possible, construe a statute in accordance therewith to give the statute effect.” Hence the statute was held to be constitutional.\* In the particular case in subsequent proceedings it was held that “the test of a public use is whether the taking is essential to the service of the public franchise, or whether it pertains only to the private interests of the company in the details of its business.”† Hence, because in the operation of an electric railway, an exact location for a power house was not necessary, because of the devices in use for power transmission, the company could not condemn a site for a power house. The power of eminent domain is given to public service corporations, particularly railway corporations, to permit a convenient location of right of way; in this instance the site selected for the power house was more than five miles from the line of the railway. Because other sites might serve, the court held that the location was not necessary and not within the statute.

AN INDEPENDENT “JUDICIAL” COURT THAT HESITATED TO GRASP “ALL JUDICIAL POWER” —The Supreme Court had waited a dozen years from the adoption of the Constitution for the opportunity to declare its independence of the General Assembly. Assuming that it was merely the successor of the Supreme Judicial Court under the Charter, emphasizing the adject-

§†*Bushe vs. Mechanics Bank*, 12 R. I. 513.

§‡*Reynolds vs. Randall*, 12 R. I. 522. (*Ex post facto.*)

¶\**State vs. Beswick*, 13 R. I. 211.

¶¶*State vs. Kartz*, 13 R. I. 528.

¶†*State vs. Mellor*, 13 R. I. 666.

¶‡*Andrews vs. Beane*, 15 R. I. 451.

¶§*In re Plurality Elections*, 15 R. I. 617.

\**Talbot vs. Talbot*, 14 R. I. 57.

†*In re the Newport Charter*, 14 R. I. 655.

‡*Doyle petition*, 16 R. I. 137.

§¶*Carr vs. Brown*, 20 R. I. 215.

‡§*State vs. Dalton*, 22 R. I. 77.

\**In re R. I. Suburban Railway Company*, 22 R. I. 455; and see *Coderre vs. Travelers*, 48 R. I. 152.

†*In re R. I. Suburban Railway Company*, 22 R. I. 457.

tive "judicial" as a word of limitation, it had attained through the decision in *Taylor vs. Place*†‡ the status of an independent judicial court exercising, with courts of inferior jurisdiction, "all the judicial power" granted by the Constitution. The seed for a renewed discussion of the function of the court had been sown almost ten years before the almost revolutionary decision in *Taylor vs. Place*.§ Under the Barnard School law of 1845 the new school officer—the Commissioner of Public Schools—was given authority to entertain, hear and decide appeals from the action of school committees. His function was judicial in its nature and his jurisdiction was appellate. His decisions if and when underwritten by one justice of the Supreme Court were final. The new statute avoided constitutional issues by a provision that no person should be deprived of his remedy at law by reason of the appeals section; but it actually had set up a court of last resort in the new department of public instruction. In the course of time the appellate jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Public Schools was defined by the Supreme Court, which apparently did not recognize the Commissioner as an usurper invading the field of "all judicial power." Thus it was held that the Commissioner's decision, when approved by a justice is final and that a decided case may not be reopened by the Commissioner;‡ that the Commissioner's appellate jurisdiction is not limited to complaints arising from infraction of law, but extends to reviewing legal acts lying within the discretion of the school committee.¶ The decisions of the Supreme Court were written, respectively, by Chief Justice Ames, and Justice Potter, the latter of whom had been Commissioner of Public Schools.

When the State Board of Charities and Corrections was established it was given authority to send to the state workhouse or state prison youth committed to the state reform school who were found to be incorrigible. A boy who had been released on parole was arrested on a serious charge, and committed by the board to the state workhouse as incorrigible. With an application for *habeas corpus* it was argued that the procedure was judicial, and that the commitment was an alteration of the original sentence. The Supreme Court held that the second commitment was disciplinary rather than judicial,\*\* and not an invasion of the rights of the prisoner, since the statute preceded the sentence. *The Supreme Court had not, at the time, attained the vision of a court with final revisory and appellate jurisdiction*, nor was it anxious a quarter of a century later to assume a right to entertain appeals from the judicial and quasi-judicial proceedings of the administrative boards and commissions which the General Assembly was creating in large number, beginning with boards of canvassers and police commissioners.††

Article XII of Amendments to the Constitution was adopted in 1903; it gave the Supreme Court "final revisory and appellate jurisdiction upon all questions of law and equity," with power to issue prerogative writs. Still the court hesitated to review a decision of the Board of Canvassers in Providence, holding that the board exercised judicial power, and that the determination of the board as to the election of members of the city council of Providence is final.‡‡ After reargument, the court explained its previous decision as limited to questions of fact, of which the finding of the board was final, and on the suggestion of counsel that Article XII gave the Supreme Court "final revisory and appellate jurisdiction upon *all* questions of law and equity," intimated that it would review questions of law properly raised in quo warranto proceedings.§§ Fifteen years later the court had so far modified its view of

†‡4 R. I. 324.

§4 R. I. 324.

‡Smith's Appeal, 4 R. I. 590.

¶Appeal of Cottrell, 10 R. I. 615, overruling Gardner's appeal, 4 R. I. 602.

\*\*Cassidy's petition, 13 R. I. 143.

††See Chapter XXV. Kelley vs. Whitley, 27 R. I. 355; Greenough vs. Lucy, 28 R. I. 230; Dwyer vs. Board of Canvassers, 28 R. I. 401.

‡‡Gainer vs. Dunn, 29 R. I. 232.

§§Gainer vs. Dunn, 29 R. I. 239.

the finality of proceedings by boards and commissioners as to suggest a doubt as to findings of fact, saying, "It has been the settled practice of this court to give great weight and persuasive force to the findings of fact of those coördinate branches of the government. . . . Before we hold adversely to their finding the relators must satisfy us that their action cannot be supported by a reasonable intendment and allowable presumption in its favor."\*

A NEW DOCTRINE OF JUDICIAL SUPREMACY—With respect to issues of law the court appears never to have entertained a doubt as to its jurisdiction after the decision in *Gainer vs. Dunn*.† In one opinion it clarified the detailed application of the ballot law.\*‡ It entertained a series of appeals from rulings of the Public Utilities Commission in the application of fares and zones.\*§ It reviewed an election in grand committee, and issued an injunction against the issuing of a certificate of election.\*¶ It entertained an appeal from the action of the Pawtucket Board of Canvassers in making up a list of personal property voters, and declared the action void.‡\* It has issued mandamus to compel a town council to count the ballots cast in an election, instead of accepting the count by wardens.‡† In the broadening conception of the significance of the jurisdiction conferred upon the one Supreme Court under the Constitution exercising "final revisory and appellate jurisdiction," the court had made itself a truly final court of appeal on all questions of law and equity. It attained this status at a time in which the multiplication of boards and commissions created for the administration of the extended and extending functions of the state government threatened, under an assumption of final judicial functioning, to establish a "supreme court" in each major division of state service exercising a jurisdiction final and conclusive in fact and in law. The new conception of the function of the court brought all boards and commissions definitely under revisory and appellate supervision, thus assuring an essential uniformity in legal principle, an adherence to the Constitution, and a responsibility for the observance of law. The pathway in the other direction pointed to chaos in administration, and to administration based on expediency rather than law. Or, assuming a purpose on the part of boards and commissions to conform to law, exactly that confusion and variability that prevailed in the early history of the Supreme Court of the United States, when justices wrote opinions in turn. John Marshall, by writing all opinions himself for a period, brought to the court the advantage of a settled policy and a uniform phraseology. In the same way the exercise of final revisory and appellate jurisdiction by the Rhode Island Supreme Court has standardized the application of law by commissions and boards. *The Twelfth Amendment has made possible the single final Supreme Court in Rhode Island.*

THE TRIAL OF DORR—The trial of Thomas Wilson Dorr for treason\* was extraordinary, first, because the indictment was returned in Newport by a Newport County grand jury, whereas all the overt acts of which Dorr had been accused had been committed in Providence County; and, second, because the trial was in Newport County before a Newport County jury. The "change of venue," a concession granted occasionally on the request of an accused person who fears that he may not, because of aroused public opinion obtain a fair trial before an impartial jury in the vicinage, was ordered by the General Assembly under the provisions of the Algerine act passed in the early stages of the Dorr revolution as a war measure, and is not properly charged to excessive zeal on the part of the Supreme Court. Dorr and his coun-

\**Carpenter vs. Comery*, 45 R. I. 266.

†29 R. I. 239.

\*‡*Rice vs. Westerly*, 35 R. I. 117.

\*§*Public Utilities Commission vs. Rhode Island Company*, 42 R. I. 379.

\*¶*Carpenter vs. Sprague*, 45 R. I. 29.

‡\**Lennon vs. Board of Canvassers*, 29 R. I. 329, 456.

‡†*State vs. West Warwick*, 42 R. I. 13; *Hall vs. Town Council*, 48 R. I. 8.

\*Chapter XVIII.

sel did not question the constitutionality of the Algerine act; indeed, the Constitution of 1842 does not specify a trial in the vicinage. Wishing a speedy trial on the merits, Dorr waived at the outset his plea in abatement to the charge of treason, that treason is not an offence against an American state because it is defined in the Constitution of the United States as an offence against the nation. While the court had no part in the process whereby a picked jury hostile to Dorr was obtained,† the court did overrule Dorr's objections to the jury and his objections to testimony; and in giving the case to the jury Chief Justice Durfee instructed the talesmen in such manner as to leave them only the choice of disregarding his instructions or returning a verdict of guilty. For practical purposes the verdict was directed. The court also overruled all objections and motions made by Dorr's counsel before the formal entry of judgment on the verdict, and at the end sentenced Dorr to life imprisonment and to prison immediately, thus effectually forestalling recourse to the courts of the United States. Chief Justice Durfee's conduct and attitude throughout the trial were such as to wring from Dorr the statement at the end that he had not had the fair and impartial trial that the Constitution and laws sought to guarantee. The Chief Justice seemed to be obsessed by an assumed obligation to assure Dorr's conviction of treason. In an address to the grand jury of Bristol County he had pleaded for unrelenting measures to suppress the Dorr movement; in the trial of Dorr his ruthless rulings against the prisoner at the bar recalled the tales told of judicial prosecutions in England following uprisings against the government. No doubt the Chief Justice believed that the gravity of the situation warranted extraordinary measures, that the power of the state government to suppress revolution must be demonstrated, that the punishment of Dorr as the leader must be certain and exemplary, and that the duty of the court for the time being was to aid the prosecuting attorney. The end was as certain as the sequence of seasons: Dorr went from court to prison as a martyr, and was released from prison as a hero. The trial, conviction and imprisonment of Dorr wrested from him the stigma of defeat and crowned him with victory. Had his return to the state been ignored by the government, the Dorr movement in history would have occupied that oblivion to which the editor of the "Providence Journal" attempted to consign it by ridicule.

THE GORDON TRIAL—Amasa Sprague, brother of Senator William Sprague, was brutally murdered December 31, 1843. No witness of the crime was found; the dead body lay in a lonely place between the Sprague residence and a farm owned by Amasa Sprague in Johnston. An examination of the body and the locality indicated that he had been disabled by shooting, and then during or after a struggle with his assailant, beaten over the head. More than one of the blows had been sufficient, of itself, to cause insensibility and death; the murderer had struck repeatedly, either in the fury of passion or with the purpose of making death certain. Under a bridge nearby a pistol was found, probably discarded by the murderer, but, as it was not identified at the trial, possibly a weapon belonging to Amasa Sprague. Boot tracks in the snow, *leading away from the body*, were followed into a swamp, and there pieces of a broken fowling piece, matted with hair and blood, had been hidden. Near the gun was a coat wet with blood. The boot tracks led further to the edge of a pond, and similar tracks were picked up across the pond, suggesting that, if the same person had made both sets of tracks, he had crossed the pond on the ice. There were, however, no marks on the ice, such as might have been made by the hob-nailed boots with which the snow tracks had been made, to connect the two sets of tracks. Eventually, assuming continuity across the pond, the tracks reached a travelled road, and were lost in the maze of marks left by pedestrians, horses and other draught animals, and wagons. Beyond the road, but not directly across it, other tracks in the snow led to the rear door of the house and store of Nicholas S. Gordon. At the trial

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of Nicholas S. Gordon's brothers for the murder of Amasa Sprague, the defence emphasized the break in the tracks at the pond, and more the break in the tracks at the road, the latter suggesting either that the person who made both sets, if one person made them, traveled a short distance on the road before striking off again across open fields, or that the tracks away from the road were made by an entirely different person on another errand. In view of later developments it is to be regretted that the same zeal that was applied to tracing the tracks through woods and fields to the home of Nicholas S. Gordon did not suggest a search for other tracks in the snow, perhaps leading *to or toward* the scene of the crime, or marking the path of a man with a gun who was reported subsequently as having been seen stalking Amasa Sprague on the afternoon of the murder, and keeping himself hidden from the latter's view by favoring trees, bushes and rocks. The Gordon house was searched, and from it were taken wet boots, wet pantaloons, a waistcoat with a red stain, and a shirt spotted with red. A gun, owned by Nicholas S. Gordon, which he had purchased a short time before the murder, was not found in this search; its disappearance from the Gordon house was emphasized at the trial in the effort of the prosecution to identify the gun found in the swamp as belonging to Nicholas S. Gordon.

Nicholas S. Gordon was arrested, and with him also his brothers, John Gordon and William Gordon. The grand jury indicted John Gordon and William Gordon as murderers, and Nicholas S. Gordon as an accessory before the fact. Of the three brothers, Nicholas S. Gordon was the eldest. He had emigrated from Ireland seven or eight years before the crime, had purchased land in Cranston and constructed on it the building used as house and store, and lived there with his mother, Ellen Gordon, and a younger woman, Margaret Gordon, his sister. Nicholas S. Gordon had "paid the passage" or furnished the money necessary to bring his mother, three\* brothers and sister to America; they joined him in Cranston in July, 1843. The younger brothers were in destitute circumstances, and were occasionally furnished by Nicholas with his own clothing. Except when employed elsewhere they lived with Nicholas; he was the head of the family. One of the brothers, John, having found no regular employment, was living at the Gordon house in December, 1843; William at that time worked and boarded in Providence. Nicholas had planned his store for the sale of liquor; because of Amasa Sprague's opposition—and Sprague, by reason of wealth and ownership of the factory in the community, was almost omnipotent—Nicholas S. Gordon had been refused a retail liquor license. Evidence was introduced at the trial to show that Nicholas S. Gordon, in the presence of John Gordon, had denounced Amasa Sprague, and had declared "that he would be revenged of him; that he would come up with him, if he lived; that he would be the death of him, with other expressions of like violent and threatening character."† Revenge for interference with Nicholas S. Gordon's business was the motive alleged for the murder. An investigation by the Attorney General preceding the indictment revealed an alibi for Nicholas S. Gordon; several witnesses were found who had seen him in Providence at Mass on the morning of Sunday, December 31, 1843, and at a christening later in the day, at an hour that would have made his reaching the place of the crime impossible. In the indictment of Nicholas S. Gordon as an accessory, he was charged with having incited his brothers John and William, to murder Amasa Sprague.

John Gordon and William Gordon were tried together before the Supreme Court and a jury, Chief Justice Durfee presiding. The case was conducted by able counsel on both sides. Joseph M. Blake, Attorney General, 1843-1851, was assisted by William H. Potter, Esq., associate of General Albert C. Greene, whom Senator Sprague had retained to assist the Attorney

\*Another brother, Robert Gordon, was not indicted.

†The quotation is from the decision, *State vs. Gordon*, 1 R. I. 179. For the statement of the case, the author has had access also to a printed report of the testimony and arguments of counsel, made from stenographic notes taken at the trial.

General. For the defence appeared General Thomas F. Carpenter and Samuel Y. Atwell, Esq. At the opening of the trial the court granted *as a legal right* the request for a separate trial for Nicholas S. Gordon, who was indicted as an accessory, but refused to grant the request, addressed to its discretion, for separate trials for John Gordon and William Gordon.‡ This first ruling against the prisoners was prophetic; all that followed were adverse to the Gordons. Of forty-three jurymen drawn, twenty-two were challenged peremptorily, six were excused because they had formed opinions, and three because they entertained conscientious scruples against inflicting capital punishment. After twelve talesmen had been accepted and the jury had been engaged, and after William H. Potter, Esq., had opened the case for the prosecution and testimony for the state had been introduced, one of the jurymen received a message that his grandson was dying, and he was excused. His place was filled without objection by counsel,§ the jury was sworn again, and the trial proceeded.

The evidence presented was entirely circumstantial, purporting to prove (1) the finding of a dead body and the identification of it, to satisfy the rule of the *corpus delicti*; (2) the trail leading from the scene of the crime to the swamp where the broken gun and blood-stained coat had been hidden, and thence to the Gordon house; (3) the finding of the broken gun and an identification of it as a weapon belonging sometime to Nicholas S. Gordon; (4) the finding of the coat, and the identification of it as an old garment belonging some time to Nicholas S. Gordon, but worn by one of his brothers; (5) the discovery of wet boots at the Gordon house, and an alleged fitting of one of them into the tracks in the snow; (6) the discovery of wet and red-stained clothing at the Gordon house; (7) the absence of Nicholas S. Gordon from home on the day of the murder; and (8) as a motive for murder by one of the brothers of Nicholas threats against Amasa Sprague made by Nicholas S. Gordon in the presence of John Gordon, the refusal of a liquor license because of Amasa Sprague's opposition, the disappointment of the Gordons and the effect of refusal of the license on their economic condition. The defence objected, first to the introduction of testimony to prove that Nicholas S. Gordon owned the gun, as irrelevant in the trial of John and William, and the objection was overruled. Other objections were disposed of similarly, and the prosecution was permitted to proceed as if the *three* Gordons were being tried together. An analysis of the testimony indicates that the case had been prepared for trial with the expectation that Nicholas would be tried with his brothers, and that the Attorney General and his associate went forward without serious amendment of their original plan. In this procedure they were sustained by the favorable rulings of the court on the admission of testimony. Vigorous objection was registered to the introduction of testimony to prove that Nicholas S. Gordon was away on the day of the murder, after the state had undertaken to identify both gun and coat as his; but the court sustained the prosecution as undertaking to eliminate Nicholas and limit the indication of guilt to his brothers.

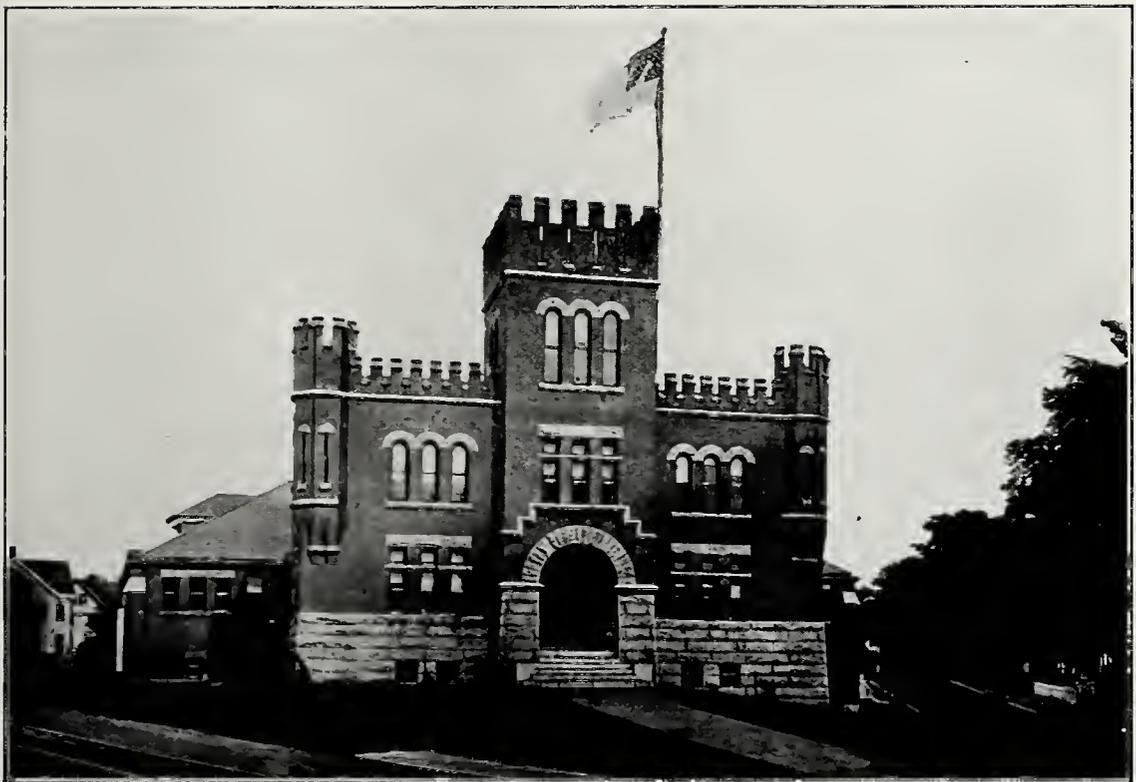
Attacking the "case" developed by the Attorney General, the defence, in cross-examination and by direct testimony (1) emphasized the two distinct breaks, one at the pond and the other at the road, in the trail leading to the Gordon house, and the altogether reasonable probability (a) that the murderer, if he reached the road, continued to travel on it in preference to leaving a trail in the snow, and (b) that the trail from the road to the rear of the Gordon house had been made by another person on a legitimate errand, possibly by John Gordon in taking a turkey home on Christmas Day, after purchasing it in Johnston; (2) drew from witnesses who had followed *the* trail admissions that they had neglected to explore at least *two*

‡A court has discretion where two or more are indicted for the same offence to order a joint or separate trials. *State vs. Ballou*, 20 R. I. 607.

§The episode illustrates the easy-going practice in early trials. In *State vs. Nelson*, 19 R. I. 647, it was held that after a jury had been sworn in, if it were dismissed, another trial constituted double jeopardy and was unconstitutional.



BROAD STREET FROM HIGH, WESTERLY



STATE ARMORY, WESTERLY



*other* trails in the snow leading away from the vicinity of the murder, a neglect of factors sufficient to warrant a reasonable doubt that the trail to the Gordon house was the path pursued by the murderer; (3) disputed the identification of the tracks in the snow with the boots found in the Gordon house, inasmuch as the boots were "sale" or ready-made, instead of custom-made and distinctive, and of a type commonly worn in the community, and also because of an acknowledged variation of so much as an eighth of an inch in the width of the sole of the boot and the width of the tracks; (4) denied the identification of the broken gun as that of Nicholas S. Gordon, introducing proof that the book entry of the sale of the gun by an auctioneer showed the name "Gorton" instead of Gordon, and that other sales made by the same auctioneer to Nicholas S. Gordon had been recorded invariably as "Gordon," besides which one witness, who was familiar with the weapon sold at auction, declared that the broken gun was not it; (5) challenged the identification of a wooden ramrod for the gun as made by a half-witted youth, who testified that he had had the stick made at the request of Nicholas S. Gordon; (6) disputed the only positive identification of the coat, as made by a witness who was an inmate of a disreputable resort and who testified that for some time she had visited the Gordon store frequently as a customer, and then, for some reason not explained, had ceased to visit it; (7) attempted to discredit the testimony of this witness when she pointed to John as William Gordon, and to William as John Gordon, and said that she had heard Nicholas S. Gordon threaten Amasa Sprague in the presence of John; (8) introduced testimony to explain the wet clothing and the stains on the garments found at the Gordon house, the latter as caused (a) on the waistcoat by madder dye, with which John Gordon had been splattered while at work in the Sprague factory, (b) on the shirt by tailor's wax, and (c) on the bed clothing by a cut on John's finger when he killed the Christmas turkey. As an alibi for each of the brothers the defence introduced testimony to show that both John Gordon and William Gordon had attended Mass in Providence on Sunday, December 31, 1843, and could be placed at various times during the day too far away from the scene of the murder to make it possible for either of them to reach the place in the hour between 3:30 and 4:30 in which the murder was committed. Amasa Sprague was seen alive at 3:30; the body was discovered at 4:30.

Neither prosecutor nor defence had recourse to modern and scientific types of evidence, such as chemical analysis of disputed stains on clothing, and the identification of finger prints on pistol or gun. Nor was there the exact determination of time made possible in the twentieth century by the almost universal and omnipresent watch and clock. Toward the end of the trial a witness was found whose testimony removed even the last lingering doubt that William Gordon was innocent. The defence objected to the introduction of testimony relating to threats alleged to have been made by Nicholas S. Gordon in the presence of John Gordon, unless and until the state had proved a conspiracy between the two; thereupon the court ruled that the proof of the conspiracy might begin with the proof of the threats. No further proof of conspiracy was introduced! The defence offered the testimony of Ellen Gordon, mother, with the purpose of accounting for the time of John Gordon and William Gordon, both of whom were at the Gordon house on that Sunday afternoon, William for a brief visit to his mother, and John for dinner. With reference to John Gordon the time at which he ate dinner was vital; had he remained at the house until the mother had cooked the meal of corned beef, cabbage and turnips, or had he left the house while the dinner was being prepared. To rebut the mother's testimony at the trial, the state offered notes taken at the preliminary arraignment, and the person who made the notes was permitted to read them after he had testified that he had no recollection of the content, but believed that the report was accurate. The admission of this testimony was one of the reasons for a new trial.

The mother's testimony at arraignment and trial varied in detail. She had been in

America less than six months when the murder was committed. Her plight in two appearances at court when the issue affected the lives of three of her children recalls: "The individual who has lived from infancy amidst thousands, in whose eyes his unblemished good character has become fully established, is protected by a shield too potent to be borne down, except by the most incontestible testimony; whilst the friendless stranger who is cast on our shores, penniless and helpless, ignorant of our language, our habits and our laws, though his character may be as faultless as the last, is protected by no such safeguard."\* Indeed, the quotation is apt for all of the Gordons except Nicholas S. Gordon, who was the eldest of the sons, and had been in America long enough to know the ways of the people. The others, except for familiarity with the English language, were strangers in a strange land, and lately from a country in which they and their neighbors had been persecuted.† It may not be doubted that the mother was frightened, and as she had no watch or clock, was mistaken in fixing time. Probably her statement at the trial was more accurate than at the arraignment, since at the trial she had the assistance and guidance of counsel.

Altogether 102 witnesses were heard in a trial continuing six days, from Monday, April 8, and arguments of counsel were delivered in the following week. The addresses to the jury were brilliant, unusually complete in detail, and masterful in the marshalling of evidence. General Carpenter spoke for nine clock hours, and Mr. Atwell five hours. For the state the Attorney General consumed five hours in presenting the case against John Gordon to the jury. Justice Durfee's charge to the jury was of the type of accurate statement of the law of which he was a master. He made no summary of evidence, inasmuch as that had been so completely presented by counsel. There were no objections by counsel to the charge to the jury, and no requests for specific instructions. If his honor erred it was in his reference to the weight to be attached to the testimony of the "countrymen" of the Gordons in instances in which they contradicted the testimony of other witnesses. The doubt, if any, must be resolved in favor of the justice, and the statement interpreted as an admonition to the jurymen that it was their duty to render a verdict based upon the truth so far as they could discern it without prejudice or favor to persons. The jury was not isolated, as are jurors in modern murder trials, and it is impossible to believe that they could divorce themselves from the social milieu. The Catholic Irish had contributed a fund to be expended for the defence of the Gordons, whom they regarded as victims of persecution; the murder of Amasa Sprague had aroused popular indignation, which, with the arrest of the Gordons, was crystallized into a sentiment favorable to suppression of "alien desperadoes." Possibly the Supreme Court, in its rulings upon the admission of testimony, was swayed by a sense of duty to aid the enforcement of law, lest it be accused of leniency. After retirement for less than two hours the jury returned a verdict. John Gordon was found guilty, and William Gordon was acquitted. For William no other verdict could be justified by the evidence; as against John a verdict could be justified by the evidence permitted to reach the jury and the weight assigned to it in the rulings by the court incidental to the trial.

Counsel for John Gordon immediately filed motions (1) in arrest of judgment on the verdict pending the trial of Nicholas S. Gordon on the charge of being an accessory, for the reason that something might be uncovered at his trial which would affect the verdict; and (2) for a new trial for John Gordon, because "First, the government, without having shown, or attempted to show, any conspiracy or confederacy between him, the said John, and Nicholas S. Gordon, his brother, was permitted to present to the jury (1) evidence of expressions of hostility, toward Amasa Sprague uttered by the said Nicholas S. Gordon in the presence of said John, but not responded to or acquiesced in by him; (2) evidence of a supposed cause

\*Gould's Report on Capital Punishment, New York, 1847.

†See page 760 for relation of William Gordon.

for hostile feelings on the part of the said Nicholas S. Gordon toward Amasa Sprague, to wit: the opposing by the said Amasa of a petition of said Nicholas S. Gordon to the town council of the town of Cranston for a license to retail wine and other strong liquors; and because, secondly, a paper purporting to be minutes of the testimony of Ellen Gordon, given before the examining magistrate shortly after the arrest of said John, was allowed to be read to the jury to contradict and impair the testimony of the said Ellen, as given for said John on the stand on his trial, the witness producing and reading the said paper expressly declaring that he had no recollection whatever concerning said supposed testimony other than that he intended to report it accurately." The motion to arrest judgment and suspend sentence until Nicholas S. Gordon had been tried was overruled by the court; as a matter of fact, however, Nicholas S. Gordon had been tried once, the jury disagreeing, before John Gordon was executed.

The motion for a new trial was argued by the counsel participating in the trial, augmented in the instance of the defendant by Samuel Currey, Esq., and J. P. Knowles, Esq. The decision of the court was delivered by Chief Justice Durfee.† The court sustained its rulings at the trial: (1) that the evidence of threats by Nicholas S. Gordon in the presence of John Gordon was admissible; and (2) with reference to the rebuttal of Ellen Gordon's testimony that the admission of improper evidence not objected to at the time it was offered did not constitute ground for a new trial. The testimony *had been objected to*, but the defence had not insisted upon the objection to the point of having an exception noted on the record. The court was technically accurate in stating the rule and in applying it, although one might characterize as drastic, enforcement of a rule in a case involving the life of a human creature even when failure to enforce it in a civil suit would warrant criticism. The most significant issue in Gordon's appeal for a new trial was the ruling on the testimony with reference to threats, however; and to this issue the court addressed itself. "And in reference to the first specification," said the court, "this evidence was not permitted to pass to the jury as proving or tending in itself to prove a conspiracy between the two, or even an acquiescence on the part of John; but, as stated in the charge, that the jury might determine for themselves what effect such declared enmity would have upon the minds of the prisoners, situated as they were in relation to Nicholas S. Gordon. . . . The facts in relation to the situation of Nicholas, that John was his brother, and that his house was the common residence of the brothers, were already before the jury when the testimony in question was offered. And now does that testimony make John acquainted with the fact that his brother has suffered a real or supposed injury at the hands of Sprague, and is the depth of that injury, as felt by that brother, made known to him by the passionate manner and threatening language that he used toward the deceased? . . . But still, though he (John) did hear them, what constitutes the relevancy of these conversations? The accused took no part in them, he was silent—he did not at the time signify any approval of the threats of Nicholas, and these threats are not to be imputed to him. How then do these conversations become relevant? The answer is that they become relevant from the simple fact that they bring home to John a knowledge of the injury or supposed injury which his brother Nicholas had suffered from Sprague, and reveal to him the extent of that injury by the vindictive language that it called forth. . . . It is impossible for the court to say that John Gordon, standing related as he stood to Nicholas, could be apprised of this supposed injury and the extent of it, and regard the fact with perfect apathy and indifference."

The court held that the testimony as to the refusal of a liquor license was admissible, "connected as it is with" other testimony, "if only for the purpose of rebutting an inference

†State vs. Gordon, 1 R. I. 179.

that the threats and declarations, aforesaid, being the language of excited feeling, might be mere bluster and misrepresentation of the fact." Although so ably defended, the decision of the Supreme Court that threats made by another person in the presence of an accused prisoner are admissible as tending to prove a motive on the latter's part, without actual proof of a conspiracy or an effective response, stands as unique in the annals of American criminal trials. The decision of *State vs. Gordon* has never been cited or referred to by the Supreme Court in any later trial.

Failure of the motion for a new trial was followed by a plea to Governor Fenner. William Gordon, conscience stricken and stirred by the remark of his brother John, "You have done for me," produced Nicholas S. Gordon's gun and a pistol which William had hidden at the Gordon house after suspicion had been pointed at the Gordons. The identification of the blood-stained, broken gun found near the scene of the murder had been one of the "circumstances" linking the Gordons with the crime. William in an affidavit recited the circumstances of the hiding, and was corroborated in part by a juryman. Substantially the affidavits related the meeting of William Gordon and the juryman, who, because of curiosity, had visited the scene of the murder; a conversation between William and the juryman, which included a discussion of the trial and particularly the evidence relating to the weapon; and a visit by William and the juryman to the Gordon house. There William Gordon removed a carpet from the floor of an upper chamber, pried up a board from the floor, and uncovered a gun, which he alleged was the gun belonging to Nicholas S. Gordon. William also drew from its hiding place a pistol, which he had concealed behind the sheathing of a partition. His explanation of the situation was to the effect that, on returning home after hearing of the murder, he had found Nicholas S. Gordon's gun standing against the wall in a corner, and had hidden it because in Ireland the possession of a gun by an Irishman was a penal offence. He related that he had found the gun loaded, had withdrawn the charge, and had concealed gun and pistol in the places from which he produced them in the presence of the juryman. William swore also that he had not told his counsel of the weapons because of fear, thus to offset the objection that counsel had concealed evidence so pregnant of proof that the broken gun, matted with blood and hair, found in the swamp near the scene of the crime, though probably the weapon used by the murderer, was not the gun of Nicholas S. Gordon. If the broken gun were not Gordon's gun, one of the most important circumstances in the chain proved to convict John Gordon did not connect him with the murder. Governor Fenner refused relief; he had not the power to pardon at this time.

A petition to the General Assembly for a pardon for John Gordon failed; the vote in the House of Representatives on January 13, 1845, was negative thirty-six to twenty-seven. John Gordon was hanged at the state prison in Providence, February 14, 1845. The execution was not public, only a small number of persons witnessing it.\* John Gordon was accompanied to the gallows by Reverend Father Brady of the Providence Cathedral, who said to John Gordon before the trap was sprung: "Courage, Brother John, courage. You are about to join the immortal band of your countrymen who have been sacrificed on the altar of superstition and prejudice."

The "Providence Transcript" of February 14, 1845, reported the execution, and the passing of the dead body by the newspaper office on its way to the Gordon house in Cranston, accompanied by a large number of people. The report of the funeral pictures 1200 to 2000 men and women marching behind the body from Cranston through Providence to the cemetery as a protest of their belief in John Gordon's innocence. The body was placed temporarily in a tomb at the North Burial Ground, and removed later for burial in a grave in St. Mary's Cemetery at Pawtucket.

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\*Tradition persists that John Gordon was dead before the trap was sprung.

Nicholas S. Gordon was tried as an accessory in October, 1844, and again in March, 1845. Each time the jury disagreed and was discharged. For the second trial—after the execution of John Gordon—difficulty was experienced in obtaining a jury. An entire day was consumed in examining jurymen, many of whom were excused from service because of conscientious objections to capital punishment. A revulsion of feeling followed the execution of John Gordon; popular belief that an innocent man had been put to death spread rapidly. While death was the penalty for murder, there were no more convictions in Rhode Island, John Gordon was the last man hanged. In 1852 the death penalty was abolished. Both capital and corporal punishment were abolished in 1795, but capital punishment for a limited list of crimes was revived in the revision of the statutes in 1798. The list of capital crimes was reduced to arson and murder in 1844.

Who killed Amasa Sprague? John Gordon repeatedly asserted: "I did not shed any of Amasa Sprague's blood." The enigmatic suggestion in this specific but non-communicative denial of homicide may be attributed either to an Irish idiomatic use of English, or to the probability that John Gordon knew the identity of the murderer, but preferred death to betrayal. One of the many traditions associated with the belief that John Gordon was innocent relates that the murderer made a key for Gordon, and watched by the prison wall one night with horses to assist Gordon's escape. John Gordon opened the door of his cell, but was stopped before he had passed the outer gate. The General Assembly, while John Gordon and Nicholas S. Gordon were held as prisoners, ordered them housed at opposite ends of the prison, thus to prevent communication between the brothers. The finding of Nicholas Gordon's gun, destroying one of the circumstances pointing to a member of the Gordon family as the probable murderer, would be considered, in the twentieth century, sufficient reason for reprieve and a new trial. Another tradition relates a death bed confession by the murderer, who absolved John Gordon.

Amasa Sprague was a man of burly, vigorous type, hot-tempered and overbearing in his method of obtaining what he wanted; he had incurred not a few enmities in the neighborhood in which he lived. He employed Irish in his factories, but otherwise accorded them the treatment all too often used with respect to immigrants. It was the last, along with the particular enmity aroused because of interference with Nicholas S. Gordon's application for a liquor license, and an affray, in the course of which Amasa Sprague wantonly assaulted Nicholas S. Gordon violently and used the epithet "Get out of here, you d—d Irishman," that suggested a neighbor as the probable murderer and pointed suspicion eventually to a Gordon. The bloody gun, the coat, the trail in the snow from the scene of the murder to the Gordon house, the wet clothing found at Gordon's—all were circumstances corroborating the clue. Again it was Sprague's well-known attitude toward Irish that aroused sympathy for John Gordon among his countrymen, and convinced them that the prosecution was aimed at them as "foreign desperadoes," in the language of the times, with Gordon as the victim to be sacrificed. Another unusual detail of the trial of John Gordon was the pledge exacted from newspaper reporters who attended it, that they would not report testimony or incidents of the trial until it had been concluded by verdict. Public interest had been keyed to such a pitch by the prominence of Amasa Sprague that a stenographic report of the trial was made and printed‡ in pamphlet form. The Gordon house was standing† in 1930, identified easily by the long, one-story ell planned for a store and attached to the two-story living quarters. The house, the stone bridge near which Amasa Sprague died, and the oak tree behind which, it is believed, the murderer was concealed as he fired the bullet that disabled Amasa Sprague, are within the boundaries of St. Ann's Cemetery in Cranston. Close to the Gordon house is an older cemetery, with slate stones marking the graves of early residents of the Cranston Print Works section.

‡Reprinted 1884.

†Preparation for demolition was underway.

THE HAZARD CASE—A trail of crime is suggested by *State vs. Hazard*.<sup>\*</sup> George B. Hazard was indicted by the grand jury of Newport County at the August term, 1863, for perjury because of testimony, alleged to be false, given at a criminal trial on August 31, 1860. The indictment disappeared mysteriously from the office of the clerk of the court, and was missed for the first time in January, 1864. The statutes of the time limited the finding of an indictment to three years after the commission of an offence. The General Assembly amended the statute in February, 1864, adding to the text: "If any indictment found within the time limited in and by the statute to which this is an amendment shall be stolen, lost or destroyed before a judgment shall have been rendered thereon, a new indictment may be found for the same offence at any time within a year after the theft, loss or destruction of the original indictment." The first indictment was stricken from the docket, and the grand jury returned a second indictment at the August term, 1864. The second indictment was stolen from the office of the clerk, which was forcibly broken open, in November, 1864. The grand jury returned a third indictment for perjury at the September term, 1865. For Hazard it was urged that the second indictment was void, because the amendment to the statute under which it had been obtained was *ex post facto*, and because, otherwise, it had been returned more than three years after the alleged offence, and that the third indictment was void because not returned within one year of the loss of the original indictment. The court avoided the question of *ex post facto*, holding that the third indictment had not been returned within one year of the loss of the first indictment.

THE SPRAGUE CASES—The panic of 1873, the failure of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company and other Rhode Island corporations, partnerships and individuals, precipitated litigation that engaged the attention of Rhode Island courts for years after 1873. The panic opened with the bankruptcy in September, 1873, of Jay Cooke & Company of Philadelphia. Hoyt, Sprague and Company of New York, buying and selling agents for the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, failed with Jay Cooke. The A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company sought loans and extensions of credit to avoid suspension, but yielded in October to a suspension that had become almost inevitable. An unsuccessful effort was made to obtain loans from Rhode Island banks which were not already embarrassed—as were two savings banks and three national banks—by holding excessive amounts of Sprague notes. Banks which had available more than the \$3,000,000 which *might* have carried the Spragues through the crisis could not be persuaded that the credit was warranted by the financial condition of the Sprague companies and the prospects for an immediate return of prosperity throughout the country, following what had been one of the worst panics in American history.

With respect to this phase of the Sprague failure a marked difference of opinion persisted in Rhode Island among persons who were acquainted with the facts, and remains as a tradition. The refusal to extend credit was characterized by friends of the Sprague family as approaching financial freebooting. The charge of piracy rested upon an assumption that jealousy of rival and competing manufacturers had ripened into ill-feeling, which prompted measures to remove the Spragues from their position of prestige and influence in Rhode Island. Resentment because of Senator Sprague's scathing speeches in the Senate of the United States suggested an additional provocation or motive. The Senator entertained and expressed views on the monetary problems of the period following the Civil War, which startled his conservative colleagues in the Senate, and passed so far beyond the boundary line between orthodox and heterodox and between conventional and unconventional as to be considered inflammatory and radical. Speaking in 1869 in the Senate discussion of the currency precipitated by the bill "to strengthen public credit and relating to contracts for the payment of coin," Senator Sprague, advocating relief for manufacturers with small ready money capital

<sup>\*</sup>8 R. I. 273.

and limited bank credit, proposed a national bureau to loan money on credit.† The "Providence Journal," in an editorial treating Senator Sprague's remarks as Pickwickian, said: "The Senator's intense application to his official duties and to his extensive private interests, we fear, cause him to take too gloomy a view of the situation." At the time interest rates were high, and money was scarce; Senator Sprague had been experiencing difficulty in obtaining extended credit for his various enterprises, including the actual money needed for pay rolls and other cash payments. He was sensitive, and construed the "Journal" editorial as an attempt inspired by Brown & Ives to injure his credit with the purpose of accomplishing his ruin. He made another speech, in the course of which he declared: "There is in my state a great capital centered in one family, and that family has a newspaper organ, and that newspaper organ is conducted by my colleague. There are throughout the state those who receive, or expect to receive, stipends at the hands of that family, or whose business rests on its favor. They and their agents are in possession of most of the moneyed institutions of the state, and when they sneeze there is a great deal of sneezing from one end of the state to the other." The references were to the firm of Brown & Ives, which controlled the most extensive textile manufacturing corporations competing with the Spragues and which was associated with the strongest financial interests in Rhode Island; to the "Providence Journal," and to Senator Anthony, as editor of the "Journal."

Senator Sprague alleged further that an agent of Brown & Ives had approached him in 1857, during the business depression in that year, with a proposition substantially as follows: "Let us join forces, prevent a suspension of specie payments, break down those who are our rivals in business or otherwise, and buy up their property. At that time," the Senator continued, "I had no debts whatever pressing me. But did I unite with them in carrying into effect their vicious and pernicious wishes? Sir, I did not. I repudiated and spurned his proposal." So serious a statement, made in the Congress of the United States, was privileged in the sense that a member of Congress may not be sued for slander occurring in debate, and Brown & Ives had neither effective legal remedy by suit for damages nor recourse to any tribunal for vindication. Senator Anthony, by adroit parliamentary practice, read into the record of the United States Senate a specific denial by Brown & Ives that any proposition of the sort had been made by them, or on their behalf, to William Sprague in 1857. There had been a difference of opinion in Rhode Island in 1857 as to the necessity for or desirability of suspension; it appears in the facts (1) that twelve of thirty-three banks in conference were not in favor of suspending specie payments, and (2) that six strong banks ignored altogether an invitation to send representatives to the conference called to discuss suspension.

Senator Sprague followed his attacks upon Brown & Ives and the "Journal" by others—upon General Burnside, the First Rhode Island Regiment because of alleged cowardice at Bull Run, upon conditions in Rhode Island and in the country generally. Occasionally he attacked a colleague in the Senate, among them Senator Simon Cameron, whom he accused of tempting him to drink: "He would take me down to his committee room and set out champagne and ask me to drink. Finally I said to him: 'Cameron, you are a vicious old fellow. I am a young man and you are an old sinner, and you are always putting temptation in my way.'" An attack on Senator Abbott of North Carolina, threatened to result in a duel. Some there were who circulated a story that Senator Sprague was insane. Distracted from time to time to other men and other subjects, Senator Sprague invariably returned to denunciation of the "money power." Thus he was approaching that day in which, his argosies failing, like Antonio he must pay forfeit to Shylock.

Contrary to the view that Senator Sprague's political, business and financial enemies united in 1873 to accomplish his destruction, one fact is outstanding and decisive: The sus-

†Not unlike the farm banks of later days, and federal reserve banking as a device for maintaining an elastic currency.

pension of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, and the assignment for the benefit of creditors were not made a pretext for forcing the Spragues into bankruptcy under the national bankruptcy act; instead, the Spragues were permitted to negotiate with a committee of their creditors a three-year moratorium. But the difference of opinion noted above is not related to restraint from action that would have precipitated liquidation in bankruptcy so much as the refusal of strong financial interests in Rhode Island to loan additional money. For this conservative attitude several reasons were assigned, among them (1) that the financial embarrassment of the Spragues was not sudden and momentary so much as chronic over a long period preceding 1873; (2) that Senator Sprague's altogether radical views\* on economic questions did not accord with financial soundness; (3) that the Sprague family, and particularly Senator Sprague's own immediate branch, had become extravagant; (4) that the Sprague enterprises, including the steamboat line to New York, had suffered excessive disasters; (5) that there was reasonable doubt that the Sprague investments of borrowed money in property for development were not rather highly speculative than sound; and (6) that the rigid examination of the Sprague business in 1873 did not yield an assurance that additional credit would solve the problems. Briefly, the Sprague enterprises had passed the line at which bankers distinguished safety from danger in making loans.

The Sprague factories in Rhode Island, Connecticut and Maine in 1873 provided employment for 10,000 to 12,000 operatives at 280,000 spindles and twenty-eight printing machines, the output of which exceeded 1,000,000 pieces of cloth annually. The Spragues were enterprising, and members of the family had invented and introduced improvements on calico printing presses, and in dyeing and printing processes. Their iron factories made and marketed the Sprague mowing machine, horseshoes made by a new process, as well as nails of new design. They owned and operated the street railway in Providence, as well as a line of freight and passenger steamers between Providence and New York, and they held large blocks of shares in steam railroads, including the Providence and Fishkill, the line of which had been constructed to pass through one of their factory villages. They were interested by investment and stockholding in a great variety of manufacturing and other corporations. They owned real estate in almost every town in Rhode Island, additional to factories, factory sites, water rights and factory villages. In Maine, besides a factory operating 34,000 spindles and a water right at Augusta on the Kennebec River, they held land as sites for other factories, and vast areas of timber lands with sawmills as part of a project for a lumber company. Westward their holdings of land extended to Kansas and Texas; their purchase of a water right and land at Columbia, South Carolina, suggests that they had grasped the possibility of manufacturing cotton cloth in the South as supply for their vast converting factories in Rhode Island and Connecticut. The conception of expansion was gigantic, and the Spragues through years of uninterrupted success had become convinced of their own invincibility. The house had risen because of the tremendous ability of the family for several generations.

Failing to obtain fresh loans or more favorable terms, members of the Sprague family, as individuals and as stockholders and owners of the Sprague factories, executed a trust mortgage, November 1, 1873,† to secure the payment of 16,500 promissory notes, amounting to \$14,000,000. The execution of the trust mortgage followed a meeting of creditors, at which the controlling motive for the composition accepted was avoidance of the expenses of bankruptcy. Zechariah Chafee became trustee. The notes were new, and were issued on surrender of outstanding claims; they were to run for three years and carry interest at 7.3 per cent. annually. The trust mortgage witnessed what was practically an agreement for a moratorium of three years. Its purposes were avoidance of forced liquidation and the immediate sale of the Sprague properties. The mortgage itself was an act of bankruptcy, as an

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\*For the times.

†Acknowledged and delivered December 1, 1873.

assignment, but it was expected that creditors would accept it and waive bankruptcy proceedings. The National Bank of Commerce filed a petition for involuntary bankruptcy a few hours before the time at which the right would expire by limitation, but withdrew the petition after there had been excitement and demonstration of opposition, suggesting the possibility of violence. The house of Sprague was still popular in Providence, and the people had confidence in the Spragues, even if the banks and bankers had not. Besides that, a resort to bankruptcy was considered hostile to the interests of creditors who were friendly to the three-year agreement. Thus the tragedy was postponed, and a comedy of errors lasting ten years began. While the trust mortgage was assailed in subsequent litigation as fraudulent in fact and in purpose, there was a disposition in the period immediately following the assignment to carry the agreement into effect. The Spragues, at the request of the trustee, turned over to him additional property, including stock in the Quidnick Company not included in the trust mortgage, thus to facilitate the plans for continuing the operation of factories, and Chafee became treasurer of the Quidnick Company.

A contract was made by and between the Quidnick Company, which was owned by the Spragues and which was solvent, and the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, under the provisions of which the Quidnick Company was to manufacture and supply gray cotton cloth for printing, thus to keep the Sprague corporation operating. The Quidnick Company agreed to furnish "the necessary means, stock and supplies for running their mills and print-works," the stock and supplies to remain the property of the Quidnick Company until sold for the benefit of the Quidnick Company, the Sprague corporation to have the profits of sales over and above a commission of one-quarter of one per cent., which was to be paid to the Quidnick Company. Senator Sprague entered the employment of the trustee, and the plants of the Quidnick Company and the Sprague corporation were continued in harmonious operation until 1881. The hopes that the embarrassment of the Sprague corporations might be overcome during the three-year moratorium were not realized. The panic of 1873 left in its wake a business depression from which the country made a slow recovery. The effect upon the market for print cloths, the staple product of the Sprague textile factories, appeared in the uncontradicted statement made in later litigation that the trustee by 1881 had "incurred an unexplained loss of about \$2,000,000" in the operation of the Quidnick Company and the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company. The notes secured by the trust mortgage were defaulted, and the courts were busy with the trial of suits brought by creditors in a frantic effort to retrieve something from the disintegration of the trust estate.\*

Eventually open quarrels developed between the Spragues and Chafee, which resulted in a long series of sharply contested cases, in the trial and argument of which Rhode Island counsel were assisted by lawyers from other states, including Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts as counsel for Senator Sprague. Justice Elisha R. Potter of the Supreme Court, who dissented from every decision of his colleagues, a majority of the court, on the Sprague cases, died while the litigation was still in progress. Senator Sprague was divorced by Kate Chase Sprague and remarried. With the announced purpose of removing from the Supreme Court justices whom he accused of participation in a plot to ruin him, and of obtaining from the people of Rhode Island a "vindication," he became the Democratic party candidate for Governor in 1883, and though unsuccessful in a campaign which the "Journal" declared had been without precedent because of extravagant expenditure of money by both parties,† polled a remarkably large vote in spite of opposition by Democrats who supported a third candidate.

Twenty years and a day from that hot afternoon of July 20, 1861, on which when Colonel Slocum had been killed, as Governor he had rallied the Rhode Island Second Regiment at the

\*The following cases incidental to the Sprague litigation reached the Supreme Court: *Blaine vs. Bourne*, 11 R. I. 119; *Sweetland vs. Quidnick Co.*, 11 R. I. 328; *De Wolf vs. A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co.*, 11 R. I. 380; *Bank Commissioner vs. Franklin Inst. for Savings*, 11 R. I. 557; *De Wolf vs. A. & W. Sprague Mfg. Co.*, 12 R. I. 133; *Tilley vs. De Wolf*, 12 R. I. 347; *Bank Commissioner vs. Cranston Savings Bank*, 12 R. I. 497.

†See Chapter XXIII.

battle of Bull Run in Virginia, William Sprague assumed command in Rhode Island and opened a battle to retrieve the Sprague factory property from sacrifice in forced sales to satisfy creditors. The contract under which the Quidnick Company had been delivering the fruit of its looms to the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company for "finishing" was terminated on July 21, 1881, by the notice stipulated. Zechariah Chafee, trustee in possession of the Sprague factories that had been insolvent in 1873 and of other property conveyed to him for the benefit of creditors, was ousted as treasurer of the Quidnick Company. William Sprague, as president of the Quidnick Company, with Colonel Henry T. Sisson, hero of Little Washington, as agent and manager, ejected the superintendent of the Quidnick factory, took possession and continued operation. The Quidnick Company entered three actions at law and two suits in equity against the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, the bills in equity praying injunctions against sale of property unless and until ordered by the court. Counter suits were entered by Chafee as trustee for the creditors of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company. The factories of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company were closed, as the business through which they had been operating was terminated by the action of the Quidnick Company. Thus the battle opened with heavy blows and with issues clearly defined; the stakes included possession of the largest textile manufacturing properties in Rhode Island, and the regeneration or ruin of the house of Sprague. Besides charges against Chafee of inefficiency, if not of wanton and purposeful maladministration hostile to Sprague interests, which were developed as the litigation proceeded, refusal by Chafee to entertain proposals by William Sprague for a settlement with creditors and an open personal quarrel between Chafee and Sprague were pretexts for drastic action. Chafee in a bill in equity filed by him against the Quidnick Company made these allegations, all of which were significant: "That said Sprague made sundry propositions to Chafee for a full settlement with the creditors, which were declined, whereupon William Sprague threatened that he would do all in his power, by litigation and otherwise, to embarrass the sales of the trust estate; that one John Rooney of Brooklyn, alleged to be a person of small financial ability, offered to purchase all the trust estate upon terms stated in his offer, which is believed to be in the handwriting of William Sprague's counsel, and of which offer, 'Your orators, of course, took no notice whatever'; 'that Thomas A. Doyle, the brother-in-law of William Sprague, made in writing to Nelson W. Aldrich,' one of the complainants, 'a proposition for the settlement of the indebtedness of the Spragues.'"‡ Briefly, William Sprague, by 1881, had obtained funds or credit that made it possible for him to begin overtures for a settlement with creditors, but the trustee and other representatives of the creditors rejected offers made by Sprague and others on his behalf. In December, 1881, Benjamin F. Butler, as counsel for William Sprague, made a further offer to purchase the Sprague property, which was rejected. The situation late in 1881 might be summarized briefly as follows: (1) The Quidnick Company was operating under control and management of William Sprague; (2) the printing factories of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company had been closed; (3) a battle for possession of the Sprague property was being contested in the courts of Rhode Island.

At this time, and with reference to this situation, William Sprague had reason, if at no other time, for his assertion that a combination had been formed against him. As events progressed it became clear that there was no disposition to relent. The Sprague properties were taken under the trust mortgage, and William Sprague was driven from one position to another as the mortgage was foreclosed. His enemies understood the vengeance of which he was capable, had he been permitted to return to power; they were determined that that should not occur.

Winthrop De Wolf, receiver of the Franklin Savings Bank, which was in liquidation because of the Sprague failure, sued the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company in 1874,

‡Quotation is from a summary of the bill in equity made in the opinion written by Carpenter, J., in *Chafee vs. Quidnick Company*, 14 R. I. 75.

and recovered judgment in 1878 for \$826,912.78, on which execution was issued and levied upon property of the Sprague corporation in Rhode Island. In April, 1879, De Wolf filed a bill in equity, seeking to set aside the trust mortgage of 1873, and other assignments of Sprague property to Chafee, thus to clear the property for sale for satisfaction of the judgment. While the De Wolf judgment was unsatisfied, and the bill in equity was still pending, the Quidnick Company, in 1881, as part of William Sprague's campaign for recovery of the Sprague property, started three actions at law against the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, two in Rhode Island seeking recovery of \$2,000,000 and \$1,000,000, respectively, and the third in Maine for \$500,000. Following the actions at law, the Quidnick Company filed two bills in equity, one seeking a lien on the property of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company for a claim of \$2,000,000, and the second seeking a lien on shares of the Quidnick Company held by Chafee as collateral security for the trust mortgage of 1873. The lawsuits and bills in equity were based upon an old claim of the Quidnick Company for \$216,410.88 arising before the failure and assignment, and a new claim for \$2,000,000 arising from a contract between the Quidnick Company and Chafee as trustee for the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company. One of the bills in equity also accused Chafee of maladministration, specified as (1) using money belonging to the Quidnick Company to pay claims against the Sprague corporation; (2) buying with trust funds a judgment obtained by the Bank of Commerce; (3) applying funds belonging to the Quidnick Company to purchasing claims against the Sprague corporation, and (4) selling a large manufacturing plant, one of the Sprague factories, at much less than its fair value to a firm one of the members of which was "an active and influential member" of the creditors' committee; it requested an accounting, declaration of a lien in favor of the Quidnick Company, and an injunction against Chafee forbidding sales of trust property except under direction of the court. For practical purposes the Quidnick Company in these suits represented the Sprague family interest against the trustee and against the creditors, and the court procedure aimed to prevent further sale of the trust property by Chafee, whom the Spragues considered an enemy.

The proceedings in the first bill in equity were heard by Justices Potter, Stiness and Tillinghast, until Justice Potter died, April 10, 1882, and after Potter's death by Stiness and Tillinghast. The Court invariably divided, with Potter, always the minority, dissenting from the opinions of his colleagues. The first difference of opinion between the judges arose from their interpretation of the contract between the Quidnick Company and the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, already mentioned. Stiness and Tillinghast construed the agreement as a "stocking" contract, substantially a proposition by the Quidnick Company in these terms: "Make our cotton into prints in your mills, we paying all expenses. If on sale they bring more than a certain price, you shall have the excess." "By necessary implication, therefore," the court ruled, it said: "If they bring less than cost, it is our own loss, because our own goods have brought less than we have put out on them." On such a contract no liability for loss incurred in manufacture could arise unless from negligence or non-performance, neither of which had been alleged. The majority held that, while the Sprague corporation was not liable for any loss in the manufacture of print cloths, the Quidnick Company was entitled to an accounting on its allegations that Chafee had used funds of the Quidnick Company to pay claims against the trust estate. Potter dissented, urging that the majority had read into the contract an interpretation which had not been urged by the counsel who had argued at the hearing, and which differed from the construction placed upon it by the parties themselves, as shown by the method of keeping accounts. Potter construed the contract as an agreement made by the Quidnick Company to assist the Sprague corporation by furnishing stock to operate the Sprague corporation's print works, the Sprague corporation being obligated to pay for stock out of the proceeds of sales, the Quidnick Company retaining title merely to protect its own interest while dealing with an insolvent corporation. Any other

interpretation, he argued, would place the entire risk for the contract on the Quidnick Company, which, besides carrying the risk, could not possibly profit from the contract. Potter believed that the making of a contract with such terms was as inconceivable as the contract would be unenforceable for want of consideration. Potter agreed with the majority "that no sale should be made except under the direction of the court," because "This would enable the court to see that all interests are protected; to prevent the trust property from being thrown upon the market in such amounts as to necessitate a sacrifice; to reserve from the sale or from the proceeds of sales enough to satisfy any liens that may be ascertained; to withhold from present sale any portion of the estate the title to which is so clouded as that it would not sell for a fair value, until the difficulties are removed; to prevent secret bidding; or to provide for a sale by a master of the court, all of which may be done upon proper proceedings to be advised by counsel and approved by the court." The interpretation of the contract between the Quidnick Company and the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company was vital. The ruling of the majority of the court tended to remove obstacles to a sale of the trust estate, which was opposed by the Sprague family; Potter's interpretation would have effected a postponement of sale until the cloud on the title attached to a lien in favor of the Quidnick Company had been removed. The majority of the court entered a decree on November 5: (1) declaring that the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company was not indebted to the Quidnick Company under the contract; (2) ordering an accounting and repayment of money belonging to the Quidnick Company applied by Chafee to the payment of creditors under the trust mortgage; and (3) "it appearing that said property cannot be held to await such account, except at great and ruinous expense," directing Chafee to advertise and sell the property. The final order in the decree rested on the fact that the printing factories were standing idle, operations having ceased when the Quidnick Company terminated the contract for supplying gray cloth.

Potter, following his dissent from the majority's interpretation of the contract, dissented also from the decree ordering a sale, saying: "I do not think the court ought to make an order for the sale of the property so long as the title to it is in dispute. The decree for sale will bind no one who is not a party to the suit in which it is made, and it may therefore be argued that no harm can be done. In ordinary cases no mischief may be done. But here is an immense estate to be sold for the benefit of creditors, and if creditors appear and are represented in the suit, it by no means follows that the large creditors will look out for the interests of the smaller creditors as well as they do for their own. And it is a very common notion, too, that when a sale is made under order of court, the purchasers are sure of a good title. While the lawyers know that this is not so, and while we are apparently selling only land, mills, stocks, etc., we may, in fact be selling only the privilege for having a lawsuit, and thus aid in misleading purchasers and promoting litigation. . . . The court ought to protect not only those who are bound by their decree, but also, as far as possible, those who may act honestly upon the faith of their decree." Potter then urged the duty of the court to guard against decrees obtained by collusion, adding: "Even if the parties do not collude, they may have an interest of the same nature in the result. Now we know, not from hearing nor loose declaration, nor from statements by counsel in argument, which may be inaccurate, but from our own records, that the title to all, or nearly all, of the property now sought to be sold is in dispute." He then directed attention to the pending bill in equity filed by De Wolf to test the legality of the trust mortgage. Chafee, on November 19, 1881, asked authority to lease the Baltic Mill property, in Connecticut, which was under litigation in Connecticut, and a decree was entered, accordingly, December 3. Potter dissented on the grounds that Chafee had authority to act under the trust mortgage, and that the court could not give him any "power whatever over land in Connecticut." He argued also that there was no more reason for not selling the property in Connecticut because of encumbrances, than for not selling the property

in Rhode Island, which was subject to the lien of the Quidnick Company, and the judgment and execution of De Wolf.

Two days later, the court decided that the Quidnick Company, having prosecuted its bills in equity, was not entitled to a remedy at law. It entered a decree on December 10, ordering discontinuance of the actions at law, and dissolving attachments. The Quidnick Company was enjoined against further prosecution of its action at law pending in Maine. Potter dissented for the reason that a motion for reargument of the bills in equity was pending. Chafee advertised the trust estate for sale at public auction on December 8. On the morning of that day Potter received a petition from depositors in the Franklin Savings Bank, asking permission to intervene, and granted an injunction against a sale within ten days. The injunction was dissolved by the court, which ruled that the depositors were not proper parties to the suit brought by the Quidnick Company, which sought only to reclaim "its own funds, which, it claims, have been unlawfully added to the property belonging to the creditors in the hands of the trustees." Potter dissented from the reasoning of the majority of the court, but joined with the others in dissolving the injunction, on the ground that the purpose of the injunction had been attained in so far as the depositors had been permitted to have their day in court on the question of intervening.

Previous to March 8, 1882, Chafee received several offers for the Sprague estates, and the court, after consideration thereof, ordered a sale at public auction at a price not less than \$2,880,000, that being the figure named in a letter suggesting the public sale. Potter dissented; he had read the letter and interpreted it, not as an offer, nor as a promise to bid \$2,880,000 if the property were offered for sale, but as merely a suggestion. When the auction was opened no bidders appeared. Justice Potter's keen discernment had been justified by the course of events. He died, however, before the case was further heard. Sale at public auction having failed, the court rescinded the order for an auction and entered a decree which authorized Chafee to sell the Sprague estates at private sale at terms satisfactory to him. The court also adjudged Joshua Wilbour, Benjamin A. Jackson, Charles H. Sheldon, Jr., and William Binney, Jr., of the firm of Wilbour, Jackson & Co., which had made the suggestion of a sale at public auction, to be in contempt of court because of interference. The court, after a hearing on the question of contempt, failed to inflict a fine because Justices Stiness and Tillinghast did not agree as to the amount of the fine or the time at which it should be inflicted.

The embarrassing position into which the court had permitted itself to be drawn attracted attention beyond the borders of the state as well as in Rhode Island, and a New York newspaper printed an editorial holding the court up to ridicule because of dilatoriness if not complete inefficiency. To the charge of dilatoriness, which was based on the term of almost ten years that had elapsed between the Sprague failure and the approach to a final settlement, Justice Stiness responded in a letter in which he reviewed the procedure before the court, and demonstrated that the Sprague case had not reached the court in the form of an action until 1881, nearly eight years after the making of the trust deed.\* The end was close at hand in 1882. The Sprague estate was sold by Chafee to the Union Company, a corporation chartered April 20, 1882, under an amendment to an earlier corporation charter. The incorporators of the Union Company included Wilbour, Jackson, Sheldon and Binney of the firm of Wilbour, Jackson & Co., which had been declared in contempt, besides Jesse Metcalf, William Binney and Charles D. Owen. Alleged irregularity in the charter, suggesting unconstitutionality, was made the basis for procedure purposing to set aside the sale to the Union Company before the Sprague cases had been concluded.

Other decisions of the Supreme Court on cases incidental to the Sprague litigation tended to confirm the decision in the principal case. Thus the second complaint in equity by the

\*The original manuscript with notes by Justice Stiness, is in the Rider collection at Brown University.

Quidnick Company against Chafee as trustee for the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company was dismissed† for the reasons (1) that, as previously decided,‡ the contract between the Quidnick Company and the Sprague Corporation had been a "stocking" contract, and (2) that the claim of the Quidnick Company against the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company existing before the assignment had been settled and paid by the acceptance of trust notes under the trust mortgage. Potter dissented, renewing his objection to the court's interpretation of the contract. The court, Carpenter, Stiness and Tillinghast, JJ., sitting, held in 1884 that the conveyance of the Sprague property in 1873 to Chafee was a trust mortgage,§ and later in the same year that it was valid and not subject to attack as fraudulent in its effect on non-assenting creditors.\*\* The court had previously, in 1883, sustained the conveyance to Chafee as binding him and the Spragues.†\* In the particular case, a bill in equity to foreclose a pledge of stock as collateral to the trust deed, the Sprague family answered that the indenture had been made for the purpose of hindering, delaying and defrauding the creditors of the Sprague corporations, and asked to have the issue thus raised tried by a jury. To the complainant's objection, "Nemo allegans suam turpitudinem audiendus sit,"‡\* the respondent answered "In pari delicto potior est conditio defendentis vel possidentis."‡‡ The court held that a plaintiff or defendant, in law or in equity, who can make out his case without introducing into it a fraud in which his opponent and himself participated, may obtain relief in spite of any effort on the part of such opponent by plea or offer of proof to set up such fraud.

The court sustained the charter of the Union Company as constitutional, in spite of apparent inconsistency with Article XIV, section 17, which read: "Hereafter, when any bill shall be presented to either house of the General Assembly to create a corporation for any other than for religious, literary or charitable purposes, or for a military or fire company, it shall be continued until another election of members of the General Assembly shall have taken place and such public notice of the pendency thereof shall be given as may be required by law."\*‡ Jesse Metcalf, William Binney, Charles D. Owen, Joshua Wilbour, Benjamin A. Jackson, Charles A. Sheldon, Jr., William Binney, Jr., their associates, successors and assigns, were incorporated June 3, 1881, under the "name of the Providence Car Trust Company, with full power and authority to make, manufacture, buy, sell, lease and deal in all kinds of railroad rolling stock and equipment, to buy, sell and deal in all kinds of railroad securities, and to accept and execute all trusts that may be committed to said corporation by any railroad corporation." On April 20, 1882, the charter granted to the Providence Car Trust Company was amended in such manner as to incorporate the same persons under the name of the Union Company, "for the purpose of manufacturing, bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing cotton, woolen, worsted and other goods, with full power and authority to take, acquire, hold, manage, improve, lease, let, sell and convey real estate, to take, hold and dispose of stock in national banks and other corporations, and to transact any other business incidental thereto or connected therewith, and generally to do and execute all acts, matters and things which may be necessary or convenient to carry into effect the purposes of this act," etc. The capital stock of the Providence Car Trust Company was \$100,000, in shares of \$100 each; of the Union Company, \$1,000,000 in shares of \$1000 each. It was argued that the charter of the Union Company was unconstitutional because (1) the petition for amendment had not been continued over the holding of a general election, and (2) the notice required by law had not

†Quidnick Company vs. Chafee, 13 R. I. 438.

‡Quidnick Company vs. Chafee, 13 R. I. 367.

§Union Company vs. Sprague et ux., 14 R. I. 452. Semble, Chafee vs. Fourth National Bank, 71 Maine 514; De Wolf vs. Sprague Manufacturing Company, 49 Conn. 283; Stafford National Bank vs. Sprague, 17 Federal Reports, 784.

\*\*Austin vs. Sprague Manufacturing Company, 14 R. I. 464.

†\*Chafee vs. Sprague Manufacturing Company, 14 R. I. 168.

‡\*No one may be allowed to plead his own fraud as a defence.

‡‡When both are equally guilty, the defendant or possessor prevails.

\*‡Repealed by Article IX of amendments, adopted 1892.

been given. The court, Carpenter, Stiness and Tillinghast, JJ., overruled the objection\* that "the amendatory act amounted substantially to an act creating a new corporation," saying: "In order to sustain this position we ought to be satisfied beyond a doubt of the truth of two propositions: first, that an amendment to a charter which radically changes the purpose and power of the corporation is in effect the creation of a new corporation; and, second, that the amendment in this case was of such a radical character. We are not prepared to say that we could resolve these questions in favor of the defendant, even if there were no other consideration in the case. But there is an additional most weighty consideration. The act in question is one of very many acts of amendment equally radical and sweeping which have been passed by the General Assembly at different dates since the adoption of the Constitution. To hold that such acts are void would give rise to endless litigation. The uniform practical and legislative construction has been in favor of the validity of these acts." The court also held that the notes issued by Chafee in accordance with the agreement for a three-year moratorium were negotiable, as certain in amount, although the right to pay by installments was reserved,† but that notes issued as collateral security to a draft were not negotiable because the obligation was contingent.‡ In the series of decisions the court had sustained the original conveyance to Chafee, the sale to the Union Company, and the Union Company itself.

With the major issues decided against the Sprague family, the process of completing the details of enforcing the trust mortgage of 1873 and the assignments supplementary thereto went steadily forward. The Supreme Court, Potter, Stiness and Tillinghast, JJ., in September, 1881, entered a decree enjoining the Quidnick Company, its officers, agents and servants, "from taking any corporate action prejudicial to creditors, and from contracting any debts or other obligations, or entering into any agreement that in any manner can be or become liens upon the corporate property or estate or subject it to liability, and from disposing of any part of the corporate estate or property, or otherwise changing its present condition," and appointed a special receiver, with direction to collect a certain claim due the company, and to apply the proceeds to insurance of the property and to payment of claims for labor and services.§ The court subsequently sustained a demurrer to the bill in equity on which the injunction had been granted, on the ground that the bill was multifarious. Potter dissented from the reasoning of the majority, but concurred in the opinion that the bill was defective. Benjamin F. Butler, Roger A. Pryor and Andrew B. Patton appeared as solicitors and as counsel for the Quidnick Company. Butler and Patton assigned to Pryor, who was a member of the bar in New York, their claims for counsel fees against the Quidnick Company, and Pryor filed an action for counsel fees against the Quidnick Company in New York, and attached the claim which the receiver had been directed to collect, to recover the sum of \$21,000. For this "interference" with the decree of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, Butler, Patton and Pryor were called before the court for alleged contempt. Butler and Patton were excused, as having no control over the procedure in New York, and Pryor was enjoined from further procedure in New York and ordered to release the attachment. He did.

The bill in equity came up for further hearing, and in 1883 the court, Carpenter, Stiness and Tillinghast, JJ., declined to appoint a receiver for the Quidnick Company, on the ground that the injunction already in force protected the company and property amply, and that the evidence tended to show that the operation and administration under the direction of William Sprague was not detrimental. The court, Carpenter, J., thus summarized the situation: "The personal property of the company being in the hands of a custodian, and the company being enjoined from contracting any debt, and by consequence prevented from doing any business,

\**Union Company vs. William Sprague, et ux.*, 14 R. I. 452.

†*Riker vs. A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company*, 14 R. I. 402.

‡*American National Bank vs. A. & W. Sprague*, 14 R. I. 410.

§*Chafee vs. Quidnick Company*, 13 R. I. 442.

the president of the company has been able to make an agreement with some persons of substance by which he continues the business, keeps the property in good order, and keeps the insurance rates at the lowest point, retains the operatives in employment at the mills, and pays the profits of the business, if any there be, to the use of the stockholders, without involving them in liability for any losses which may be made. . . . If we should retain the receiver in office, and advise him to the best of our ability as to the management by the mills, I could not venture to hope that the condition of the property would be more favorable.”\*† The court later in the same year, 1883, facilitated the enforcement of an assignment of 4022 shares of the Quidnick Company as collateral security for the trust mortgage of 1873, by refusing to submit to a jury an issue raised by William Sprague’s plea that the trust mortgage and pledge were fraudulent.\*‡ With Chafee in control of the stock, William Sprague could have no further interest in operating the Quidnick Mill. The Quidnick Company, while controlled by Sprague, resisted an attempt to collect a bill for cotton purchased by Chafee, for the reasons alleged (1) that the cotton delivered was of poor quality; and (2) that the fact that Chafee bought cotton regularly at a price higher than the market rate was proof of fraud and collusion. The court found no evidence to sustain a claim that Chafee was imposed upon by the delivery of cotton of a lower grade than had been contracted for, and sustained the trial court’s instruction to the jury with reference to the price paid, which the newspapers of the period show was higher day by day than the cotton market price in Providence. “There is nothing here that tends to show any imposition on Mr. Chafee. The fact, if true, simply tends to show incompetence on his part to buy cotton, which is no defence to the Quidnick Company. If he was a poor buyer that is their fault. Mr. King had a right to sell them cotton for all he could get.”\*§

The Sprague factory property had been taken, and the Spragues had been ousted. The trustee and purchasers under him proceeded to obtain possession of the Sprague residences. One of these in Providence, the property in 1873 of Fanny Sprague, William Sprague and Amasa Sprague, was included in the trust mortgage of 1873, and was sold by Chafee to the Union Company. After the delivery of the trust mortgage, Rodman, a creditor, who had not accepted the composition, recovered judgment against William and Amasa Sprague, and levied execution on the residence. The latter was sold under the execution, and purchased by Inez Sprague, second wife of William Sprague. In an action brought by the Union Company under the trust deed, the Supreme Court, Carpenter, Stiness and Tillinghast, JJ., sustained the trust mortgage as legal, and the Union Company’s charter as constitutional, and confirmed a judgment against the Spragues.†\* The court also allowed recovery for “damages for wrongful occupation” on the bond given by the Spragues when they appealed from the Common Pleas Court to the Supreme Court.‡\* But the tide stopped at Canonchet, the magnificent palace with eighty bedrooms at Narragansett Pier, where Senator William Sprague and Kate Chase Sprague had entertained the most brilliant society in America. Kate Chase Sprague had departed, after divorcing William Sprague while he was fighting desperately to retrieve his fortune. To Canonchet he returned with his second wife, Inez Weed Sprague. A jury which heard an action of trespass and ejectment for possession of Canonchet against William Sprague on January 18 and 19, 1883, returned a verdict for the defendant, although the only question for the jury related to the fact of possession. The Supreme Court, July 18, 1885, ordered a new trial.\* William Sprague was not dispossessed; he sat on the porch at Canonchet with a shotgun across his knees when a sheriff called. Time works

\*†Chafee *vs.* Quidnick Company, 14 R. I. 75.

\*‡Chafee *vs.* A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company, 14 R. I. 168.

\*§King *vs.* Quidnick Company, 14 R. I. 131.

†\*Union Company *vs.* William Sprague *et ux.*, 14 R. I. 452.

‡\*Union Company *vs.* Whitely, 15 R. I. 27.

\*Chafee *vs.* Sprague, 15 R. I. 135.

curious changes. Justice John H. Stiness, who wrote most of the decisions in the Sprague cases and participated in others, was regarded by William Sprague as his worst enemy. Yet a son of Justice Stiness, Henry W. Stiness, married Inez Sprague, a granddaughter of William Sprague. Amasa Sprague, brother of William and partner in the firm of A. & W. Sprague, married November 12, 1873, a few weeks before the execution of the trust mortgage. Amasa Sprague died August 4, 1902; his widow, Harriet B. Sprague, instituted proceedings to establish a claim for dower against over 700 persons. The suit was before the Supreme Court twice, and two decisions were rendered, in the course of which the court discussed the law of dower exhaustively.† Edward C. Stiness, nephew of Justice Stiness, was a counsel for Mrs. Sprague in the dower cases. Justice Stiness died September 6, 1913; William Sprague died in Paris, September 11, 1915.

NEGLIGENCE CASES—An essentially new type of litigation in Rhode Island appeared in 1872, when the Supreme Court rendered its first decision in a tort action based upon negligence. The suit sought damages for injuries to a carriage stored in a barn, and the negligence alleged was failure to provide a roof strong enough to resist the weight of snow.‡ Three years later the first action seeking damages for injuries incurred during employment reached the court, and the decision suggested the fellow servant rule, which became so important in later litigation alleging employment injuries.§ Two negligence cases were before the court in 1878, in one of which the court outlined the general rule that an employe accepts the ordinary risks attending his occupation.¶ The other was the first negligence case against a public service corporation that reached the Supreme Court; the plaintiff sued the Providence Gas Company for injuries in his greenhouse arising from gas escaping from a leaking main.\*† It may not be assumed that negligence was not recognized as a cause of action for damages earlier than 1872, that settlements were not made without recourse at law, or that actions had not been tried in courts of inferior jurisdiction. The appearance of the cases noted in the Supreme Court indicated that damages had attained figures sufficient to warrant contests in the highest court, and also that the number of such cases was increasing and that their frequency necessitated an accurate statement of the legal principles to be applied. Two of the early cases named manufacturing corporations and one a public service corporation as defendants; against such, a jury might be persuaded to return verdicts sufficient in amount to warrant appeals. Other early cases followed the general tendencies noted, the number of cases increasing rapidly with the expansion of public service corporations, and the development of larger manufactories. Included were actions for damages arising from (1) a street railway company's negligence in leaving a pile of snow after clearing tracks;\*‡ (2) a collision occasioned by careless driving on a public highway;\*§ (3) the carelessness of a hospital interne;\*¶ (4) the death of a laborer employed in the construction of the Providence City Hall;†\* (5) the escape of a horse to a public highway;‡\* (6) a defective cistern cover;§\* (7) a defective stairway in a public building;§§ (8) and carelessness in starting a street car while a passenger was alighting.‡§

An amendment to the statutes permitting actions by relatives for damages in instances of negligence resulting in death favored the development of the new practice, which within a

†*Sprague vs. Stevens*, 32 R. I. 361. *Sprague vs. Stevens*, 37 R. I. 1.

‡*Remington vs. Sheldon*, 10 R. I. 218.

§*Mann vs. Oriental Print Works*, 11 R. I. 152.

¶*Kelley vs. Silver Spring Company*, 12 R. I. 112.

\*†*Butcher vs. Providence Gas Company*, 12 R. I. 149.

\*‡*Lee vs. Union Railroad Company*, 12 R. I. 303.

\*§*Baldwin vs. Barney*, 12 R. I. 392.

¶*Glavin vs. Rhode Island Hospital*, 12 R. I. 411.

†\**McCaughy vs. Tripp*, 12 R. I. 449.

‡\**Fallon vs. O'Brien*, 12 R. I. 518.

§\**Bradbury vs. Furlong*, 13 R. I. 5.

§§*Wixon vs. Newport*, 13 R. I. 454.

‡§*Rathbone vs. Union Railroad Company*, 13 R. I. 709.

few years had grown to such an extent that it had become one of the most prolific and productive sources of income for lawyers. The latter might be classified in two categories, thus: Those who were counsel for plaintiffs seeking damages in actions based upon negligence, and those who had become counsel for corporations defending themselves against claims for negligence. Tort cases alleging negligence lengthened the dockets of courts, necessitated an increase in the number of jurymen drawn, aroused public interest because of the damages asked for and the large verdicts sometimes returned, and burdened the appellate division of the Supreme Court with appeals and requests for new trials involving close discriminations in decisions. In the desire to state an action somehow in such manner as to assure a trial by jury, a tendency to multiplicity in pleading developed, principally to avoid the demurrer interposed by a lawyer skilled in the technique of procedure to obtain a decision in chambers.

The profession and practice of law might be considered as having reached the golden age if the stories of almost fabulous retainers, and shares of large verdicts and of settlements negotiated out of court might be true. It was commonly stated and generally believed that law had become the most remunerative of the professions, as rumors were circulated that certain lawyers had received as fees in individual cases amounts that were larger than the annual earnings of some of the more prominent members of the bar in earlier days. Law had been a dignified and studious profession practiced in an environment of dusty, dingy offices and small courtrooms; it had become the highway to wealth. The new type of lawyer chose an elaborate suite of offices in a modern building, with an imposing library, a corps of clerks, and sometimes a staff of younger lawyers serving an apprenticeship with the head of the "firm." Courtrooms also were increased in size, and accommodations were provided for hosts of witnesses, large panels of jurymen, and the crowds of the curious who attended trials, which had become more dramatic than the theatre. Older easygoing methods of trial had been replaced by sharp practice to win advantage, and the presentation of evidence and examination of witnesses had undergone a revolution. Lawyers were being classified as specialists, and a new type of "trial lawyer" had appeared—a lawyer who tried jury cases for his colleagues at the bar. The "trial lawyer" or "jury trial lawyer" was practiced in the art of winning the jury, getting from his own witnesses the most of evidence favorable to his case, cross-examining the witnesses of the other party, and finally summing up the case for the jury. In the trial of cases involving large claims, several lawyers participated for the parties on each side.

Two backfires eventually tended to reduce the volume of this litigation—the practice of corporations in seeking promptly—if possible before a claimant had employed a lawyer—a settlement and a release; and with reference to employment accidents, the workmen's compensation law. Meanwhile the courts had developed three rules that tended to reduce damages: (1) the doctrine of contributory negligence;\* (2) the fellow servant rule as applied to employes of the same corporation;† and (3) the doctrine that an employe accepted all the ordinary risks of an occupation.‡ Other measures that tended to reduce "accident" cases were safety devices installed in factories and by public service corporations. The courts also introduced the practice of reviewing verdicts§ rendered by juries, and of granting new trials conditional upon remission of excessive verdicts.

The workmen's compensation act practically repealed the fellow servant rule, which excused employes from liability for injuries caused by the negligence of other employes on the ground that such negligence was among the ordinary risks of occupation assumed, and thus eliminated several early cases as precedents. It tended also to reduce litigation, both by establishing exact rules for damages and by setting up a simple procedure for action on claims

\**Chaffee vs. Old Colony Railroad Company*, 17 R. I. 600.

†*Gaffney vs. N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.*, 15 R. I. 456; *Brodeur vs. Valley Falls Co.*, 16 R. I. 448.

‡*Kelley vs. Silver Spring Co.*, 12 R. I. 112; *McGrath vs. N. Y. & N. E. R. R.*, 14 R. I. 357.

§*Dyson vs. Rhode Island Company*, 25 R. I. 600.

without the intervention of a court. The courts had established other precedents that tended to limit suits, such as the rule that intervening negligence may break the causation and become paramount,<sup>††</sup> that negligence must be proved rather than assumed,<sup>‡‡</sup> and that there must be reasonable proof that a claimant for damages himself was careful in a dangerous situation.<sup>§§</sup>

One action for damages for negligence reached the Supreme Court seven times before final disposition.\*† A jury had returned a verdict for the plaintiff with damages assessed as \$10,000. The defendant moved for a new trial for the reason alleged that the verdict was contrary to the evidence. The motion for a new trial was argued and granted. Plaintiff obtained an order for a reargument, and the court decided that a new trial may be granted, in the discretion of the court, even if there is evidence before the jury that will support the verdict. The order for a new trial was reaffirmed. Plaintiff then raised a constitutional question as to the right of a court to set aside a verdict in view of the constitutional safeguards of right and property. The constitutional question was decided adversely to the plaintiff on the ground that a court unquestionably has a right to grant a new trial if a verdict is in conflict with the evidence. At the second jury trial the plaintiff received a second verdict, and the case was carried to the Supreme Court on the refusal of the trial court to enter judgment on the verdict. The Supreme Court sustained the trial court. On defendant's petition for a new trial based upon the allegation that the verdict was against the evidence, the Supreme Court after argument entered judgment for the defendant. The plaintiff then raised a fresh constitutional question on the right of the court to reverse a verdict returned by a jury, and the court decided adversely, holding that in the instance of a verdict contrary to the evidence, the defendant was entitled to final judgment as a protection against continued litigation. The court denied a motion for reargument of the constitutional question.

In another action one of the parties raised a constitutional question as to the organization of the Supreme Court under the judiciary act of 1893, which divided the Supreme Court into an appellate division and a common pleas division, asserting that since 1893 the common pleas division had been an inferior court, and that the appellate division consisting of the chief justice and three justices assigned by him was a body so variable as to permit not less than 120 combinations. To this argument the court answered: "Some calculations in permutations and combinations have been made, to show of how many constituent elements the court may be composed under the present system. They are quite correct, and a like result can be shown as to the supreme court of the United States, or any other court whose quorum is less than their whole number. This, however, is a constitutional question, and such problems are not solvable by mathematics. . . . We have one supreme court with full jurisdiction upon the highest matters, and divisions for subordinate matters." The court denied a motion to dismiss a petition for a new trial, filed by the plaintiff who sought a second trial upon the ground of erroneous rulings and inadequacy of damages.\*\* As a rule, however, the juries of the period were generous, if not extravagant, in awarding damages, and lawyers with cases against corporations could not be persuaded to settle out of court while juries were disposed to punish corporations.

Public service corporations experienced difficulty in retaining the services of good trial lawyers, in view of the possibilities of large fees to be won through successful actions against corporations. Eventually a shrewd corporation lawyer found a way out. In a case that was clear cut the plaintiff claimed a jury trial, and was ready to proceed, when the defendant submitted to default and moved that the judge should assess the damages. The court denied the

††Mahogany vs. Ward, 16 R. I. 479.

‡‡Gunn vs. Union Railroad Company, 22 R. I. 321, 579.

§§Judge vs. Narragansett Electric Company, 21 R. I. 128; 23 R. I. 208.

\*†Gunn vs. Union Railroad Company, 22 R. I. 325, 579; 23 R. I. 289; 24 R. I. 174; 26 R. I. 112; 27 R. I. 320, 432.

\*\*Floyd vs. Quinn, 24 R. I. 147.

motion, and empanelled a jury to assess damages, which returned a verdict for the plaintiff in the sum of \$2250. Defendant excepted, and filed a petition for a new trial on the grounds (1) that the court was in error in calling the jury, and (2) that the verdict was excessive and unjust. The appellate division denied the motion for a new trial and sent the case back to the common pleas division with directions to the court to assess the damages by approving or disapproving the award of the jury.\* Substantially the court held that the "right of trial by jury . . . relates only to those civil cases or causes of action in which there has been an issue made by the pleadings of the parties—where the facts alleged constituting the cause of action are denied and an issue of fact is formed which must be tried by a jury. Such a trial of an action has no application to an inquiry into damages, whether by the court or jury, after default, when the cause of action stands confessed." The decision meant that a corporation could default a case that involved no doubt as to liability, and have the damages assessed by the judge without a jury; and that the finding of a jury under the circumstances was not a verdict. The decision of the court, written by Blodgett, J., recalled, in its massing of precedents and exhaustive examination of the point involved in its historical aspects with reference to even the earliest decisions in the Norman-English Year Books, the note summarizing the history of Rhode Island law occasionally appended by Justice Elisha R. Potter to an opinion. Aside from the consternation which the decision caused among the lawyers who were amassing riches through successful suits against wealthy corporations, the case as printed in the Rhode Island reports is most striking from a typographical point of view, as it incorporates, done in Gothic letters, ample quotations from the Year Books. The decision in the Dyson case, with that in the case of *Gunn vs. Union Railroad Company*, tended to diminish the effectiveness of appeals to juries in civil cases, as (1) a defendant could avoid a jury trial by defaulting; and (2) the court assumed in the *Gunn* case the right to set aside verdicts held to be in conflict with evidence and to enter up judgment contrary to the finding of the jury.

CHANGES IN THE BAR—The older Rhode Island lawyer was a general practitioner, and in early days it was possible for a lawyer, as the times for holding courts were established, to attend successively every session of every court except only the ordinary justice courts of limited jurisdiction. While there was not in Rhode Island, as in states of larger area, riding of circuits, a practice resembling it was established as lawyers traveled to attend the sessions of courts. The holding of court at the county seat witnessed also a gathering of a considerable representation of the Bar at convenient inns, and congenial meetings of Bench and Bar outside of court hours. There was no less of dignity in older than in modern courts—the habits of the time were stately. A fine fraternal spirit prevailed, which lent itself to cordial relations betwixt Bench and Bar, which never have departed completely from Rhode Island, in spite of the changes that time has wrought in procedure and practice and of the large number of members of the legal profession. With the years specialization tends to replace general practice, because of the immensity of the body of the law, and a keenness of discrimination in the application of legal principles that tends to pass mastery by any individual mind. The European classifications of lawyers as advocates, attorneys, barristers, counselors, solicitors, etc., have not appealed to Americans so much as specialization in subject matter, which has produced constitutional, corporation, criminal, equity, insurance, land title, patent, probate and trust lawyers, and other types of legal experts in particular fields of jurisprudence. Not all those who study law become practicing lawyers. Burke once remarked the number of Americans who had read Blackstone, and who were, by reason of familiarity with the writings of the great English jurist, thoroughly prepared to discuss the rights of men intelligently. American lawyers formulated the doctrines of the Revolution. A knowledge of law has been

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\**Dyson vs. Rhode Island Company*, 25 R. I. 600.

and is in America the most direct approach to public office and political preferment, to executive and administrative employment in manufacturing and in business, in the conduct of public service corporations, in finance and banking. The lawyer is an indispensable factor in planning and in consummating the consolidation of major corporate enterprises which are characteristic of the twentieth century, and in obtaining the legislation necessary to authorize the new corporations. With the development in half a century of numerous departments for the administration of public business, and of officers, commissions and boards exercising quasi-judicial functions, legal practice, formerly limited generally to courts of justice, takes on new forms and enters new fields, in which a lawyer specialist may find employment quite as interesting and as profitable as that which lures his brother to distinctly judicial courts. Hearings resembling judicial trials require mastering of precedents and skill in marshalling testimony. The insurance lawyer occasionally may appear in court as an expert on a question of insurance in process of litigation; more often he finds more remunerative practice as counsellor in his own office, in which his understanding of actuarial principles, of loss adjustments, of insurable interest, or reinsurance, etc., is applied. Modern practice before public utilities commissions regulating public service corporations is one result of specialization in a vast field of administration, with published reports resembling law libraries and growing constantly in volume. The utilities lawyer must be familiar with the most intricate details of the business of the service corporation which he represents, and particularly with the financial aspects of management, which are the bases for determining rates. Even the general practitioner may become an expert for purposes of a particular trial—as did the Rhode Island lawyer who, in preparation for the defence of a physician charged with murder, so completely mastered the details of anatomy and medical knowledge that became issues, as to amaze medical experts by his searching questions in examination and cross-examination of witnesses.

The older type of law firm was seldom more than an arrangement for joint occupation of office, hiring of stenographer and typist, and sharing the cost of telephone, as each of the lawyer members received and advised his own clients and retained his individual practice. Some modern combinations are scarcely more than that, although there are two distinctly different types of modern law firms: (1) A combination of specialists operating under a firm name and offering the service of an expert in each of several particular lines; (2) a firm headed by one or more lawyers with established reputation and practice who employ other lawyers on salary to attend to the details of writing briefs, collecting and reading "authorities," filing papers, following court dockets, appearing in court with motions or in the simpler forms of practice in chambers, and sometimes for actual trials. A member of a firm of this type was overheard combining, in his discussion of the election of a new judge, expression of pleasure at the elevation of an excellent lawyer to the bench with expressions of regret that the firm would lose thereby the services of one who had been hired frequently to try jury cases for the firm.

Rarely were judges or lawyers in colonial days learned in the law; law schools were practically unknown and law libraries were rare and small. Instead of impressive collections of reports and encyclopedias and texts upon particular subjects lining the walls, the lawyer owned a small number of legal treatises and a copy of the statutes. J. K. Angell placed the date, July 1, 1847, on the preface to the first volume of Rhode Island Reports of decisions by the Supreme Court. Preparation for the bar was principally by reading law in the office of an established member of the profession. The Brown University alumni list includes the names of only half a dozen of the many graduates who became lawyers before 1825 who attended the law school at Litchfield, Connecticut, or those opened subsequently at Harvard and Yale. Attendance at law school was the exception rather than the rule so late as 1850 and 1875. In more recent years, and particularly since 1875, rules for admission to the bar,

promulgated by the Supreme Court, have stressed preparation and have increased the qualifications for eligibility. Even success at law school does not *ipso facto* qualify; the candidate must pass satisfactory examinations, and must have been registered in the office of a practicing member of the bar, and have served an adequate apprenticeship to assure familiarity with Rhode Island law and Rhode Island procedure, as well as the theory and philosophy of law as taught in high-class law schools. Preparation is exacting, and examinations are severe, although there has never been a repetition of the three-day ordeal of examinations set in 1901.

**BENCH AND BAR**—The organization of the department of justice in Rhode Island in 1930 is as follows:

A. Bench and Bar.

1. The Supreme Court of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
  - a. A chief justice and four associate justices.
  - b. Members elected by General Assembly to hold office during good behavior.
  - c. Sits as a full bench.
  - d. Meets in Providence at Supreme Courthouse, but may meet elsewhere whenever it is deemed advisable.
  - e. Exercises original jurisdiction through prerogative writs and in constitutional cases.
  - f. Exercises final revisory and appellate jurisdiction over courts of inferior jurisdiction and over boards and commissions whose functions are judicial or quasi-judicial.
  - g. May render advisory opinions on request of Governor or of either house of General Assembly.
  - h. Regulates admission of attorneys to practice.
2. The Superior Court
  - a. Consists of a presiding justice and eight associate justices.
  - b. Members are appointed by Governor\* to hold office during good behavior.
  - c. Is a trial court, one justice being a quorum.
  - d. As a county court holds sessions in every county except Bristol. Bristol County cases are tried at Providence.
  - e. Exercises general trial jurisdiction in law and equity and cases following procedure in equity.
3. District Courts.
  - a. One for each of twelve judicial districts.
  - b. Judges and clerks elected by General Assembly triennially.
  - c. Exercise original jurisdiction in civil cases in which the damages claimed do not exceed \$1000, in actions for possession of tenements, in criminal cases in which fines do not exceed \$1000.
  - d. Serve also as juvenile courts.
4. Justices of the peace.
  - a. In certain towns issue warrants and accept bail.
  - b. Two preside alternately in Providence Police Court.
5. Probate courts
  - a. Consists of town councils, unless Judge of Probate has been designated.
  - b. Jurisdiction—administration and probate of estates, appointment of guardians, adoption of children, change of name.
6. Referees, auditors and masters in chancery.
7. Attorneys at law.
  - a. Admitted to practice by Supreme Court.
  - b. Duties—as officers of court prepare and present cases for trial, examine witnesses, collect precedents, and assist judges.
- B. Other court officers and attendants.
  1. The Reporter of the Supreme Court.
    - a. Appointed by the court.
    - b. Publishes decisions in Rhode Island Reports.

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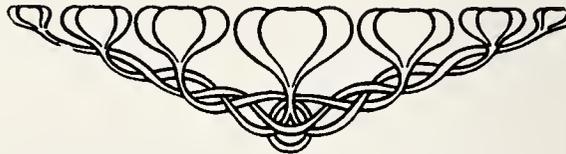
\*By and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Recess appointments by Presiding Justice.

2. Clerks of courts.
  - a. Elected by the General Assembly.
  - b. Duties—to attend court, record procedure, enter judgments, issue original writs and writs of execution.
  - c. Town clerk usually probate clerk unless other is appointed.
3. Stenographers.
  - a. Appointed by justices of Superior Court.
  - b. To record testimony.
  - c. To make transcripts of testimony.
4. Jury Commissioner and Deputy Jury Commissioner.
  - a. Appointed by Justices of Superior Court.
  - b. Examine qualifications of citizens for jury duty and draw panels.
5. Jurors and Juries.
  - a. All qualified electors over 25 years of age are liable, unless exempt. Jury service is optional for women.
  - b. Drawn by jury commissioner.
  - c. Service (1) on grand or (2) on petit juries.
6. Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs†
  - a. Attend sessions of courts, on assignment by sheriff.
  - b. Serve writs and other process.
7. Witnesses.
  - a. If summoned, to give true and impartial testimony.
  - b. Not eligible as jurors.
8. Probation Officers.
  - a. State Probation Officer appointed by Public Welfare Commission, appoints assistants.
  - b. Duties—
    - (1). State Probation Officer, care and custody of female offenders under age 16; relief of families of adult prisoners.
    - (2). Other probation officers, supervision of juvenile offenders released on parole, and care and custody of children committed to officer by court.
9. State Bureau of Criminal Identification.
  - a. Appointed by Attorney General.
  - b. Record and identification by finger prints and other devices.
- C. Public Recorders of Evidence.
  1. Notaries Public and Justices of the Peace.
    - a. Appointed by the Governor quinquennially.
    - b. May administer oaths, attest affidavits, take acknowledgments required on deeds of real estate and similar instruments, summon witnesses, record protest of notes and other negotiable instruments.
  2. Town Clerks (or register of deeds).
    - a. Appointed by towns and cities.
    - b. Record deeds and other conveyances of real estate, including leases for more than one year, mortgages, assignments and powers of attorney; mortgages of personal property; attachments and liens on real estate; assignments of wages; plats in condemnation proceedings; and plats of land divided into house lots.
  3. Town clerks (as probate clerks) or probate clerks.
    - a. Appointed by towns.
    - b. Record petitions and proceedings in probate courts, and accept wills for custody.
- D. Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs.
  1. Sheriffs, one for each county, elected by the General Assembly.
  2. Each sheriff may appoint deputy sheriffs.
  3. Sheriffs and deputy sheriffs (under the direction of sheriffs)

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†See D.

- a. With the constables and police appointed in towns and cities constitute a state constabulary.
  - b. Are charged with the enforcement of law.
  - c. Serve writs of arrest and other process in criminal cases.
  - d. Serve original and other writs in civil cases, including subpoenas in equity cases.
  - e. Serve prerogative writs and extraordinary process issued by Supreme Court.
  - f. Summon witnesses.
  - g. Attend the sessions of courts as designated.
  - h. The Sheriff of Providence County with deputies attends the sessions of the General Assembly.
  - i. Are custodians of courthouses and jails (unless otherwise provided) in the several counties.
- E. Department of State Police.
1. Superintendent, captain, lieutenant and troopers.
  2. Superintendent appointed by Governor.
  3. Duties—enforcement of law, and patrol of parts of state not adequately patrolled by town or city police.



## CHAPTER XXVII. FINANCE AND BANKING.\*



THE use of wampum—the clamshell money of the Indians—served the purpose of a medium of exchange not only between colonists and Indians, but also between colonists, so long as the Indians had commodities to sell which the colonists wished to buy. The use of wampum as currency ceased when the Indians came to market only as purchasers offering clamshells and bringing no other commodity to sell, for which the colonists could turn the clamshells back. The wampum period was short-lived in Rhode Island, for there was no extensive back country from which the Indians might bring a wealth of peltry such as attracted the Dutch traders to the Hudson and Connecticut rivers. In their trading relations with the mother country the Rhode Island colonists must soon have exhausted the small store of coin in the colony, had they not early begun to produce a surplus of products of the farm salable in the West Indies and to build wooden ships for sale in Europe. Thus they established that exchange of commodities which is essential to any trade between communities unless one is engaged in exhausting the other by means of a favorable money balance in trade. As it was, and in spite of the enterprise of farmers and sailors, Rhode Island at a very early date felt the constraint that want of a monetary system imposes upon the trade and commerce that are the most prolific sources of wealth, and had recourse to paper money. The effect was stimulating immediately, although the event was disastrous because of failure to observe sound principles of regulation. The development of a medium of exchange, subject as is paper money to vicissitudes that challenge the most alert of financiers, was tremendously important for Rhode Island—in spite of the disturbances that accompanied deflation—because it induced and made possible an exploitation of resources and an undertaking of enterprises that scarcely could have occurred otherwise. Rhode Island needed fluid capital and found it in paper money. All of this preceded the year 1790 and the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, which forbade states to “coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.”† Through the paper money system and recourse to lotteries Rhode Island was able for much of the colonial period to support the government without taxation. The courts were maintained in large part by fees, as were also other officers. The interest paid on loans of paper money replenished the treasury sufficiently to pay the expense of the General Assembly and incidental charges. The colony evaded much of the cost of public improvements by setting up, through lotteries, gambling games that yielded money for such projects. In instances in which taxes were levied payment in kind was permitted, clearly a recognition of the want of ready money. The change from independence to statehood in the nation was so momentous that Arnold brought his history of Rhode Island to a close with the year 1790; it was no more epochal in politics than in public finance.

**SOURCES OF REVENUE**—The ordinary expense of maintaining the state government from 1790 to 1800 ranged between \$5000 and \$6000, and the principal source of revenue, aside from fees, was a tax levied upon the towns at a valuation per town fixed by statute. With the ratification of the Constitution the revenue from imposts was surrendered to the federal establishment. Toward the end of the period excises in the form of license fees were introduced, and the system was extended, both state and towns deriving a revenue in this way. The license

\*For the history of Rhode Island's paper money see chapters on colonial period and chapters X, XIII and XIV.

†Article I, section 10.

fees included a tax on lotteries, which, partly because of the tax, were transformed from enterprises beginning with projects for public and quasi-public improvements into financial enterprises for private benefit, and eventually into publicly licensed gambling games. The state income in 1828 and thereafter for several years was sufficient to yield the annual appropriation of \$10,000 for the support of public schools, and enough more to carry the permanent school fund through one of the periods of largest increase. Lotteries were forbidden by the Constitution of 1842 except such as had been granted previously. Other excises yielding considerable state revenues were taxes on the capital stock of banking corporations, and after 1826 the part claimed by the state of liquor license money.

For twenty-five years, 1824-1849, no direct taxes for the support of the state government were levied upon the towns. Meanwhile the cost of maintaining the state establishment had increased to approximately \$90,000 annually. Not all of the obligations of the state had been met from excises, however. In the period the General Treasurer occasionally had neglected to invest in bonds for the permanent school fund the revenues of the state dedicated by law to this purpose, as the pressure for ready money to liquidate claims against the state left him so little option otherwise that a committee which investigated alleged irregularities placed the blame upon the General Assembly rather than the Treasurer. The state prison in Providence had been constructed and paid for without recourse to a general tax, and the expenses of the Dorr War, amounting to more than \$106,000, had been incurred and paid. In the instances last mentioned, however, recourse had been taken to the United States deposit fund, which, after having been loaned first to the state banks, was turned back by them into the treasury because the banks could not afford to pay interest upon the fund, and was paid out by the General Treasurer under orders of the Assembly. Indeed, the situation was almost compelling. The deposit fund, \$386,611.33, lying idle, in large part in the treasury and yielding no revenue, could scarcely be held there at the same time that a tax was levied upon the towns; the Assembly spent a part of the deposit fund and avoided the odium of a general tax. A return to a tax on property assessed against the towns at a valuation established by statute was made in 1849.

REVENUES IN 1850—The state revenues in 1850 were \$84,402, derived as follows: Property tax, \$17,080; savings banks, \$36,300; insurance companies, \$3160; auctioneers, \$1230; licenses liquor, entertainments, pool and billiard tables, \$1260; peddlers' licenses, \$6070; fees for commissions issued to officers, \$240; court fees, fines, jails and prisons, \$10,460; prison labor and board of prisoners, \$3270; turnpikes, \$1000; dividends on permanent school fund investments, \$3335; rents of oyster beds, \$85; rents and interest, \$402; all other sources, \$510.

The expenditures for the same fiscal year totalled \$92,010, as follows: General Assembly, \$7810; general officers, \$1500; military, \$300; courts and jails and prisons, \$35,700; Indians, \$100; state support of public schools, \$34,900; interest, \$760; all other expenditures, \$10,940.

The Commissioner of Public Schools, since 1845, was still, except the general officers elected by the people, the only state officer; and the state's contribution to the support of public schools, \$35,000 by annual appropriation, accounted for 38 per cent. of expenditures. A little more, 38.8 per cent., was expended for the maintenance of courts and jails and prisons. If, on the other hand, the expenditure for public schools were reduced by the income of the permanent fund, and the expenditure for courts and jails and prisons by the income from fines, etc., the percentage of net expenditures for public education was 43.5, and for courts and jails and prisons was 28.3. With these items out the net income would be \$66,337 in 1850, and the net expenditures \$73,945. No additional state office was created until an auditor was



COURT STREET BRIDGE FROM COURT HOUSE, WOONSOCKET



GLOBE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, WOONSOCKET



appointed in 1856; the extensive development of charitable, reformatory and penal institutions began a decade later than that.

The annual state appropriation for the support of town public schools was increased \$15,000, from \$35,000 to \$50,000, in 1854, and in the same year \$3000 was appropriated to be expended by the Commissioner of Education for the maintenance of a normal school. The state was not committed, however, to a generous program for the normal school; in 1857, the General Assembly authorized removal to a town that would provide quarters rent free, and Bristol was chosen. The normal school was closed in 1865 and was not reorganized until 1871. The public school appropriation was increased to \$70,000 in 1868, and to \$90,000 in 1869, the second raise to compensate towns for the abolition of tuition. Appropriations for evening schools and free public libraries carried the total expenditures for education, including the normal school, to \$120,710 in 1875. One of the largest payments in 1875 was \$180,530 for interest on the state debt. Rhode Island had no state debt at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Wartime expenditures were financed in large part by bond issues, and the burden of interest payments fell upon the general treasury, inasmuch as the federal government, while recouping the state for military expenditures, did not include interest. The expense of administration had been increased principally by the additional cost of the General Assembly, which in the quarter-century from 1850 rose from \$7810 to \$31,320. Courts cost four times as much, jails and prisons more than twice as much, and the state's new institutions at Howard, including workhouse, reformatories, almshouses, and asylums had added \$90,000 annually to state expenditures. A few new offices had been created, but the expenditures for commissioners of insurance, railroads, inland fisheries and shell fisheries were only \$5420. Other large items were \$23,830 for militia, and \$10,550 for a state constabulary to enforce the prohibition law. The total state expenditures in twenty-five years had risen over half a million dollars, from \$92,010 to \$595,170. The largest items of revenue were the general property tax, collected through the agency of the towns, \$492,420; taxes on savings bank deposits, \$112,920; on insurance companies, \$56,800. The costs of courts and institutions were offset by income amounting to \$61,910; of schools by income on the permanent fund, \$22,090; and of bonded indebtedness (interest) by interest earned on deposits. The income for the year 1875 was \$786,690, exceeding expenditures by \$191,520. No revenue from liquor licenses was received in 1875 because of prohibition; the income in the preceding year from this source had been \$70,000. As it happened, no part of the state expenditure for the building program at Howard fell due in 1875, although the program was being financed at the time from general revenues, without recourse to additional specific taxation.

STATE FINANCES AT END OF CENTURY—At the end of the century, 1900, Rhode Island's major sources of revenues were taxes and excises on general property, \$644,120; savings bank deposits, \$351,970; insurance companies, \$157,610; liquor licenses, \$109,670; incorporation fees and corporations, \$44,210; other excises and licenses, \$16,420; rents of oyster beds, \$20,970, a total of \$1,344,970. To offset expenditures for courts and jails and state institutions, \$109,410 was collected; interest and rents, aid from the United States for soldiers, etc., carried the total income to \$1,482,200. The expenditures for the year reflected the development of governmental agencies that had been created in the half-century from 1850; and the increasing cost of government itself, in the items: Executive department, \$5690; General Assembly, \$59,920; financial department, \$11,600; elections (an entirely new item in state expenditures, arising from the secret ballot law and state supervision of elections), \$10,290; boards and commissions, including insurance, railroads, factory inspection, inspection of fertilizers and feeding stuffs, agriculture, shell fisheries, inland fisheries, banks, dams

and reservoirs, weights and measures, health, \$69,690; military, \$61,600; courts, \$251,750, a total of \$470,540. Other large items included: Jails and reformatory institutions, \$172,120; relief of soldiers and sailors, Indians, almshouses, insane asylums, hospitals, \$203,980; education and libraries, \$314,340; interest and sinking funds, \$114,300; construction, \$163,660, this item chargeable principally to the proceeds of the sale of bonds for the construction of the State House.

Back at the beginning of the quarter-century previous a new Providence County Court-house had been constructed with ample provision for almost half a century of development. The bonded indebtedness incurred during the Civil War had been paid off in 1894; the new interest and sinking fund charges were principally because of bonds for the construction of the marble State House, nearing completion and to be occupied in 1901. The payment of the bonded debt had relieved the treasury of an annual interest charge of more than \$125,000. The state had undertaken a program of construction in the period, which had included land and buildings for Rhode Island Normal School, \$421,000; Rhode Island College of Agriculture, \$120,000; State Home and School, \$80,000; Institution for the Deaf, \$69,000; Soldiers' Home, \$97,000; courthouses, \$110,000; jails, \$30,000; armories, \$150,000; state prison, asylum for insane, almshouse and workhouse, \$185,000; breachways, highways and bridges, \$214,000; campground for militia, \$50,000; and totalled \$1,526,000. The construction of the new marble State House had been bonded; other new construction had been undertaken without provision of special or additional revenues.

The treasury was empty in 1896; the state was in debt to the amount of \$90,761.75, and the construction of some buildings had been discontinued because funds were not available. The building for Rhode Island Normal School was up to the second story, and there work had stopped because the treasury was empty. The Governor, in a special message to the General Assembly, reviewed the situation, and directed attention, in the instance of the Normal School, to the danger of disintegration unless the building could be completed or at least covered in. The situation was embarrassing in other ways. The Treasurer had the proceeds of sales of State House bonds, part of which had not been expended, and would not be needed immediately; yet he was constrained to hold this fund intact because of the Supreme Court ruling that the money could not be diverted.\*

The constitution limited the amount of state debt that could be incurred without the express authority of the people; eventually the latter was sought and obtained through the referendum in 1896. The Treasurer sold tax orders in anticipation of taxes due from towns to the amount of \$642,000 of the total tax of \$646,000, under authorization of the General Assembly. In the same year, 1896, the General Assembly pledged the state to pay its indebtedness in gold coin, this as an answer to bimetallism. Other expenditures, particularly those incurred in 1898 in connection with the raising and equipping of soldiers for the Spanish War, tended to increase the temporary indebtedness of the state. Yet the financial condition of the state was such that the embarrassment indicated by discount of tax orders was becoming a diminishing factor, and except for the Spanish War debt (actually a federal obligation) and the bonded indebtedness for the State House, Rhode Island was practically out of debt at the end of the century. A committee on the revenues of the state, reporting in 1897, suggested taxes on incomes, inheritances, corporations and franchises as the simplest devices for raising more money easily. Rhode Island was not ready for a taxing program of the type, and the matter was dropped without action, because the pressure of urgent necessity had been abated. The ease with which the embarrassment of 1896 was adjusted suggests that the program for permanent improvement and construction was within the means of the state as measured by current revenues, but that care had not been taken so to allocate expenditures as

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\*19 R. I. 216.

to bring them within a schedule correlated to the available surplus in successive fiscal years. The discount paid to banks on town tax assignment orders, as interest on anticipated revenues, amounting in four years, 1896-1900, to \$25,600, could have been saved by careful budgeting.

**BONDED INDEBTEDNESS**—The bonded indebtedness of Rhode Island on January 1, 1901, was \$2,300,000, incurred in the construction of the State House; in 1901 another bond issue of \$700,000 for completing the State House was authorized. Other bond issues since 1901 have been as follows: Highway construction, 1906, 1909, 1912, \$1,763,000; armory construction, 1906, 1923, \$730,000; penal and reformatory institutions, 1909, 1914, 1915, 1918, 1923, 1927, \$4,100,000; harbor improvement, 1910, 1913, \$976,000; Metropolitan Park, 1908, 1914, 1929, \$1,150,000; bridge construction, 1917, 1920, 1923, 1927, \$1,800,000; 1920, soldiers' bonus, \$2,500,000; courthouses, 1925, 1927, \$2,375,000; Washington bridge, 1927, 1929, \$3,500,000; Rhode Island State College, 1927, \$600,000; Rhode Island College of Education, 1927, \$660,000; State office building, 1927, \$925,000; state airport, 1929, \$300,000.† Total bond issues have been \$25,179,000, of which \$1,905,000 has been retired. Against the balance, \$23,274,000, the state has sinking funds amounting to \$4,000,000.

**CURRENT REVENUE**—From \$1,482,800 in 1900 the state revenue has risen in thirty years to \$15,059,437.70 in 1929.‡ The revenues in 1909 and in 1919 were, respectively, \$2,317,371.67 and \$5,321,702.23. The increase in revenue in the first decade was due to normal gains from most sources, but principally to gains in the general taxes on town and city property, \$224,000; on savings bank deposits, \$103,000; on insurance companies and agents, \$133,000; from licenses and fees, \$60,000; from leases of oyster beds, \$86,000; additional to almost \$100,000 derived from the taxation of public service corporations attending the rapid and extensive development of electric tramways, and \$50,000 from taxes on motor vehicles. The oyster fishery yielded almost its largest revenue in 1909; in the succeeding years it declined steadily as the waters of Narragansett Bay were abandoned by oyster farmers because of the pollution of waters and other unfavorable conditions. By ten year periods the decrease in oyster revenue was from \$106,839.48 to \$84,089.97 in 1919, and to \$51,302.07 in 1929.

With the purpose of increasing revenues and readjusting the burden equitably the general tax laws were revised in 1912, and a tax commission was created with the principal function of finding sources of taxation and assisting in collecting the revenue. The result of the new tax legislation in operation, of other changes in the tax laws, and of the efficient administration by the tax commission appeared in the almost doubling of revenues in 1919 as compared with 1909. The tax act distinguished tangible and intangible property, and limited the taxation on intangible property to forty cents per \$100 of assessed valuation. The state tax on general property, in towns and cities was fixed at nine cents on each \$100 of ratable property, the valuation to be fixed by an annual local assessment.§ The new tax law imposed a tax upon business corporations, except public service corporations, based upon a fair valuation of the capital stock plus the "corporate excess," the latter defined as including the "bonded indebtedness," "debenture indebtedness," "other indebtedness," and indebtedness carried as a "cover for a division of its profits," the purpose being to reach a fair valuation of the actual working capital of the corporation, whether carried as a liability to stockholders for the value of their shares or as a liability because of capital borrowed rather than accepted as investment. It also imposed a franchise and minimum tax on domestic corporations not assessed for cor-

†An additional bond issue to finish courthouse authorized, 1930.

‡The years ending in nine were selected to avoid comparisons with irregular fiscal years incident to change. Thus the calendar year 1930 falls into part of a short fiscal year of seven months, December 1, 1929 to June 30, 1930; and part of a twelve-month fiscal year beginning July 1, 1930.

§Changed in 1930 to a tax upon the amount of the town revenue from taxation of estates, thus to prevent towns limiting the amount of contribution to the General Treasury by holding the valuation to a low figure.

porate excess, and included a revision of the state tax laws relating to banking corporations, savings banks and participation accounts in commercial banks and trust companies, and to taxes on the gross earnings of public service corporations.

A state tax on "net estates, inheritances, legacies and gifts" was ordered in 1916. The most significant increases in the state revenues for 1919 as compared with 1909 were in taxes on towns and cities, \$415,000, due to a special tax for public road construction, first levied in 1919, after the electors in 1913 had rejected a proposition to fund a road building program by bond issue; in taxes on public service corporations \$238,000; on savings bank and savings and participation deposits in commercial banks and trust companies, \$284,000; on motor vehicles, \$440,000. Additional to these were new taxes on corporations under the act of 1912 as amended, amounting to \$1,080,000; and on inheritances and legacies, yielding \$387,000. The inheritance tax law was revised in 1926, and the rates of taxes were increased principally because of federal legislation in the same field which left Rhode Island no option otherwise. The federal estate tax law as amended February 26, 1926, permitted rebates, not exceeding 80 per cent. of federal levies, because of inheritance taxes paid to a state. No state could afford to neglect to take complete advantage of the rebate, inasmuch as the federal tax must be paid, the only question for a state to decide being whether it would take the inheritance tax up to the limit or surrender it to the federal government. Rhode Island, therefore, increased inheritance tax rates; but the General Assembly in 1927 passed a resolution of protest, in part as follows: "Whereas, The federal estate tax law, as amended February 26, 1926, provides that estates liable thereunder shall be credited with any inheritance taxes paid by the beneficiaries to the state, or states, the credit not to exceed 80 per cent. of the federal levy; and . . . this amendment abridges the right of the states, because it obliges them to abandon their state inheritance tax laws in favor of statutes based on the federal rates and system; the federal tax not being a necessary component of its revenue system at this time; its only object now must be an attempt to coerce the states; therefore be it resolved, that the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island respectfully requests Congress to repeal immediately the federal estate tax provisions of the revenue law effective February 26, 1926, and abandon this field of taxation in time of peace."

The General Assembly, in 1925, levied a tax on gasoline used in motor vehicles, and in 1927 increased the rate of the gasoline tax. In 1927, also, Rhode Island accepted the provisions of the federal highway act, as amended and supplemented, and undertook to coöperate in the federal plan for road construction. The effects of some of these measures appeared in the budgets of revenues and expenditures for 1929. The largest source of additional and distinctly new revenue in 1929, as compared with 1919, was the tax on gasoline, which yielded \$1,441,000. In the same year, \$4,661,000 received as inheritance taxes included an extraordinary payment of \$3,970,240.25. Otherwise there was a decrease in the taxes paid by towns and cities, due to the substitution of the gasoline tax for the direct tax to support the road-building program; and increases of \$250,000 in general corporation taxes, of \$266,000 in taxes on public service corporations, of \$714,000 in taxes on savings deposits, of \$378,000 in insurance taxes, of \$1,964,000 in taxes on motor vehicles, of \$91,000 in license fees. Increase over the period in receipts by courts, by the penal and charitable institutions, and for interest, were more than offset by large increases in costs for maintenance, or interest paid on bonded indebtedness and contributions to sinking funds. The magnitude of the items last mentioned appears in the \$1,107,111.69 paid as interest in 1929, additional to \$1,007,160 taken from the extraordinary receipts from inheritance taxes and applied to the redemption of part of the state's bonded indebtedness.

The expenditures for maintenance of the state government in 1900 were \$1,355,400; in 1909, \$2,295,359.24; in 1919, \$5,142,533.39; and in 1929, \$14,142,368.61. The expenditures

for 1929 might be classified as follows: Executive, \$29,416.16; legislative, \$109,417.38; judicial, \$1,899,071.02; administrative, \$182,552.39; interest, \$1,107,111.96; cancellation of bonds, \$1,007,160.00; law enforcement, \$216,147.23; military, \$131,159.31; education, \$1,358,502.80; penal, corrective and charitable, \$2,302,370.88; highways, parks and bridges, \$4,850,042.35; public health, \$127,923.63; agriculture, \$170,743.74; regulative, banks, insurance companies, and public utilities, \$79,060.23; regulative, miscellaneous, \$58,360.69; fisheries, \$54,940.64; harbors, rivers and waters, \$40,678.04; labor and industries, \$22,287.33; relief, veteran soldiers and sailors, \$105,281.33; State House and State Office Building, \$170,734.64; commissioner of birds, \$15,453.31; state airport, \$18,017.08; miscellaneous, \$85,936.17. The total expenditures for three fiscal years, 1927, 1928 and 1929, were, respectively, \$11,587,200.12, \$13,370,775.83, and \$14,142,368.61, an average of \$13,033,448.19. It is worthy of note (1) that the expenditures in 1929 were ten times as great as in 1900; (2) that in 1929 expenditures for maintenance of courts of justice and of public schools each exceeded total expenditures for all purposes in 1900; (3) that three and one-half times as much money was spent for roads, parks and bridges in 1929 as for all state purposes in 1900; (4) that the maintenance of penal, corrective and charitable institutions and agencies cost Rhode Island almost \$1,000,000 more in 1929 than the total cost of the state government in 1900; (5) that interest payments on the state debt in 1929 had reached to within a quarter of a million dollars of the total state expenditure in 1900.

On the revenue side the income in 1929 from (1) taxes on towns and cities, (2) taxes on corporations, (3) taxes on savings banks, (4) the tax on gasoline, each one alone would support the state government were it maintained on the same scale as in 1900; while the taxes on motor vehicles were sufficient almost in 1929 to support an establishment twice as large as it was in 1900. It is also to be noted that the largest single item of expenditure was for roads, bridges and parks, \$4,850,042.35, exclusive of the interest paid on outstanding bonded indebtedness for these purposes; and that the total revenue from motor vehicle licenses and the tax on gasoline, \$3,882,701.08, did not approach within \$1,000,000 of the expenditure for improvement of public rights of way. Within the five years preceding 1930 the financial department of the state has been completely reorganized, and current revenues and expenditures have been studied with emphasis upon careful budgets of income, estimates and expenditures. In spite of the marked increase in expenditures in the past thirty years Rhode Island is one of a very few states that have not had recourse to income taxes as a means for increasing revenues, and this is more remarkable because Rhode Island has neither holdings of public lands that may be sold or made to yield rents, nor mineral wealth that yields severance taxes.

The prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of the United States struck from the list of sources of revenue the excise by way of liquor licenses, without apparently compensating for the change by any noticeable decrease in the expenditures for enforcement of law and the support of institutions for those who became dependent upon the state, though these were both bracketed with liquor licenses in the relation of cause and effect before the amendment. Perhaps one of the most significant items disclosed in the analysis of state finance is the tax on deposits in savings banks and trust companies conducting participation banking. The savings of the people of Rhode Island yield a constantly increasing tax revenue, as their growth demonstrates the thrift of the people. The increase has continued during a period in which the number of automobiles registered indicates that practically the whole state is riding in gasoline-driven vehicles, and that the distribution is approximately one to a family. This prosperity, proved by the increase in savings and the ability to own and operate private motor vehicles, has been attained while state taxes have risen from 60 cents per capita annually in 1850, to \$3 per capita in 1875 and 1900, and to over \$20 per capita in 1930. In this connection it should not be forgotten that the tremendous increase in the size of the state establishment,

and the multiplication of service undertaken and furnished by the state, all cost money, the question for the taxpayer—and he is everybody—to answer for himself being “what am I getting for my tax dollars?” If Rhode Island is a better state to live in because of the extension of state service then the taxpayer ought to be contented.

**TAX REFORM DISCUSSED**—The discussion above of the increase in the tax on inheritances and legacies because of action by Congress, and Rhode Island’s protest of use of the tax powers of the federal government to promote social policies and to coerce the states, led to the appointment of a commission to make the protest effective, and to Rhode Island’s participation in a joint state and federal conference to consider tax problems. The conference resolved itself into a national council of state legislators, which, on April 29, 1930, announced a program of principles on taxation readjustment including the following: (1) “Separation of tax sources, federal and state,” and in each state “in its own way and as far as practicable . . . the same principle of separation of tax sources between the state and the various local subdivisions”; (2) estate (inheritance) tax proceeds to be reserved for exclusive use of state governments; (3) broadening the tax spread, “by reducing general property taxes, consideration to be given to other taxes, such as license taxes and sales taxes levied upon select commodities as exemplified by the gasoline tax; (4) equalization of state taxes, designed to meet the existing decline in both valuation and earnings of farms and other property; (5) limitation of joint federal-state appropriations and levies, and elimination of coercive levies; (6) graduated levies and restriction of graduated levies; (7) more rigid economy in the affairs of government.” In addition to the foregoing principles, the council recommended “that general attention be paid by all tax levying bodies and by all organizations considering the subject of public revenues to the economic pressure caused by the large burden of taxes now assessed and collected against the farms, homes and business enterprises of the people. We believe that the primary work . . . owing to the heavy burden and inequality involved in this condition, should be directed to the reduction of taxes on homes and farms, and the equalization of taxes on business by the substitution of now unoccupied and unused sources of taxes for whatever part of the taxes now raised on farms, homes and business are unjust and unfair.”

**MUNICIPAL FINANCE**—Municipal finance in colonial and even in early state history was characterized by thrift almost to the verge of parsimony, and a pay-as-we-go policy. The Rhode Island taxpaying freeman was too canny to cajole himself into assuming an obligation to pay interest and to accumulate sinking funds with the consolation that thus he was permitting posterity to pay its share of the cost of improvements. As a rule, he chose to live without the improvements and let posterity work out its own solution of its own problems. Faced with a present necessity involving unusual expenditures, such as replacing a bridge, he preferred a lottery and the gambling chance of a return on his investment to taxation, which repays no dividends. The long struggle in Providence to achieve a tax-supported public school system in place of the schools maintained principally through private initiative, which continued for thirty-three years, from the report of the school committee of 1767 recommending a plan, until John Howland obtained mandatory legislation in 1800, is an apt illustration of the reluctance to assume additional tax burdens. Even after public schools had been established, the town of Providence spent only \$3500 annually for teachers’ salaries until 1818, and \$3750 from 1818 to 1828, because in 1818 it had increased the salaries of five assistant teachers from \$200 to \$250 per year of full fifty-two weeks; with no vacations save a few holidays. Stokes\* characterized this period as one of “strict economy,” ignoring the probably utter wastefulness of spending any money at all for service that could be bought and sold so cheaply.

\*“Finances and Administration of Providence,” 1903.

Newport and Providence, rival towns in commerce and in politics, for years after the Revolution had few paved or lighted streets, maintained only skeleton night watches rather than police forces, spent little for protection against destruction by fire, had done almost nothing to provide for drainage sewers or other sanitary measures for disposition of waste and filth; where water was supplied through pipes, the areas served were small and the initiative was private. Support of public schools, as it was in the instance of the state in 1850 one of the largest items of expenditure from the general treasury, tended to be the municipal undertaking absorbing most of the money raised by taxation. The filling in of part of the Cove lands in Providence in 1857 was a major municipal enterprise in the period.

After the Civil War Providence undertook new projects, including the construction of large and splendidly equipped schoolhouses; the acquisition of water rights and the building of reservoir, aqueduct, pumping station and pipe lines for a municipal water supply; new bridges across the Providence River, one being the swinging drawbridge at Point Street; the Brook Street improvement, involving the removal of a hill at Fox Point, and filling on the west bank of the Seekonk; a million dollar city hall; new streets, sewers, street lighting and the filling in of the Cove. By 1880 the city had a bonded indebtedness of \$10,475,000, and a sinking fund of \$1,102,000.

Newport, lagging behind Providence in population since 1800, and already passed by Pawtucket and Woonsocket in 1880, had a net debt of \$116,000. Pawtucket's net debt was \$935,000, and Woonsocket's was \$230,000. The total indebtedness of towns and cities in 1880 was \$12,607,000, against which sinking funds amounting to \$1,336,000 had been accumulated.

Two years earlier, 1878, the General Assembly had forbidden towns and cities, unless authorized by statute, to incur indebtedness exceeding three per cent. of taxable property. In doing so the Assembly had done little more than make a gesture, out of which arose a prolific type of special statute in the form of enabling legislation, usually combining sanction for incurring indebtedness in excess of the three per cent. limitation with authorization for issuing long-term bonds, as borrowing by the latter method became a common method of financing public improvements. In the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, municipal debts were more than doubled, reaching \$27,948,000, which, by sinking funds amounting to \$3,467,000, were reduced to \$24,481,000 net. In the interval the northern cities had borrowed almost lavishly, the net debt increasing 60 per cent. in Providence, 354 per cent. in Pawtucket, and 1115 per cent. in Woonsocket. All three cities had exceeded the tentative statutory debt limit of 3 per cent. of valuation; related to assessed valuations the city debts were in Providence 7 per cent., in Pawtucket 12.7 per cent., in Woonsocket 17.8 per cent. Newport had increased indebtedness 574 per cent. in the twenty years, but Newport's net debt was not quite 2 per cent. of assessed valuation. The advantage for Newport lay both in the wealth of property available for assessment, and in the holding of so much in large estates as summer homes, which imposed little burden on the city for schools, water, sewers, streets, lighting, police, fire or other common municipal services. Town and city indebtedness in 1930 aggregated, in round numbers, \$100,000,000, against which \$25,000,000 had been accumulated as sinking funds. The city debts,† as percentages of assessed valuation, were: Central Falls, 8; Cranston, 5.5; Newport, 2.7; Pawtucket, 7.5; Providence, 5.3; Woonsocket, 15. Woonsocket, in 1929, had reached so nearly to the limit of the borrowing power that loans were refused by banks until a special examination had been undertaken, with the result that the city obtained an extension of credit. The city had been carrying forward an extraordinary, expensive improvement program, which reached its apex almost at the same time that an industrial depression affected seriously a large number of factories, some of which had been closed. Woonsocket at the time levied the

†Figures used are for nearest year to 1930 for which statistics were accessible; they are approximately but not absolutely accurate.

highest tax rate in Rhode Island, with the exception of New Shoreham. The island town had been through difficulties because of town indebtedness incurred in ambitious projects for improving the town harbors, and for several years had been conducting its finances under agreement with bankers, who extended credit only upon condition of maintenance of a high tax rate and steady reduction of indebtedness by annual installment payments. Pursuing this plan the island town has reduced its net indebtedness to less than ten per cent. of assessed valuation.

Rhode Island towns\* having net indebtedness exceeding \$1,000,000 are East Providence and Westerly, with debts, respectively, amounting to 6.5 and 6 per cent. of assessed valuation. City government has been proposed for East Providence because of the rapid increase in population, and municipal problems closely resembling those that are characteristic of cities; while Westerly includes a compact section that suggests a small city. More than half the towns and cities have increased bonded indebtedness in recent years to finance the construction of finer and larger schoolhouses, of new streets, of sewers, and, particularly because of the vigorous insistence of the Board for the Purification of Waters, for sewage disposal systems. Rhode Island finally has awakened to the desirability, if not the necessity, of restricting drainage into rivers and bay, thus to preserve one of the finest assets of the state, irrespective of the viewpoint—aesthetic, sanitary, recreational or even utilitarian, the last as measured by the wealth of fisheries in an unpolluted waterway.

For the whole state, bonded indebtedness of towns and cities was 5.5 per cent. of valuation in 1930; and state, town and city indebtedness combined was 7 per cent. of assessed valuation. Other elements than assessed valuation and net indebtedness which enter into a determination of town solvency and ability to carry the tax and interest burdens of increased indebtedness, include the time of expiration of outstanding bond issues, and the adequacy of sinking funds, besides the trend of population growth or decrease, and of building operations as these affect the accumulation of assessable property. With a bonded indebtedness of remote maturity, a small sinking fund, if steady increase is assured, may be adequate to warrant a high credit rating for the town. On the other hand, a town with relatively a low percentage of bonded indebtedness—Johnston, for instance, with less than 5 per cent.—may by reason of neglect of sinking funds, failure to collect taxes, slowness in meeting current obligations, and practical exhaustion of the possibilities of increased valuation, reach a financial rating that warrants refusal by bankers of further accommodation. In the particular instance, Johnston, the town in 1898 permitted a compactly built section adjoining the city of Providence, and including the town high school and the town's flourishing business centre at Olneyville, to annex itself to the city, the town as a whole being unwilling at the time to undertake municipal improvements that were wanted by Olneyville. The episode, in relation to twentieth century developments, suggests that Johnston parted with "the goose that laid the golden eggs," inasmuch as Olneyville had been the section most productive of tax revenues. Johnston, in the twentieth century, and particularly in 1930, finds herself a dormitory for a population that, for the most part, works and spends its money in the city of Providence and neighboring towns and sends its children to the public schools of Johnston. The town is distressed by the problem of providing adequate school facilities, and is almost ready, should opportunity be afforded, to transfer another compactly built section to the city. The exceptions to general rules have been noted; Rhode Island as a state is wealthy and abundantly able to solve financial problems. The same is true of most of the towns and cities; in instances in which towns have the appearance of being unable to meet financial obligations the remedies lie within control of the General Assembly, and consist either in a better allocation of respon-

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\*Not cities.

sibility for various types of state-municipal functions, or in a new political map related to a readjustment of town boundaries in such manner as to assure ample tax resources.

The assumption by the state of almost total responsibility for the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges in and between towns, and the more recent creation of a state police, both are suggestive that other readjustments of state-municipal obligations ought to be made; whereas, with reference to the support of schools, one of the heaviest burdens in several towns of large area and small population, the state in the twentieth century has receded from an earlier and more generous position until the contribution from the general treasury has become a minor fraction, although the school statutes, for the most part, are mandatory. So long as the General Assembly may create and abolish towns and cities, may divide existing towns or combine them, and may alter boundaries to serve state purposes, so far as it, under Constitution and laws, makes the towns and cities its agents for performing governmental and municipal functions, it may not avoid responsibility for the weakness of its creatures. The interest charges on the indebtedness of Rhode Island towns and cities, including interest on bonds and on short-time notes to cover borrowing in anticipation of tax payments, amount annually to over \$4,000,000.

The ratable wealth of Rhode Island in 1930 is approximately \$2,500,000,000. For 1929 the totals were: Real estate, \$918,332,791; tangible personal property, \$226,152,327; intangible personal property, \$249,257,023—total taxable property in towns and cities, \$1,393,742,141; exemptions in towns and cities, \$160,605,383; total property in towns and cities, \$1,554,347,524; savings deposits in savings banks, trust companies and national banks, \$365,797,227.50; corporate excess of other than public service corporations, \$317,551,384.80; premiums on insurance policies, \$40,667,188; public service corporations, \$151,089,382.50; state total, \$2,429,452,706.80. State plus municipal taxation totals annually \$38,000,000, or little over \$1.50 per \$100 of taxable property. The total state and municipal taxation is approximately \$2,000,000 annually more than the peak of federal taxation in Rhode Island annually during the World War. The per capita expense for state and municipal government in Rhode Island is approximately \$54 annually; the federal government took approximately \$60 per capita annually during the war. The per capita wealth is \$3570 as based on tax resources.

**BANKS AND BANKING**—The colony of Rhode Island, by issuing paper currency in large part as loans to freeholders upon land as security, not only provided ready-money "capital" for expanding business, but also usurped so many of the functions of banking as to make private banking impracticable. The earliest private banking, therefore, aside from the use of credit instruments following the law merchant, which were almost inseparable from the intensive development of commerce in the eighteenth century, belongs to the period following ratification of the federal Constitution. The leaders in the movement, as in the remarkable expansion of the carrying trade following the Revolution, were two of the Brown brothers, John and Moses. The General Assembly granted a charter for the Providence Bank, October 3, 1791. The capital stock was oversubscribed, \$180,000 of offers being accepted, with \$20,000 and \$50,000 reserved, respectively, for state and nation, neither of which purchased stock. Like so many legislative bills of the period, including statutes, the bank charter contained a preamble, which recited: "Taught by the experience of Europe and America that well-regulated banks are highly useful to society, by promoting punctuality in the performance of contracts, increasing the medium of trade, facilitating the payment of taxes, preventing the exportation of specie, furnishing for it a safe deposit, and by discount rendering easy and expeditious the anticipation of funds on lawful interest, advancing at the same time the interest of the proprietors," etc. One of the extraordinary powers granted to the new corporation was "bank process," through which, on giving notice to a debtor and filing an affidavit of his

indebtedness, the bank could obtain judgment without trial. Execution on the judgment was issued ten days later unless the debtor meanwhile claimed a trial. The arrest of judgment was repealed by amendment to the bank charter in 1807; it had not been included in the "bank process" granted to other banks. Newport quickly followed the lead in Providence, and the Bank of Rhode Island was chartered in 1795. Twelve other banks were chartered before 1810 as follows: Exchange Bank and Roger Williams Bank, Providence; Newport Bank and Rhode Island Union Bank, Newport; Bristol Bank and Bristol Commercial Bank, Bristol; Washington Bank, of Westerly; Narragansett Bank, Wickford; Central Bank, East Greenwich; Farmers' Exchange Bank, Glocester; Smithfield Union Bank, and Warren Bank. The authorized capital of fourteen banks was \$5,000,000, of which less than one-third, \$1,535,000, had been subscribed. All the banks, without specific provision in the charters, assumed a right to issue paper money, and did so. The "bank process," a novel device invented in Rhode Island, and the practice of short-term discounts—limited to thirty days in the instance of the Providence Bank—increased the volume of quick, convertible assets available for redeeming bank notes.

With generally honest administration there were relatively few losses because of irredeemable currency in Rhode Island banking before 1850, the exception being the Farmers' Exchange Bank, of Glocester, which fell into the hands of speculators beyond the borders of the state, and failed in 1809. The banks in commercial towns catered principally to merchants and manufacturers; the banks in agricultural communities offered banking facilities, including credit loans, to farmers. Close association of banking and insurance, particularly marine insurance, in which the earlier development was most notable, appeared in the stockholdings of insurance companies in banking corporations, and the assistance rendered by the banks through the credit facilities made available for underwriters. Partisanship in the distribution of patronage of the federal government was shown in the choice of Rhode Island banks as depositories of federal money. The Providence Bank was the first federal depository in Rhode Island; the directors were principally Federalists. The Republican administration, in power in 1801, with the inauguration of President Jefferson, chose other banks for patronage—the Roger Williams Bank of Providence, the Newport Bank, and Bristol Bank.

**THE DEXTER SWINDLE**—The General Assembly, in 1809, undertook to regulate banks and insurance companies, thus concluding a period of almost twenty years in which Rhode Island banking had been reasonably sound and satisfactory principally because of honest administration. The exception that precipitated the legislation of 1809 was the Farmers' Exchange Bank. A committee of the General Assembly, after an investigation, reported that the bank had been opened with \$11,806.61 paid in as capital, of which the directors withdrew for their own enrichment \$8,725.50 almost immediately. Thereafter the directors divided amongst themselves an issue of notes, which they put into circulation as payment for private purchases. To allay the suspicions of other stockholders, the directors bought back 450 shares of stock, issuing in exchange therefor stockholders' notes for borrowed money, thus disposing of most of the bank's remaining assets. The little left was sold by the directors, along with "good will" and the plates for printing notes, to Andrew Dexter, Jr., soon to be revealed as perpetrator of the most gigantic bank swindle New England ever experienced. His activity in Rhode Island was only a minor detail in a widespread plot. Dexter borrowed \$845,771 from the bank, on his own personal security. When the bank closed it had specie assets of \$86.48, against which \$580,000 of its notes were outstanding. The altogether inexplicable factor in the report was the neglect to take the \$86.48 of cash. During the Dexter régime Farmers' Exchange currency was put into circulation by payment over the counters of distant banks controlled by him, while the Farmers' Exchange reciprocated by paying out

notes of distant banks over its counters. Exchange of notes by widely separated banks was one device resorted to in wildcat state banking days to assure a wider distribution and a longer period between issue and redemption than would ensue were the currency limited to local circulation. The losses in the instance of the Farmers' Exchange Bank rested most heavily on holders of the bank's notes residing in other states, although there were Rhode Islanders who lost money by possession of notes issued by other Dexter banks that failed almost as ingloriously as the Farmers' Exchange when the swindle was exposed. The Rhode Island legislation of 1809 made directors individually responsible for bank debts if recourse to assets failed; limited bank indebtedness to capital plus deposits; and required annual reports of the condition of state banks. The circulation of bank currency was restricted.

**SERVICE OF THE BANKS**—Additional to generally honest administration of Rhode Island banks, the trade balance in the period, 1791-1809, was favorable for the most part, which had the effect of drawing money to, instead of away from, Rhode Island. Rhode Island manufacturing had begun in earnest, and there was, therefore, an increase in economic capital. So far as banking was concerned, the territory was small, and notes issued as currency quickly found their way back to the banks for redemption. The use of bank currency, as a rule, tended to serve the purposes principally of extending credit by a simpler process than recourse to individual bills and notes, and of providing a medium of exchange that was satisfactory because its redemption was unquestioned. The first reports filed by the thirteen Rhode Island banks in 1809 showed \$434,800 of currency in circulation, for the redemption of which the banks had \$410,800 specie, \$79,000 bills of other banks, and \$88,200 deposited in other banks. The cash resources exceeded circulation by \$143,200. Assuming capital actually paid in to be \$1,500,000, total liabilities, including circulation and \$488,000 of deposits, were \$2,422,800. Assets, including \$2,037,000 of loans and discounts, plus specie, bills of other banks and deposits in other banks, were \$2,614,200, which indicated undivided profits or surplus of \$191,400. On the face of the reports, the banks were sound, and currency so well supported by convertible assets was reasonably safe. As a matter of fact, however, the reports of the banks were made for any one of ten days selected by each bank preceding October 3. Under these circumstances, it is but reasonable to conclude that each bank selected for report the day of the ten which was most favorable for itself. Had Rhode Island bankers been dishonest, limitless manipulation of resources would permit statements far from presenting the real truth. One of the safeguards of modern banking is selection, without preliminary notice to the banks, of a particular reporting day by the supervising agency.

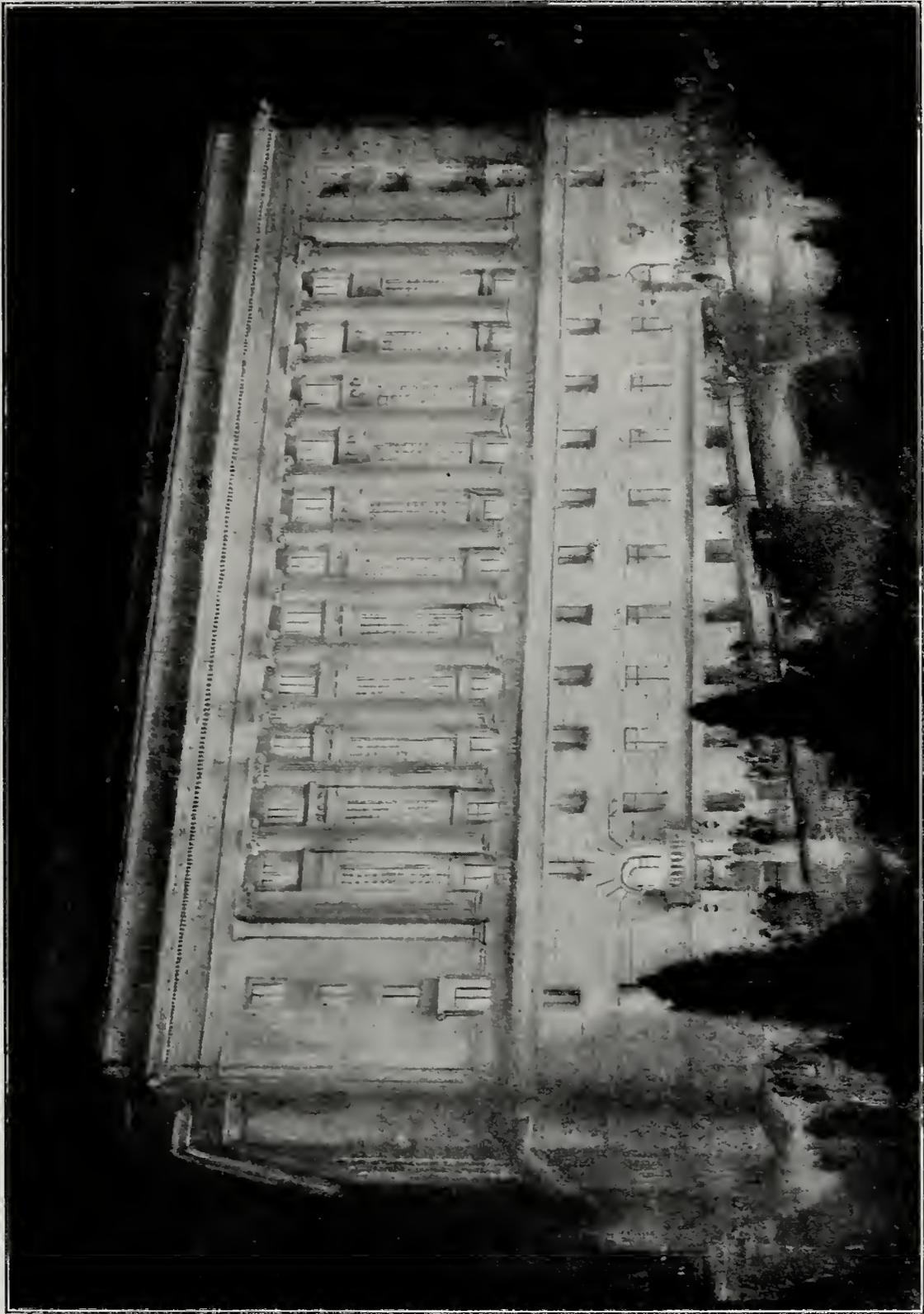
**CURRENCY REGULATION**—Private banking in Rhode Island entered a new period with the beginning of supervision, slight as it was for the time being, in 1809. The years immediately following 1809 were disastrous to American commerce. What was to be known in America as the War of 1812 had broken out in Europe sooner, and America followed a blundering course of restricting international commercial intercourse and embargo in an effort to avoid being drawn into the struggle. While commerce suffered, and many ships lay idle, American manufacturers found profit in the exclusive access to home markets which was theirs for the time, and Rhode Island shared the advantages of the favorable innovation. No new banks were chartered until 1814. Meanwhile the Rhode Island banks continued their service by increasing loans and discounts, and by issuing currency, the annual reports continuing to show generally the same favorable balances reported in 1809. Currency issues increased in 1812 and 1813, as state bank currency replaced the United States Bank notes withdrawn from circulation after the termination of the bank's charter in 1811. Rhode Island banks continued specie redemption even in 1814, when most banks outside New England suspended payment. Most Rhode Island banks participated in the two associations headed, respectively,

by the New England Bank of Boston in 1814, and by the Merchants Bank of Providence in 1819 as agent for the Suffolk Bank. These combinations of bankers provided facilities for prompt redemption of currency, which had the effect of maintaining circulation at close to face value. In consequence thereof the banks rendered a genuine service to business, which must have suffered inevitably by the circulation of a depreciated and depreciating currency. As it was, the Rhode Island banks furnished a currency with two excellent qualities, first, the possibility of expansion to meet increasing demands, as shown by the total issues of \$770,000 reported by Rhode Island banks in 1813; and, second, the equal facility for reduction through prompt redemption, as shown by the almost steady level close to \$550,000 in 1810, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1816. One new bank was chartered in 1814, two in 1815, one in 1817, ten in 1818, and three in 1819, making the total number thirty in 1819. Banking capital was almost doubled, being close to \$3,000,000 as reported in 1819. Loans and discounts were \$1,000,000 more than in 1809. The increase in loans and discounts was by gradual and consistent accretion, extending over the period and not related to the large number of new banks chartered in 1818. In fact, the ten charters of 1818 were issued while the General Assembly was considering amendments to the banking laws that would modify "bank process." Several of these charters were sought with the purpose less of entering the banking business than of selling the franchises.

RHODE ISLAND BANKING GENERALLY SOUND—The abolition of "bank process" was discussed in 1818 as a measure rather for the relief of debtors than for the reform of banking methods. The abundant prosperity of manufacturing promoted by war measures had reached a pause in 1818, as the business depression that had distressed the nation, except New England, eventually reached Rhode Island. Rhode Island banks rode out the tempest sturdily, but private fortunes were lost, and there was much distress among insolvent debtors. "Bank process" had been considered so valuable a function of banking as to induce the seeking in 1818 of charters, with process included, as a speculation against its probable abandonment; no charter granted after 1818 included "bank process." With reference to charters obtained before 1818 legislation (of doubtful constitutionality\*) tending to limit or modify "bank process" was passed and repealed; it was not until 1836 that "bank process" was abandoned. As banking in the earliest period had been associated with commerce and insurance, it tended with the development of industry to become associated with manufacturing enterprises. The increasing business in loans and discounts marked the service of the banks in financing purchase of raw material, in assisting manufacturers in paying wages, and in marketing the finished product.

With the rise of large factory enterprises the identification of certain banks with specific manufactories was common, and in many instances the same names that appeared as incorporators of factories appeared also as incorporators of banks. The phenomenon might be explained as purely speculative; actually it meant that manufacturers were engaged in banking enterprises as devices for furnishing themselves with facilities for extending their own credit. A branch of the second Bank of the United States was established in Providence in 1817, becoming a depository for the United States treasury, and an agency for the redemption of bank notes originating outside Rhode Island. Other state banks were chartered, three in 1820, four in 1823, five in 1824, and one in 1825. The forty-three banks reporting in 1825 had capital totalling \$5,292,000, and circulation of \$1,021,000. Loans and discounts amounted to \$7,253,000. As in the period preceding 1819 the increase in loans and discounts had been steady and gradual. The circulation was extraordinary, compared with \$726,000 in 1824, and \$713,000 in 1826; it did not exceed \$1,000,000 again until 1831.

\*Article I, second 10, Constitution of the United States: "No state shall . . . pass any . . . law impairing the obligation of contracts."



NEW MASONIC TEMPLE IN PROVIDENCE AS IT WILL APPEAR WHEN COMPLETED  
It is still under construction, at an estimated cost of \$2,500,000.



Coincident with the increase in circulation in 1825 was a movement to increase banking facilities that suggested speculation and inflation and led to an investigation by a committee of the General Assembly. The latter rejected petitions for charters for eighteen new banks and for increase in the capital stock of six others. Had nothing else happened following such expansion, the limitation by statute of 1820 of issues of currency to an amount in the instance of each bank equivalent to the capital actually paid in, would have been raised from \$10,350,000 to \$16,600,000. The committee of the General Assembly, in a report prepared by Benjamin Hazard, pointed out that the statutory limitation was rather fictitious than real, because of the practice of withdrawing specie paid in as capital in compliance with law, and the replacement of specie by notes. "The notes given for the stock and the stock pledged for the notes cancel and annul each other; or rather they are nullities from the beginning," said the committee. "If . . . each member should give his note and nothing else to his company for his share of stock, it is evident enough that there would not be one cent of real capital; and that if such a company should proceed to loan out its bills on interest, and put them into circulation, it would be guilty of a gross fraud upon the public." The report of 1826 effectually stayed for the time being the granting of charters, but the General Assembly did not enact into law the recommendations of its committee for regulation of banking. In this result may be read possibly the political influence of the banks, which was urged by the committee as one reason for curtailment of banking capital and banking prerogatives.

The course pursued by the General Assembly—refusing charters to competitors of existing banks and neglect to restrain the latter—would be consistent with an assertion by the banks of political influence, and political influence would explain away the apparent inconsistency of the General Assembly. After a temporary pause other bank charters were granted, the first in 1827 to the Farmers' and Manufacturers' Bank; this charter included a clause reserving a right in the General Assembly to amend the charter or to subject the bank to general banking legislation. Ten banks were chartered in the two years between 1833 and 1835. There were failures and liquidation of banks, but the number steadily increased until sixty-two of sixty-eight chartered after 1791 were operating in October, 1837. The new banks in many instances were definitely associated with new enterprises; thus the Blackstone Canal Bank, 1831, was authorized to invest \$150,000 in the capital stock of the Blackstone Canal Company, and became a fiscal agent for the canal. The Globe Bank was fiscal agent for the Stonington Railroad. The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pawtucket was almost completely wrecked by the failure of the Wilkinsons† of Pawtucket in 1829; the stockholders, who had incurred a total loss of their investment, reorganized the bank as the Phenix in 1835. The sixty-two banks reported capital of \$9,837,000 in October, 1837, and circulation of \$1,864,000; deposits were \$1,305,000, and loans and discounts, \$13,401,000. Specie in October, 1837, reached \$243,000, the lowest figure at any time in the series of bank reports extending from 1809. To protect their specie from utter exhaustion, Rhode Island banks suspended specie payments May 11, 1837. It was the year of a financial panic that was nationwide. The panic attended deflation after a period of inflation and speculation that was without precedent.

**BANK OF UNITED STATES**—The story of the second Bank of the United States and the opposition of President Jackson is familiar history. The bank was chartered by Congress in 1816 with the purpose of meeting problems of federal finance that resembled those of 1787. The bank was opposed at the outset, (1) because the control was principally Federalist, and Federalists were not popular after the Hartford Convention; (2) because so much of the capital stock was held by British capitalists and other foreigners; (3) because it was accused of political activity; (4) because it became a competitor of state banks. In spite of unpop-

†Samuel Slater married Hannah Wilkinson. Her father and brothers were manufacturers with large financial interests.

ularity elsewhere, Providence manufacturers and bankers requested establishment of a branch in Rhode Island. In Rhode Island the Bank of the United States was conservative; elsewhere, in many instances, it rivalled state banks in speculation and inflation. Eventually the Bank of the United States became ultra-conservative everywhere, and was influential in ending inflation of currency and speculation. The remedy was drastic and involved many in financial ruin; in this respect the bank merely precipitated at an earlier date what was inevitable eventually. The bank's activity aroused an opposition that was more vigorous and implacable than had been that at the outset. The constitutionality of the charter was tested and was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States.\* The Bank of the United States was accused of being a "money trust," and the Supreme Court was roundly abused. Ohio defied the court, and was obliged to recede.†

President Jackson, who believed that the political influence of the bank had been exerted to his disadvantage in 1824, welcomed in 1832 the opportunity to veto a bill extending the bank's charter, which expired in 1836. Jackson also believed that the charter was unconstitutional, in spite of the Supreme Court's decision;‡ in defending this position he enunciated his doctrine that the Constitution is binding upon public officers, but that each of these takes an oath to support the Constitution according to his own interpretation of it. Under Jackson's direction, Roger B. Taney, as Secretary of the Treasury, withdrew deposits of federal money from the Bank of the United States and its branches, including the branch bank at Providence. The Arcade Bank of Providence, the Bristol Bank of Bristol, the Newport Bank and the Rhode Island Union Bank, both of Newport, were selected as federal depositories. The Bank of the United States retaliated, if indeed it had not been constrained by the withdrawal of federal patronage, by reducing the volume of its currency and by curtailing loans and discounts, the effect being to reduce still further the accommodations for debtors already diminished by the failure of improvident banks. The branch bank in Providence reduced the amount of its loans and discounts, some of which were taken over by state banks. So early as 1834 business, which had been buoyant in the period of speculation, had become depressed, and higher rates of interest reflected the hesitancy of creditors quite as much as a reduction in the volume of the medium of exchange. The stability of Rhode Island banks through the period of business depression, first, and financial disorder and distress, eventually, attests the general efficiency and soundness of practice in Rhode Island banking.

PANIC OF 1837—The financial disturbance that swept the country and marked the panic of 1837 as one of the most pronounced in American economic history reached Rhode Island eventually, affecting manufacturers first because of curtailment of sales, orders and credit, and because of bankruptcy of customers involving large losses; and Rhode Island banks in turn as specie was withdrawn in a frantic effort to stem the tide of disaster. The banks suspended specie payments in May, 1837, as a measure to conserve the interests both of the banks and of their depositors, customers and creditors.

Aside from the troubles of the immediate present, the nation faced another problem in the suggestion that the emission of currency by state banks was unconstitutional. If, as President Jackson and others maintained, the chartering of the Bank of the United States was unconstitutional, in spite of the decision of the United States Supreme Court, and if the Constitution, as it forbade states to "emit bills of credit," did not permit states to charter banks with power to issue bank notes—what did the future hold for a nation which, from earliest colonial days, never had had an adequate metal currency? Rhode Island had chartered the Providence Bank for reasons that included the furnishing of a medium of exchange to meet

\**McCullough vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton 316.

†*Osborn vs. Bank of the U. S.*, 9 Wheaton 738.

‡*McCullough vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton 316.

the emergency of a dearth of money. Eventually the Supreme Court held that bank notes were not "bills of credit."\* No Rhode Island bank failed during the panic of 1837, and in August, 1838, specie payments were resumed. Federal deposits were surrendered when specie payment was suspended. When Rhode Island received from the federal treasury its share of the surplus distributed during the Jackson administration—\$386,611.33—the money was deposited in state banks at five per cent. interest, but the banks were constrained within a short time, by reason of the depression attending the panic, to return the money to the state treasury, because the banks could not afford to pay five per cent. interest.

STATUTORY REGULATION OF BANKING—One effect of the Dartmouth College decision of the United States Supreme Court† was the writing into statutes everywhere of reservations of rights to amend and to repeal corporate charters.‡ The Providence Bank denied the state's right to tax the bank as not reserved in the charter, but failed to establish its contention.§ As noted above, the General Assembly, while hesitating, apparently, to enact legislation in 1826 which would affect seriously the banks already chartered, reserved in the charter of the Farmers' and Manufacturers' Bank, in 1827, the rights of amendment and repeal and of enacting general banking laws affecting the bank.

Banks and banking were investigated in 1836 by a legislative committee, of which Thomas Wilson Dorr was a member. The committee supplemented the annual bank report for the year by a statement for each bank made for a day selected by the committee for an unexpected visit, the combined second statements showing liabilities larger by \$880,400 and assets smaller by \$247,700 than had been reported. The comparison merely proved that the banks made a special effort in the annual reports to present a good showing; in practice the curtailment of loans in October was reflected in the money market. The report also "exposed" the various devices resorted to by bankers to increase their profits on discounts. The General Assembly established a bank commission to examine and supervise banks, abolished "bank process," limited interest charges and discount rates, required the actual paying in of capital and forbade the impairment of it. Other legislation followed, restricting discounts to amounts commensurate with resources, and circulation to a graduated percentage relation to capital stock. The commission was active and zealous, and in some instances prevented fraud; it was abolished in 1842. In the meantime it had been an effective factor during the panic of 1837, in promoting a coöperative policy among Rhode Island banks that was helpful in conserving common interests. Thus all the banks suspended specie payment on the same day, under an agreement approved by the commission, and the measures taken subsequently to restore the deficiency in specie and to protect debtors and creditors were harmonious. Rhode Island was fortunate for the time being in having an able bank commission. The number of banks remained practically constant under commission supervision, as did also the amount of loans and discounts. The latter fact was due probably as much to the slow recovery from the panic of 1837 as to drastic supervision. Circulation, after reaching \$2,000,000 in 1838-1839, was reduced to a general average of \$1,500,000.

EXPANSION OF BANKING—Forty-seven new bank charters were granted by the General Assembly in the years between 1850 and 1857. Several of the projected banks were not organized, and a few banks were discontinued. In 1856 and 1857 ninety-eight banks, the largest number in the history of Rhode Island, reported. Banking capital had been nearly doubled, \$11,716,000 to \$20,857,000; circulation had been more than doubled, \$2,554,000 to \$5,344,000; loans and discounts had been increased from \$14,300,000 to \$29,094,000. Banks earned and

\*Briscoe vs. Commonwealth of Kentucky, 11 Peters 257.

†Dartmouth College vs. Woodward, 4 Wheaton 518.

‡These became part of the contract entailed in a charter. Ogden vs. Saunders, 12 Wheaton 213.

§Providence Bank vs. Billings et al., 4 Peters 515.

paid dividends of a fraction over seven per cent. annually, and had increased surplus from \$740,000 to \$1,338,000. Specie had not increased proportionately. The banking facilities, assuming the increase of loans and discounts as a fair measure of necessity, had increased only proportionately to the needs of the state.

The period was marked by expansion of investments in the profitable textile industry; the introduction of steam power made possible an increase in the number of factories, since water power no longer dictated location beside turbulent streams. There was also an expansion of railroad facilities, four new main lines being projected—from Providence to Worcester, to Springfield, to Hartford, and to Warren and Bristol, construction being undertaken in part. Population increased steadily, thirty-six per cent. from 1840 to 1850, and twenty per cent. from 1850 to 1860. Inasmuch as Narragansett Bay was not a seaboard terminus for ocean immigration lines, the migration from seaport to Rhode Island that produced large increase in population must be related to opportunity for employment. Speculation there was, of course, in shares of Rhode Island corporations, in the stocks and bonds of local and extra-state railroads, and in companies planned for exploiting the resources of western states and territories.

PANIC OF 1857—The tide turned definitely in the disaster known as the panic of 1857. Whether the panic be attributed to the free trade tariff of 1857, or to deflation following extraordinary speculation, or to both combined, its full effects were felt in Rhode Island early in the autumn. The "Journal" of Monday, September 28, 1857, declared: "There never before were two such weeks as closed upon the business of Providence last Saturday. Money continues at unmitigated rates, although the demand slackens under the impossibility of obtaining discounts. There is hardly any cotton in the market. The manufacturers are working down their stocks with no disposition to renew them under present circumstances. It is impossible longer to raise money to pay labor, and a dreary winter is before us." The markets for many of the commodities manufactured in Rhode Island had vanished. No printcloths had been sold for two weeks. Bank suspensions began on September 28, and continued until all Rhode Island banks were refusing redemption in coin. Fully two-thirds of the spindles, 502,291 in 719,115, and of the hands, 9661 in 13,731, employed in Rhode Island textile factories were idle in December, and most of the remainder were at work only on shortened time. The city of Providence undertook the relief of thousands out of work by employing men to fill in part of the Cove lands and to grade the slopes of the hills to the north and west. The loss of markets could scarcely be attributed to banks, except so far as banks might be blamed for extending credit for construction and expansion in excess of reasonable future demands.

The causes of the panic of 1857 applying particularly to Rhode Island were: (1) An almost complete failure of markets for goods, due to stagnation of business throughout the nation; (2) possibly less economy in manufacturing, attributable in part to prosperity and in part to unprecedented expansion and the development of units too large for personal management and administration by owners; (3) faults in the selling system, whereby the manufacturers extended credit to converters and jobbers sometimes for so long as eighteen months on printcloths; (4) continued neglect by banks to relate currency to reserves or specie; (5) continued neglect to limit bank indebtedness to credit resources; (6) in the instance of a few banks an utter disregard for principles of honesty.

The majority of Rhode Island banks were sound; else there could not have been a resumption of specie payment so early as January, 1858, and a quick return of prosperity. The pernicious activity of a few banks gave all Rhode Island banks a bad reputation in states in which bankers were not probably more honest so much as more restricted than in Rhode

Island. To the latter cause may be attributed the criticism of Rhode Island banking printed in New York newspapers of the period. Withal the panic of 1857 had not occurred without premonition of danger, and Rhode Island banks had failed to maintain adequate reserves, and had not reduced circulation and loans and discounts to reasonably safe limits.

The General Assembly early in 1857 reestablished the bank commission which it had abolished in 1842, and the new commission had begun to force unprincipled banks to liquidate before the panic came to Rhode Island. Six banks had been enjoined by February, 1858. On the other hand, only twenty-one of thirty-three banks represented at a conference on September 28, 1857, favored suspension, and six strong banks ignored an invitation to send representatives to the conference, which had been called expressly to discuss suspension and other concerted measures to meet the situation. Eventually, as in 1837, all Rhode Island banks suspended, but the later situation was precipitated by failures elsewhere, some of banks which were debtors to Rhode Island banks, and some of merchants who were debtors to Rhode Island manufacturers and merchants. Bankruptcy and insolvency elsewhere, rather than unsoundness in Rhode Island, precipitated suspension of banks and bankruptcy of manufacturers. The firm of Philip Allen & Sons made an assignment as an aftermath of the panic when the latter had passed the crisis. As it was, the Rhode Island situation was hopeful, in spite of business depression and curtailment of sales of goods and orders, until Baltimore and Philadelphia banks suspended, and the New York banks followed. Rhode Island bankers thus were deprived of credits carried in three large commercial cities, with which trade relations had been most intimate. Besides the banks ordered by the banking commission to liquidate, which reduced the number of active institutions from ninety-eight in 1857 to ninety-three in 1858, other banks retired and ninety reported in 1860. Banking capital remained practically unchanged, but circulation had been reduced from \$5,344,000 to \$3,773,000, and loans and discounts from \$29,000,000 to \$25,500,000. Specie had undergone little change. Both circulation and indebtedness were below the limits of sixty-five per cent. of capital established by statute in 1858. Confidence had scarcely been restored when the Civil War precipitated a new crisis. Rhode Island banks suspended specie payments in December, 1861. In four years, although four banks were closed, banking capital remained close to the \$21,000,000 characteristic from 1857; circulation was doubled, from \$3,773,000 in 1860 to \$6,921,000 in 1864; and loans and discounts were increased by \$5,000,000, from \$25,546,000 to \$30,217,000. Within a year, because of the conversion of state banks into national banks, the number of state banks was reduced in 1865 to fourteen, with capital of \$3,558,000, circulation of \$1,628,000, and loans and discounts of \$5,699,000.

A SUMMARY—In review it may be noted that during the colonial period Rhode Island had recourse to public banking with the purposes both of providing liquid capital to stimulate business and of furnishing a medium of exchange. The colony itself was the banker, issuing currency loans on the security of land mortgages, and obtaining an income through interest on loans, whereby for a large part of the colonial period recourse to direct taxation was not necessary. The ratification of the Constitution of the United States definitely terminated the state's right to issue currency. The next venture toward furnishing a medium of exchange and other banking accommodations was the chartering of private banks, which for a time were neither supervised nor restricted by statutory regulation; rather, private banking was encouraged by the grant of "bank process," a drastic device for obtaining quick judgment against debtors. Private banking was profitable, and the system was expanded as it furnished financial accommodations that were essential for the parallel development of industry. In Rhode Island the investment in new enterprises was genuine and profitable, and the state rapidly accumulated an economic capital that would warrant the expansion of bank credits

and emission of currency for legitimate trade practices. Sound banking in Rhode Island, because of generous prosperity, yielded returns ample to sustain an interest in maintaining good practices; Rhode Island bankers assured credit for their currency by making provision for prompt redemption, after the currency had passed rapidly around the credit-transfer cycle. Banking was so profitable that additional banks were chartered, and the state by taxing banks made the granting of banking franchises a source of revenue, and by legislation and supervision undertook to limit vicious practices and to assure stability. With banking on a state revenue producing basis and with franchises sought as much for profit in banking as for an assumption of public accommodation, the state was troubled with the problems of regulating this most important public utility, and was hampered somewhat by the constitutional inhibition against emitting its own bills of credit.

The genesis of the national banking system, elaborated by Salmon P. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury, appeared in a proposal, originating in the Providence Board of Trade in 1857, that the State of Rhode Island should establish a public-private banking system by printing banknotes to be issued to state banks upon the deposit of approved securities and specie in the state treasury. The system in operation would provide a currency issued under state supervision, and with redemption guaranteed through public possession of ample security. The national banking system required the deposit of United States bonds as security for circulation, thus accomplishing the two purposes (1) of assuring redemption, and (2) of furnishing a market for bonds. As the national banking system was modified in the development of the federal reserve banking system, the Providence plan of accepting other securities as part of the redemption reserve was incorporated. The Providence plan, if operated by a state, scarcely would avoid conflict with the federal Constitution, although the Supreme Court in its holding that a state, forbidden to emit bills of credit, could confer the power to emit bills of credit upon a corporation part of the stock of which was held by the state, had whittled away the constitutional inhibition to the point of being almost nominal instead of real.\*

SAVINGS BANKS—Another type of bank, the savings bank, "to provide a safe and profitable mode of enabling industrious persons of all descriptions to invest such parts of their earnings or property as they can conveniently spare," was first incorporated in Rhode Island in the instances of the Savings Bank of Newport, in June, 1819, and of the Providence Institution for Savings, and Bristol Institution for Savings in October, 1819. The early savings banks were intended principally to promote savings among the poor, the charters limiting the amount of individual deposits in such manner as to restrict patronage to the poor. The Providence Institution for Savings recognized its purpose as fundamentally charitable in a statement made at the time of incorporation, in part as follows: "Many frugal and industrious persons have laid by small sums which they intend as a relief in sickness, or in old age; but from the failure or death of those in whose hands they placed it, they have lost the whole, or if they have received it again, it has been without interest. In this institution such persons will find a safe place of deposit, and have the satisfaction to know that it is constantly increasing." In the extension of the functions of these banks mortgage loans on real estate were favored as investments, and the banks assisted thousands of Rhode Islanders to build and own homes. Seven savings banks were operating in 1850, with total deposits of \$1,495,000. In the next ten years the number of savings banks had increased to twenty-one, and deposits to \$9,164,000. Ten years later, in 1870, there were twenty-six savings banks in Rhode Island, with deposits of \$30,708,000. A number of factors had contributed to the development of savings banks, first of which, of course, were the increase in the number of wage earners accompanying the building and operation of factories, and the facilities for safe keeping of

\*Briscoe *vs.* Commonwealth of Kentucky, 11 Peters 257.

money afforded by the savings banks. Other reasons were quite as important, these including (1) recognition by the commercial banks of the period of the possibility of using savings banks as devices for gathering into sums large enough for profitable use in banking the small savings of individuals, and (2) recognition by the managers of large corporations of the possibility of using savings banks as devices for gathering up so much of the wages of employes as were not absorbed by the company stores. Many of the later savings banks were definitely associated with commercial banks or with manufacturing corporations, banks or other corporations borrowing from savings banks, the latter sometimes paying depositors by checks drawn on commercial banks with which a large part of the accumulated savings had been deposited. The Sprague failure revealed at least two savings banks holding as assets principally notes of the A. & W. Sprague Company and personal notes of the principal owners of the company. Savings deposits amounted in 1860 to half almost of the total capital stock of the ninety commercial banks that reported in that year; in 1870 savings deposited amounted to two-thirds as much as the capital stock, surplus and deposits of state banks, national banks and the one trust company operating in Rhode Island. The proceeds of the state tax on savings banks in 1850, \$36,300, were forty-three per cent. of the revenues of the state in that year.

Rhode Island savings banks chartered before 1875 were: Savings Bank of Newport, Providence Institution for Savings, Bristol Institution for Savings, 1819; Pawtucket Institution for Savings, 1836; Warwick Institution for Savings, Woonsocket Institution for Savings, 1845; East Greenwich Institution for Savings, 1849; Wakefield Institution for Savings, 1850; Peoples Savings Bank of Providence, Savings Bank in Tiverton, 1851; Citizens Savings Institution of Woonsocket, Providence County Savings Bank of Pawtucket, 1853; Mechanics Savings Bank of Providence, Westerly Savings Bank, 1854; Franklin Five Cent Savings Bank of Providence (afterward Franklin Institution for Savings), Kingston Savings Bank, Wickford Savings Bank, 1855; Coddington Five Cent Savings Bank of Newport (afterward Coddington Savings Bank), Warren Institution for Savings, 1856; Franklin Savings Bank of Pawtucket (Massachusetts corporation until boundary line was changed), Peoples Savings Bank of Woonsocket, 1857; Phenix Savings Bank of Phenix, 1858; City Savings Bank of Providence, 1859; Pascoag Savings Bank, 1864; Rhode Island Institution for Savings, and Union Savings Bank of Providence, 1866; Producers Savings Bank of Woonsocket, 1868; Cranston Savings Bank of Providence, Hopkinton Savings Bank of Hope Valley, Mechanics Savings Bank of Westerly, Niantic Savings Bank of Westerly, 1870; Ashaway Savings Bank, Citizens Savings Bank of Providence, Merchants Savings Bank of Providence, National Institution for Savings (afterward International Institution for Savings, and later Jackson Institution for Savings) of Providence, 1871; Coventry Savings Bank, Smithfield Savings Bank of Greenville, 1872; Atlantic Savings Bank of Providence (never opened), Island Savings Bank of Newport, Mechanics Savings Bank of Woonsocket, 1873.

After the Sprague failure and the consequent liquidation of two savings banks there was a definite pause in the chartering of savings banks; before confidence had been restored the competition of trust companies and national banks carrying participation accounts discouraged the organization of new savings banks. Savings banks chartered after 1875 were: Bristol County Savings Bank of Bristol, 1876; Union Savings Bank of Pascoag (not organized), 1879; Burrillville Savings Bank (not organized), 1887; Centreville Savings Bank, Slatersville Savings Bank (not organized), Narragansett Pier Savings Bank (not organized), 1888; Gorham Savings Bank, 1900. Only three of the savings banks chartered after 1875 engaged in business. Of the Rhode Island savings banks the following are still in active business: Centreville Savings Bank, Citizens Savings Bank of Providence, Gorham Savings Bank of

Providence, Pawtucket Institution for Savings, Peoples Savings Bank of Providence, Providence Institution for Savings, Savings Bank of Newport, Wickford Savings Bank, and Woonsocket Institution for Savings. The following savings banks were absorbed by national banks or trust companies: Bristol County Savings Bank of Bristol, Bristol Institution for Savings, Coddington Savings Bank of Newport, Mechanics Savings Bank of Providence, Niantic Savings Bank of Westerly, Warren Institution for Savings, all by Industrial Trust Company; East Greenwich Institutions for Savings, by Manufacturers Trust Company; Franklin Savings Bank of Pawtucket, by Slater Trust Company; Island Savings Bank of Newport, by National Exchange Bank; Mechanics Savings Bank and Producers Savings Bank of Woonsocket, and Providence County Savings Bank of Pawtucket, by Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company; Peoples Savings Bank of Woonsocket, by Woonsocket Institution for Savings; Smithfield Savings Bank, by Greenville Trust Company; Wakefield Institution for Savings, by Wakefield Trust Company.

The General Assembly, in 1879, enacted legislation authorizing the liquidation of savings banks without receivership, permitting a classification of assets and resources as quick (convertible into cash in ninety days without loss) and reserve, and enabling savings banks to require ninety days' notice of withdrawal of deposits and to pay on requests for withdrawals only a proportion of quick assets. The following savings banks went into liquidation and retired from business: Pascoag Savings Bank, and Rhode Island Institution for Savings and Union Savings Bank of Providence, 1883; Coventry Savings Bank, 1886; Jackson Institution for Savings of Providence, 1888; Merchants Savings Bank of Providence, 1893; Hopkinton Savings Bank of Hope Valley, 1895; Phenix Savings Bank of Phenix, 1897; Mechanics Savings Bank of Westerly, 1901; City Savings Bank of Providence, 1903; Ashaway Savings Bank, 1912. In several instances savings banks in voluntary liquidation paid dividends exceeding 100 per cent. The Tiverton Savings Bank was transferred to Massachusetts in 1855. The few Rhode Island savings banks that failed were: Citizens Savings Bank of Woonsocket, 1882; Cranston Savings Bank and Franklin Savings Bank of Providence, 1873, because of Sprague failure; Kingston Savings Bank, 1909. In the instance of the Kingston Bank depositors were paid in full or transferred to the Kingston branch opened by the Peoples Savings Bank of Providence; the loss by reason of defalcation was partly reimbursed and partly paid by directors. The liabilities of savings banks in 1929 included: Deposits, \$169,299,791.24; surplus, \$4,777,217.44; profit and loss, \$3,323,391.21; guaranty fund, \$4,874,428.50; depositors' interest and taxes, \$962,578.59; other liabilities, \$48,925.51; total, \$183,286,332.49. The resources of savings banks, equal to liabilities, comprised almost one-third of the banking capital of Rhode Island.

NATIONAL BANKING ACT—At the end of the Civil War the United States had accumulated a new national debt, incurred in part through borrowing on bond issues and in part through issuing legal tender notes in payment of obligations. The state of Rhode Island had expended almost \$6,000,000 for war purposes, over \$4,000,000 of which had been raised by bond issues. The Rhode Island state banks had increased loans and discounts to \$30,000,000, and had notes outstanding as currency amounting to \$7,000,000. Both nation, by legal tender issues, and banks, by notes, had inflated the circulatory media, and the low estate to which paper money had fallen was indicated by what were called war prices, and the high premium on gold. With the tension of war relieved, the time was ripe for speculation. The General Assembly in May, 1865, almost within a month of Appomattox, granted more than seventy corporation charters, including twelve mining companies to operate in western states; seventeen coal, oil, petroleum, and iron companies, of which more than half were to operate outside Rhode Island; thirty manufacturing companies; five public service corporations, three

insurance companies, building and land companies, publishing houses, a hotel, an academy, and the Rocky Point Company. Not all were new ventures; in many instances incorporation was sought because of limited liability or other advantages of incorporation over partnership or joint stock company. Some of the older organizations sought new capital, and some were engaged in the process whereby the "good-will" of a going business may be transmuted into capital stock with profit to the original entrepreneurs.

The part that state banks might have taken in financing a program of such magnitude was limited for the time being by their own problem of covering themselves into the new national banking organization before they were taxed into bankruptcy by the federal levies upon their outstanding circulation. Treasurer Chase had announced his plan for replacing legal tender currency by national banknotes and for furnishing a market for United States Government bonds that would quickly restore their parity with gold, and afford facilities for refunding issues at high interest rates with bonds carrying lower rates. The proposed heavy taxation of state bank currency must force state banks into the federal system, or so restrict their note issues as to make their competition with national banks almost negligible.

The General Assembly passed enabling legislation March 7, 1865, and the transformation of state into national banks proceeded so rapidly that only fourteen state banks reported in November, 1865, in contrast to eighty-six a year earlier. The result was the retirement almost immediately of \$5,300,000 of currency issued by Rhode Island state banks, for which national bank notes secured by the deposit of United States bonds were substituted. Allowing time for readjustments, the bank statements for 1870 afford a basis for comparison. State bank capital and surplus in 1864 amounted to \$22,698,000; national bank capital in 1870 was \$20,365,000, and surplus \$3,267,000, a total of \$23,632,000, which meant an investment of practically \$1,000,000 more in 1870 than in 1864. The total of capital, circulation and deposits in 1864 was \$36,249,000, which represented the maximum of possible loans and discounts, of which \$30,217,000 had actually been made. The same total for national banks in 1870, \$42,086,000, must be reduced by the \$13,753,000 invested in bonds to guarantee currency, and was net \$28,333,000, of which \$22,867,000 had actually been made. For an investment of \$1,000,000 more, the service of national banks was \$8,000,000 less than that afforded by state banks, in spite of the issue of almost twice as much currency. On the other hand, it should be noted that the \$13,753,000 investment in United States bonds yielded an income in interest that more than cared for the tax on circulation to establish a redemption fund, and was profitable for banks in the early period of national banking; but that this profit decreased as bonds were purchased at a premium and earned lower interest when refunding bonds replaced original issues. The greatest advantage from the national banking system accrued to the general public from (1) the banishment of wildcat state bank notes from circulation; and (2) the substitution therefor of a currency the redemption of which was guaranteed by the federal government. The weakness in the national bank system lay in the limitation on the potential efficiency of banking capital suggested above in the comparison of the years of 1864 and 1870. It was this that led to progressive elimination of national banks and the substitution for them of trust companies and similar credit and banking agencies. In the meantime the United States had achieved a national currency which tended to relieve the pressure for bank currency, and to simplify the process of divorcing the currency function from the purely credit functions of modern banking.

**STATE BANKS THAT BECAME NATIONAL BANKS**—In the following list of state banks converted into national banks in 1865 the year with each name is the date of incorporation; bank names were modified only by incorporating the word "national" unless another name is indicated: American of Providence, 1833; Aquidneck of Newport, 1854; Arcade of Provi-

dence, 1831, became Rhode Island National Bank; Ashaway of Hopkinton, 1855; Bank of Commerce of Providence, 1851; Bank of North America of Providence, 1823; Bank of Rhode Island of Newport, 1795; Blackstone Canal of Providence, 1831; Centreville Bank of Warwick, 1828; Citizens' Bank of Woonsocket, 1851; Citizens' Union Bank of Scituate, 1833, became Scituate National Bank; City Bank of Providence, 1833; Commercial Bank of Providence, 1833; Continental Bank of Providence, 1853, became Fourth National Bank; Coventry Bank of Anthony, 1850; Cumberland Bank of Cumberland, 1823; Eagle Bank of Bristol, 1818; Eagle Bank of Providence, 1818; Exchange Bank of Newport, 1834; Exchange Bank of Providence, 1801; Freemans Bank of Bristol, 1817; became First National Bank of Bristol; Globe Bank of Providence, 1831; Globe Bank of Smithfield, first chartered as Providence County Bank, 1834, and name changed, 1844, and removed to Woonsocket, 1855, became National Globe Bank of Woonsocket; Granite Bank of Pascoag, first chartered as Pascoag Bank, 1833, and name changed to Granite Bank, 1851, became Pascoag National Bank; Greenwich Bank of East Greenwich, 1856; Hope Bank of Warren, 1822; Landholders Bank of South Kingstown, 1818; Lime Rock Bank of Providence, first chartered as Smithfield Limerock Bank of Smithfield, 1823, removed to Providence, 1847, and name changed to Limerock Bank, 1859, became Lime Rock National Bank of Providence; Manufacturers Bank of Pawtucket, 1813, removed to Providence, 1831, and became Manufacturers National Bank; Marine Bank of Providence, 1856, became Third National Bank; Mechanics Bank of Providence, 1823; Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank of Providence, 1827, became Fifth National Bank; Mercantile Bank of Providence, 1854, became First National Bank; Merchants Bank of Providence, 1818; Narragansett Bank of Wickford, 1805, merged with North Kingstown Bank, 1865, and chartered as Wickford National Bank; National Bank of Providence, 1833, became Old National Bank; New England Pacific Bank of Smithfield, 1818, transferred to Pawtucket, 1832, and became Pacific National Bank of Pawtucket; Newport Bank of Newport, 1803; Niantic Bank of Westerly, 1854; North Kingstown Bank of Wickford, chartered as South Kingstown Bank of South Kingstown, 1818, and removed to Wickford as North Kingstown Bank, 1919, merged with Narragansett Bank of Wickford, and became Wickford National Bank; Peoples Bank of Pawtucket, 1846, absorbed by the First National Bank of Pawtucket; Peoples Exchange Bank of Wickford, 1853, became National Exchange Bank of Wakefield; Phenix Bank of Providence, chartered as Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Pawtucket, 1823, and reorganized in 1833 as Phenix Bank of Providence; Phenix Bank of Westerly, 1818; Phenix Village Bank of Warwick, 1856, became Phenix National Bank of Phenix; Producers Bank of Woonsocket, 1852; Providence Bank of Providence, 1791; Railroad Bank of Woonsocket, 1857, became First National Bank of Woonsocket; Roger Williams Bank of Providence, 1803; Slater Bank of Pawtucket, 1855; Smithfield Exchange Bank of Smithfield, 1822, became National Exchange Bank of Smithfield; Smithfield Union Bank, 1805, removed to Woonsocket, 1852, and became National Union Bank of Woonsocket; Traders Bank of Newport, 1836, became First National Bank of Newport; Traders Bank of Providence, 1836; Village Bank of Burrillville, first chartered as Burrillville Agricultural Bank, 1818, name changed to Burrillville Agricultural and Manufacturers Bank, 1818, name changed to Village Bank, 1822, became First National Bank of Smithfield; Wakefield Bank of Wakefield, 1834; Warren Bank of Warren, 1803; Washington Bank of Westerly, 1800; Weybosset Bank of Providence, 1831; Woonsocket Falls Bank, 1828, became Woonsocket National Bank.

The following state banks chartered before 1865 were not organized, and the charters were forfeited in 1919: Atlantic Mediterranean Banking and Navigation Company of Providence, 1854; Coventry Bank of Coventry, 1836; Island Bank of New Shoreham, 1854; Moshausic Bank of Providence, 1856; Mount Hope Bank of Bristol, 1818; Pawnners Bank of

Providence, 1864; Peacedale Bank of Peacedale, 1853; Pokanoket Bank of Bristol, 1856; Rhode Island Agricultural Bank of Johnston, 1823; West Greenwich Farmers Bank of West Greenwich, 1833. The following banks, chartered in Rhode Island, were transferred to Massachusetts because of change of state boundary lines in 1860-1861: Bristol Union Bank of Bristol, removed to Tiverton, 1830, and name changed to Fall River Union Bank, 1831; Pocasset Bank of Tiverton, 1854.

The following state banks went into voluntary liquidation about 1865, choosing neither to become national banks nor to continue as state banks without the function of issuing currency: Atlas Bank of Providence, 1854, liquidated 1867; Bank of Bristol, Bristol, 1800, discontinued 1865; Cranston Bank of Cranston, 1818, removed to Providence 1850, and to Olneyville 1865, discontinued 1865; Elmwood Bank of Cranston, 1854, discontinued 1867; Exeter Bank of Exeter, 1833; Franklin Bank of Chepachet, 1818, discontinued 1868; Bank of Kent, Coventry, 1818, discontinued 1867; Richmond Bank of Richmond, 1856, removed to Hopkinton 1863, discontinued 1866; Sowamsett Bank of Warren, 1854; Washington County Bank of Richmond, 1856, removed to Charlestown, 1863, discontinued 1865; What Cheer Bank of Providence, 1853, discontinued 1866. The following banks were discontinued earlier than 1865 for the reasons noted: Burrillville Bank of Burrillville, 1818, failed 1832; Farmers' Bank of Wickford, chartered as Wickford Bank, 1854, name changed to Farmers' Bank 1855, receivership 1857; Farmers' Exchange Bank of Glocester, 1804, closed by order of the General Assembly, 1809, after exposure of gross fraud and dissipation of assets; Hamilton Bank of Scituate, chartered as Scituate Bank 1818, name changed to Hamilton Bank, 1841, closed by order of the General Assembly, 1849, bank placed in receivership and directors enjoined against further operations; Hopkinton Bank of Hopkinton, 1850, receivership 1857; Mount Vernon Bank of Foster, 1823, removed to Providence 1854, suspended 1859; Bank of New England of East Greenwich, 1853, charter declared null and void 1854; North Kingstown Exchange Bank of Wickford, 1847, charter repealed 1848 on disclosure that bank had no actual capital and was prepared to issue currency in amount exceeding its nominal capital; North Providence Bank of Pawtucket, 1834, failed 1867, because of defalcation; Bank of Republic of Providence, 1854, closed 1856; Rhode Island Central Bank of East Greenwich, 1805, receivership 1857; Rhode Island Exchange Bank of East Greenwich, 1852, failed 1860 because of defalcation; South County Bank of Wakefield, 1851, suspended 1857 and wound up by receiver as insolvent; Tiverton Bank of Tiverton, 1855, receivership 1857; Warwick Bank of Apponaug, 1818, discontinued 1859. Of fifteen state banks thus summarily disposed of eight failed in 1857 or so close thereto as to suggest the panic of 1857 as the predominating factor; two failed because of defalcation, four were closed because of fraud, and one failed just before the panic of 1833.

The following state banks continued to operate as state banks after 1865: Atlantic of Providence, 1853, chartered as Atlantic National Bank, 1882; Bank of America of Providence, 1851, became Bank of America Loan and Trust Company, 1890; Bristol Commercial Bank of Bristol, 1809, receivership 1869; Butchers and Drovers Bank of Providence, 1853, liquidated 1890; Grocers and Producers Bank of Providence, 1853, failed 1878; High Street Bank of Providence, 1828, still doing business;\* Jackson Bank of Providence, 1854, liquidated 1895-1904; Liberty Bank of Providence, 1850, closed 1883; Merchants Bank of Newport, 1807, insolvent 1902; New England Commercial Bank, Newport, 1818, liquidated 1914; Northern Bank of Providence, 1856, closed 1882; Pawtuxet Bank of Pawtuxet, 1814, removed to Providence 1845, closed 1882; State Bank of Providence, 1850, liquidated 1893; Union Bank of Providence, 1814, liquidated 1890; Westminster Bank, Providence, 1854, liquidated 1924; Rhode Island Union Bank of Newport, 1804, chartered as Union National

\*Became trust company, 1930.

Bank, 1881. The High Street Bank was the only old commercial state bank operating in 1930. Two other banks, the Columbus Exchange,† chartered 1910 and operating a central and three branch banks in Providence; and the Dante State Bank, chartered 1924, were operating under state charters in 1930.

**BANKING FACILITIES IN 1865-1866**—The distribution of banks in 1865-1866 after the conversion of a majority of state banks into national banks was as follows: Bristol—National Eagle, First National, and Bristol Commercial; Burrillville—Pascoag National; Coventry—Coventry National; Cumberland—Cumberland National; East Greenwich—Greenwich National; Hopkinton—Ashaway National; Newport—Aquidneck National, National Bank of Rhode Island, National Exchange, Newport National, First National, Merchants Bank, New England Commercial Bank, Rhode Island Union Bank; North Kingstown—Wickford National; Pawtucket—Pacific National, First National, Slater National; Providence—First National, Second National, Third National, Fourth National, Fifth National, American National, Blackstone Canal National, City National, Commercial National, National Bank of Commerce, National Eagle, National Exchange, Globe National, Limerock National, Manufacturers National, Mechanics National, Merchants National, National Bank of North America, Old National, Phenix National, Providence National, Rhode Island National, Roger Williams National, Traders National, Weybosset National, Atlantic Bank, Bank of America, Butchers' and Drovers' Bank, Grocers' and Producers' Bank, High Street Bank, Jackson Bank, Liberty Bank, Northern Bank, Pawtuxet Bank, State Bank, Union Bank, Westminster Bank; Scituate—Scituate National; Smithfield—First National and National Exchange; South Kingstown—National Landholders, National Exchange of Wakefield, Wakefield National; Warren—National Hope, Warren National; Warwick—Centreville National, Phenix National; Westerly—Niantic National, Phenix National, Washington National; Woonsocket—Citizens' National, National Globe, Producers National, First National, National Union, Woonsocket National.

**SPRAGUE FAILURE**—Jay Cooke & Company of Philadelphia, with branches in other financial centres, failed in September, 1873. The house had been established in 1861, and as fiscal agent for the United States government during the Civil War had negotiated loans to the amount of \$2,000,000,000. The firm continued as one of the outstanding financial organizations of the country, with such clients as the Northern Pacific Railroad. The failure precipitated the national panic of 1873, in the course of which the deflation that should have accompanied gradually the reduction in prices following the war was accomplished almost at once. The A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company of Rhode Island suspended in October after a hopeless effort to maintain itself by extensive borrowing at interest rates that were almost prohibitive. The Spragues were not only the leading cotton textile manufacturers and finishers in Rhode Island, but their wealth had been invested liberally in other enterprises in the State, while outside it their textile mills and water rights extended from Maine to Georgia. The Spragues had expanded their business interests rapidly, using borrowed capital; they were enterprising and adventurous, and the name of one or the other brother, Amasa or William, appeared in most subscriptions for new companies. To them principally Providence owed the beginning of its street railway transportation. The Cooke failure had upset confidence, and interest rates advanced rapidly, the rates in 1873 being so high as twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty per cent. in Rhode Island. The Spragues had included with their investments, not only participation in enterprises that were profitable at the time, but also purchases of sites for factories which, in the legitimate development of their commanding position in Rhode Island as the centre of the textile industry, would have made them mas-

†Columbus Exchange Trust Company, 1930.

ters of the industry on a national basis. With their millions they seemed invincible, and the firm had behind it traditions of successful manufacturing through almost four generations. The appraisal of the Sprague holdings made after the assignment showed assets of \$19,495,000 and liabilities of \$11,475,000; but these were valuations based upon going enterprises. When, in the course of liquidation, mill property that had become idle in the depression that followed the panic was sold, the losses were tremendous. The failure was the worst in the history of Rhode Island, and in its wake carried other firms into bankruptcy, and inflicted losses from which the state made a very slow recovery.\*

Five Rhode Island banks were affected immediately. The Cranston Savings Bank suspended October 30, 1873; its principal assets included \$925,000 of Sprague notes without security, and \$375,000 of notes with security, the Sprague paper totalling \$1,300,000. The depositors eventually received dividends of approximately twenty-five per cent. The Franklin Savings Bank, with \$750,000 of Sprague notes, also failed. Three national banks, the Globe, First and Second, held Sprague notes amounting to approximately \$2,250,000. These banks were practically reorganized on the basis of capital stock reduction and assessment of stockholders to comply with the national bank requirement of double liability. The Globe National Bank reduced its capital stock fifty per cent., from \$600,000 to \$300,000, the holders including the state of Rhode Island, which had invested part of the permanent school fund in this bank. The Second National reduced its capital stock forty per cent., from \$500,000 to \$300,000; and the First National stock was reduced from \$600,000 to \$500,000. In the instance of banks prompt readjustments were necessary; hence the liquidation of the savings banks and drastic action by the national banks. As the liquidation of the Sprague property dragged on for a dozen years, however, and the estate was subjected to additional losses because of quarrels and expensive litigation in the courts of half a dozen states, it appeared that the banks fared as well almost in prompt reorganization as did those who delayed accepting the situation as practically hopeless from the beginning.

Other banks felt the Sprague failure not so severely as the five mentioned; but many failures of banks and other corporations in later years might be traced back to initial causes connected with the Sprague failure. One of the incidents of the failure was a shrinkage in land values; the valuation of the city of Providence decreased from \$123,628,800 in 1874 to \$115,581,700 in 1879, and did not regain the valuation of 1874 until 1885. In the course of litigation and liquidation the estate valued at \$19,000,000 in 1873 shrank to little more than \$2,000,000, which was not twenty per cent. of the liabilities listed as \$11,475,000 in 1873. The failure was accompanied by the closing of factories, and thousands were without employment and suffering from distress. At this period the city of Providence carried through the project known as the Brook Street improvement, whereby "Corky" Hill at the Fox Point end of the lower east side of the city was levelled, new street grades and drainage lines were established, and the earth taken out was dumped into the Seekonk at the east, thus forming Gano Street. The project furnished employment for many during the winter that was long remembered for its severity and the privations endured.

Immediate effects of the Sprague failure on banking appeared in the peremptory closing of two savings banks—the Franklin and Cranston, both of Providence—and the reorganization, with capital reduced to offset part of their losses, of three national banks—the First, Second and Globe, all of Providence. Business failures are attended always by cumulative as well as decisive distress, the latter immediate, the former eventual and consecutive, as creditors are weakened by insolvency of their debtors and the debtor-creditor pyramid is shaken at its base. Business failures are depressing, as well as distressing, because they destroy confidence, and that, in the last analysis, is the essence of sound credit relations. The Sprague insolvency astounded the nation because of its magnitude; it stunned Rhode Island and almost

\*See Chapters XXIII, XXIV, XXVI.

destroyed business enterprise. Stupendous as was the first shock of the suspension of the state's greatest commercial and industrial organization, blow followed blow, as failure followed failure and the Sprague estate evaporated. Banks and business houses felt the effect of depression, if not in some way involved in the failure as creditors of debtors who were involved. While not all of the failures in Rhode Island in the ten years following 1873 were attributable directly to the Sprague suspension, many were related to it, and most of the banks that were reorganized or liquidated traced the beginnings of their troubles to the chaos that followed 1873. The following banks, besides the two named above, were closed within ten years of the Sprague failure, while the Sprague estate was still being liquidated: Grocers' and Producers' Bank of Providence, failed 1878; Liberty Bank of Providence, closed 1883; Northern Bank of Providence, reorganized first and closed, 1882; Pawtuxet Bank of Providence, closed 1882; National Exchange Bank of Wakefield, 1879; Citizens Savings Institution of Woonsocket, 1882; Pascoag Savings Bank, 1883; Rhode Island Institution for Savings of Providence, 1883; Union Savings Bank of Providence, 1883.

The effect of the Sprague failure on banks, except the two savings banks that were forced into liquidation immediately, is illustrated by the vicissitudes of the Globe National Bank, which had been closely identified with Sprague enterprises and which held a large amount of Sprague notes. The capital stock was reduced one-half in April, 1877, to meet losses on the notes, which were then counted with assets as worth twenty-five per cent. of face value. Following this first assessment on stockholders of half their investment, a second assessment of \$15 per share was levied in 1881, when the Comptroller of the Currency ruled that the Sprague notes were worthless. The state of Rhode Island held 2000 shares of Globe National Bank stock as part of the securities in which it had invested the permanent school fund. The stock, with bonus, had cost \$101,008.19. The state holding was reduced to 1000 shares in 1877, which meant an immediate loss of \$50,000, and the General Assembly eventually paid an assessment of \$15,000 on the 1000 shares, making the state loss \$65,000. Governor Littlefield discussed the situation in his message to the General Assembly in 1881, and recommended, in 1882, that all investments in national bank stocks be changed "as soon as it can advantageously be done." The Governor's reason for the recommendation was given as possibility of assessment under the provisions of the federal banking law, which imposed double liability on stockholders, and although he professed "the utmost confidence in the national banking system as a method of doing the business for which it was established," he urged "that the school fund should, if possible, be placed beyond the risks attending the present form of investment." The Globe National Bank stock was sold in 1898 by order of Governor Dyer for \$66.25 per share, par value \$50, the state regaining thus enough to offset the assessment of \$15,000. At the same time all other national bank stocks held for the permanent school fund were sold, except those of the National Bank of Commerce, for which there was no market at the time, following a reduction of fifty per cent. in stock. The Globe National Bank went into liquidation in 1899; the National Bank of Commerce is in active business in 1930. The state loss on investments in bank stocks was \$50,487.32 from actual investment, plus 407 shares of National Bank of Commerce, of which the book value was \$20,350, making the total shrinkage \$70,837.32. Of this \$50,000 was chargeable directly to the Sprague failure and the Globe National Bank, and the balance was chargeable probably to the Sprague failure indirectly.

CONSOLIDATION OF BANKS—Two state banks were reorganized as national banks after 1866—the Rhode Island Union Bank of Newport as the Union National Bank, 1881, and the Atlantic Bank of Providence as the Atlantic National Bank, 1883. Besides those already named, the following state and national banks were closed before 1900:‡ Coventry National Bank of Anthony, closed 1885; Cumberland National Bank, closed 1885; Scituate National Bank, closed 1889; Bank of America of Providence, liquidated 1890, business taken over

‡Charters expired; the banks did not seek renewal.

by Bank of America Loan and Trust Company; Union Bank of Providence, liquidated 1890; Butchers' and Drovers' Bank of Providence, liquidated 1890; State Bank of Providence, liquidated 1893; Limerock National Bank of Providence, liquidated 1894; Jackson Bank of Providence, liquidated 1895; Traders' National Bank of Providence, liquidated 1896; Globe National Bank of Providence, liquidated 1899. While the reasons for some of the liquidation of banks were bad investments, other reasons were: (1) the slow recovery of business confidence after the Sprague disaster and its attendant train of failures; (2) an excessive number of banks, and competition because of it, which tended to reduce the earnings of bank capital; (3) discovery in actual practice that the deposit of bonds of the United States to guaranty currency tended to reduce the working capital of banks;\* (4) increasing deposits, in volume sufficient to suggest the feasibility of conducting a banking business in loans and discounts profitably without recourse to currency; (5) rise of the state-chartered trust companies,† which, because not hampered by the restrictions imposed on national banks as to the nature of investments, and of privileges not granted to earlier state banks, were becoming active and successful competitors of national banks and state banks of the old type.

Three movements followed a critical survey of the banking situation: (1) Transformation of national banks into trust companies; (2) consolidation of national banks with a tendency to reduction in capital commensurate inversely with an estimate of overcapitalization, and (3) absorption of national banks by trust companies. Wakefield National Bank became Wakefield Trust Company, 1890; Manufacturers' National Bank of Providence, the Manufacturers' Trust Company, 1898; Phenix National Bank of Phenix, the Phenix Trust Company, 1899; Slater National Bank of Pawtucket, the Slater Trust Company, 1900; Washington National Bank of Westerly, the Washington Trust Company, 1902; National Landholders' Bank of South Kingstown, the Kingston Trust Company, 1905. Rhode Island National Bank, National Eagle Bank, Second National Bank, and Fifth National Bank, all of Providence, became United National Bank, 1901; United National Bank absorbed Fourth National Bank, 1907; Providence National Bank absorbed Merchants' National Bank, 1928, removing from its old location on South Main Street to the banking house of the Merchants' Bank temporarily, while a new building for the Providence Bank was in process of construction. The Industrial Trust Company absorbed First National Bank and National Eagle Bank of Bristol, National Bank of Rhode Island of Newport, First National Bank and Pacific National Bank of Pawtucket, Third National Bank and Roger Williams National Bank of Providence, and Woonsocket National Bank, all in 1900; Pascoag National Bank, 1901; Wickford National Bank and First National Bank of Woonsocket, 1902; National Hope Bank of Warren and National Warren Bank, National Niantic Bank of Westerly, 1904; Old National Bank of Providence, 1906; United National Bank, 1916; National Exchange Bank of Providence, 1926. The Union Trust Company absorbed City National Bank of Providence, 1899; Commercial National Bank of Providence, 1903; Weybosset National Bank of Providence, 1904. Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company absorbed First National Bank of Providence, 1904; American National Bank of Providence, 1906; Producers' National Bank of Woonsocket, 1926. Other absorptions were: National Bank of Woonsocket, by Woonsocket Trust Company, 1915; Phenix National Bank of Westerly, by Washington Trust Company, 1892; Greenwich National Bank, by Manufacturers' Trust Company, 1900; First National Bank of Newport, by Newport Trust Company, 1905. Aquidneck National and National Exchange Bank of Newport consolidated 1926, as Aquidneck National Exchange Bank and Savings Company. The following national and state banks were closed: Atlantic National of Providence, receivership 1913; Union National Bank of Newport, liquidation, 1912, absorbed by Aquidneck National Bank; National Bank of North

\**Vide supra.*

†*Vide infra.*

America, liquidation, 1904; Merchants' Bank of Newport, hopelessly insolvent, 1902; New England Commercial Bank of Newport, voluntary liquidation, 1914; Westminster Bank of Providence, voluntary liquidation, 1924; Citizens' National Bank of Woonsocket, receivership, 1928. National banks operating in Rhode Island in 1930 were: Aquidneck National Exchange Bank of Newport, Ashaway National Bank of Hopkinton, Blackstone Canal National Bank of Providence, Centreville National Bank, First National Bank of Smithfield (Slatersville), Mechanics' National Bank of Providence, National Bank of Commerce of Providence, National Exchange Bank of Smithfield (Greenville), National Globe Bank of Woonsocket, Newport National Bank, Phenix National Bank of Providence, and Providence National Bank.

RISE OF TRUST COMPANIES—The Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company, first of the fourth\* type of Rhode Island banks, was chartered in May, 1867. It was authorized to receive money on deposit at interest and to invest it at the discretion of the directors. In lieu of taxation, and until a competing trust company was chartered, it was required to pay one-third of its net income over six per cent. to the Rhode Island Hospital, whence the name. Twenty per cent. of its capital must be invested in bonds of Rhode Island, other New England states, New York or the United States, and deposited with the General Treasurer, in lieu of other bonds if the company were appointed executor, administrator, guardian, assignee or receiver. The same deposit relieved individuals acting as trustees in the capacities indicated from personal liability for trust funds deposited with the company. The Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company received savings deposits and sight deposits subject to check, paying interest on both, and carried on a general loan and discount business, but did not issue currency. The offer of interest on checking accounts made the company a vigorous competitor of the new national banks for deposits, and furnished the trust company, through both savings and sights deposits, immediately with a ready-money capital for its loan and discount business.

A second trust company, the State Trust and Deposit Company of Providence, was chartered in 1870, but never engaged in business. The Mutual Trust and Deposit Company of Providence was chartered in 1883; the name was changed to Bank of America Loan and Trust Company in 1890, when the company acquired the assets of the Bank of America, then in liquidation, and a second time to Union Trust Company, in 1894. The Industrial Trust Company was chartered in 1886. These three trust companies—Hospital, Industrial and Union—were in active business in 1930. Other trust companies chartered before 1890 were not favored by good fortune. The Fidelity Loan and Trust Company, 1886, changed its name to Pawtucket Loan and Trust Company in 1888, but did not engage in business. The Rhode Island Mortgage and Trust Company, 1887, went into liquidation in 1901; the Mercantile Trust Company, 1888, went into voluntary liquidation in 1897; and the Newport Safe Deposit and Trust Company, 1889, never engaged in business. Other trust companies that did not engage in business were chartered as follows: City, 1897; Eastern, 1903; Equitable, 1894; Equitable, 1903;† Exchange, 1906; Federal, 1907; Globe, 1893; International, 1902; Merchants', 1903; Narragansett, 1902; United States, 1902, all of Providence, besides the Citizens' of Newport, 1906, later known as the Island Savings Bank and Trust Company; Westerly of Westerly, 1899; William Ellery of Newport, 1906; Woonsocket Loan and Trust Company, 1893; and Woonsocket Safe Deposit and Trust Company, 1892.

The activity of trust companies in absorbing national banks and savings banks has been noted. Trust companies were absorbed by trust companies as follows: Manufacturers' of Providence, chartered 1898, absorbed by Union, 1906; Slater of Pawtucket, chartered 1900, absorbed by Industrial, 1922; Warren, chartered 1891, absorbed by Industrial, 1904. The following trust companies were in active business in 1905: Central of Providence, 1900;

\*State bank 1, savings bank 2, national bank 3, trust company 4.

†A second company with the same name.



HOME OF THE INDUSTRIAL TRUST COMPANY, PROVIDENCE'S NEWEST SKYSCRAPER

The lantern can be seen at night in every corner of Rhode Island. The building in the background at the right is the Union Trust Building, completed and occupied in 1901, and then the tallest building in the State. In front is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Insert—Building removed to make way for the Industrial Trust Building. It was one of the first iron-framed buildings in New England, built in 1876, and in its day was notable as a fine type.



Colonial of Providence, 1905; Italo-American of Providence, 1904; Kingston, 1905; New England, 1902; Newport, 1901; Pawtucket, 1903; Pawtucket Safe Deposit and Trust Company, 1891; Phenix of Phenix, 1899; Producers' of Woonsocket, 1901; Rhode Island Hospital Industrial and Union; Wakefield, 1890; Washington of Westerly, 1902.‡

A sharp turn in the New York stock market, in 1907, actually the springing of a trap set for Charles W. Morse and his associates, including Marsden J. Perry, then President of the Union Trust Company, was analyzed in Rhode Island as indicating serious losses, and precipitated a run on the Union Trust Company, which closed its doors after two days in order to conserve the interests of depositors, customers and stockholders. Receivers were appointed; an examination of the assets showed that the bank was solvent eventually, although it held securities that must be sold at a loss if liquidation were forced. Eventually a plan was adopted and approved by most depositors, under the provisions of which assets were classified as quick and reserve, and the depositors accepted assignable deferred rights against the reserve assets. The bank redeemed all of its obligations in shorter time than the period named in the deferred rights, and resumed business. But public confidence in the banks had been shaken by the disclosed weakness of the Union Trust Company, and an examination of other banks was made.

The General Assembly appointed a Bank Commissioner, with supervisory powers over all banking institutions chartered by the State. Other banks and trust companies were forced into liquidation at the same period as follows: Central Trust of Providence, chartered 1900, permanent receivership 1909; New England Trust of Providence, chartered 1902, receivership 1908; Pawtucket, chartered 1903, closed 1908; Kingston Savings Bank, chartered 1855, closed temporarily 1909, and absorbed 1912 by People's Savings Bank (depositors paid 100 per cent.). The Atlantic National Bank passed into a receivership in 1913, the reason for failure being imprudent loans; and the Union National Bank of Newport closed in 1912. The Italo-American Trust Company, chartered 1904, became the Cosmopolitan Trust in 1919; the bank was in serious financial straits late in 1923, and was reorganized in 1924 as the Lincoln Trust Company. Kingston Trust Company, chartered 1905, passed into receivership in 1925. Producers' Trust of Woonsocket, chartered 1901, went into voluntary liquidation in 1921. The following trust companies have not been in active business. Colonial of Providence, chartered 1905, charter forfeited 1919; Providence Trust, chartered 1890, and People's Trust of Providence, chartered 1893. The following trust companies were in active business in 1930: Greenville (chartered 1928), Industrial, Lincoln, Newport, Phenix, Rhode Island Hospital, Union, Wakefield, Washington, Woonsocket (chartered 1912), and Pawtucket Safe Deposit and Trust Company.

**PRESENT BANKING ORGANIZATION**—The following exposition of the present organization of the trust companies of Rhode Island becomes necessary to correct the erroneous impression that the story of consolidation of financial interests related in the preceding paragraph gives of unsoundness and failure. The Industrial Trust Company, besides its principal central banking business in Providence, conducts branch banks in Newport, Woonsocket, Bristol, Warren, Pascoag, Wickford, Westerly, East Providence, two in Pawtucket, and four in Providence, a total of fifteen banking houses. Greenville Trust Company has branches at Esmond and Centredale. Rhode Island Hospital Trust has branch banks in Pawtucket and Woonsocket, and three in Providence. Union Trust Company has branches at Arctic, East Greenwich, and Woonsocket, and two in Providence. Columbus Exchange Trust Company operates four banking houses in Providence. The twelve trust companies operate forty-one banking houses. Their resources are \$334,000,000, as compared with \$184,000,000 in savings banks, \$7,000,000 in state banks and \$61,000,000 in national banks, or fifty-seven per cent. of the \$586,000,000 banking resources of Rhode Island. Other banking institutions include two state banks—

‡Columbus Exchange Bank became a trust company in 1930; as did High Street Bank.

High Street and Dante—and eight building loan associations—Coats of Pawtucket, East Greenwich, Newport Coöperative, Old Colony Coöperative of Providence, Roger Williams, and Telephone Workers' of Providence, Westerly and Woonsocket; six loan and investment companies—Cranston, and Alliance Finance, Guaranty Loan, Morris Plan, Rhode Island Discount, and Washington Finance, all of Providence; eleven credit unions—Central Falls, Providence, Manville, Pawtucket, Providence Lodge, Novelty Park of Pawtucket, Peoples' of Newport, Providence Postal Employes, Railway Express Employes of Providence, Textile Workers of Pawtucket, and Telephone Workers of Providence.

The distribution of banks in 1930 was: Bristol—Industrial Trust branch; Burrillville—Industrial Trust branch at Pascoag; East Greenwich—Union Trust branch; East Providence—Industrial Trust branch; Hopkinton—Ashaway National Bank; Newport—Aquidneck National Exchange Bank, Newport National Bank, Industrial Trust branch, Savings Bank of Newport; North Kingstown—Industrial Trust branch, Wickford Savings Bank; North Providence—Greenville Trust branch at Centredale; North Smithfield—First National Bank at Slatersville; Pawtucket—Industrial Trust, two branches, Rhode Island Hospital Trust branch, Pawtucket Safe Deposit and Trust Company, Pawtucket Institution for Savings; Providence—Blackstone Canal National Bank, Mechanics' National Bank, National Bank of Commerce, Phenix National Bank, Providence National Bank, Industrial Trust and branches at Washington Park, Atwell's Avenue and Elmwood besides Exchange branch, Rhode Island Hospital Trust and East Side, West Side and Smith's Hill branches, Union Trust and branches at Olneyville and Hopkins Square, Lincoln Trust, High Street Bank, Dante Bank, Columbus Exchange Trust Company with branches on Westminster Street, Atwell's Avenue, Governor Street and Charles Street, Citizens' Savings Bank, Gorham Savings Bank, People's Savings Bank, Providence Institution for Savings (Old Stone Bank) with branches at Olneyville, and Aborn-Empire Streets; Smithfield—National Exchange at Greenville, Greenville Trust with branch at Esmond; South Kingstown—Wakefield Trust Company, branch of People's Savings Bank at Kingston; Warren—Industrial Trust branch; West Warwick—Centreville National Bank, Phenix Trust, Union Trust branch at Arctic, Centreville Savings Bank; Westerly—Washington Trust, Industrial Trust branch; Woonsocket—National Globe Bank, Industrial Trust branch, Hospital Trust branch, Union Trust branch, Woonsocket Trust, Woonsocket Institution for Savings.

MAGNIFICANCE REPLACES SHABBY GENTILITY—A banker from Kansas, who visited Providence in 1902 and who was being shown places of interest asked: "Where are the banks?" He was taken to several Providence banks, including the quarters occupied in 1902 by three leading trust companies, but was so little impressed that he asked questions with a patronizing manner, about capital and resources. It developed that he was amazed at what, from his midwestern point of view, he considered the humble and unpretentious type of banking house in Rhode Island. Yet the three trust companies, in 1902, occupied buildings that were among the "show places" in Rhode Island, though not one of them, in 1902, was so large or so finely appointed as the more recent buildings. On the basis of capital and resources, his Kansas bank was a very small institution if compared with any one of a dozen banks in Rhode Island in 1902; yet no Rhode Island bank at that time occupied quarters so large, so imposing, so well equipped and so attractively decorated as his bank in Kansas.

Could the Kansan visit Bank Street (which well might be the name given to Westminster Street east of Dorrance Street) in 1930, he would be more intrigued than he had been in 1902, as he looked into the imposing banking rooms of the Hospital Trust, the massive arcade at the Industrial Trust, and the beautifully embellished enlarged Union Trust; or into the new and finely appointed quarters of the Phenix National, National Bank of Commerce, and the Providence Bank, the last in a new building of colonial type reminiscent of its old quarters

on South Main Street and befitting the home of the oldest bank in Rhode Island. The classic marble front of the People's Savings Bank on Market Square would entice him to visit the fine interior; he would wish also to pass through the arcade of the Aborn-Empire Street branch of the Providence Institution for Savings, with its beautiful murals picturing the story of Rhode Island ships and shipping, and to enter the fine building of the Citizens' Savings Bank on the site of the famous Hoyle Tavern. The type of branch building located in various parts of the state is attractive and usually adds distinction to the neighborhood in which it is placed. The Kansan might believe in 1930 that Rhode Island banks had taken on the appearance of the prosperity which their reports indicate, in contrast with their almost shabby gentility of 1902.

**COMMERCIAL BANKING**—The development of commercial banking in Rhode Island has witnessed the rise of a distinctly modern type of bank and distinctly modern banking practices. One hundred forty years ago, when the Providence bank was chartered, one of the most significant purposes was provision of a "medium of exchange" for the lively business of the town and state. The authority to issue paper currency was one of two important prerogatives of the bank, the other being summary legal process for collecting debts, known as "bank process." The paper currency was almost necessary if trade and commerce were to rise superior to the limitations of barter, because (1) of the small volume of specie, and (2) the need for specie in foreign trade. Paper currency guaranteed by men of the type who projected the Providence Bank was welcomed in Rhode Island. The currency issued by Rhode Island banks was intended principally for circulation in the state, and as a medium for the loan and discount business which was the most important source of bank profits. The currency was acceptable as money because of the guarantors and because of ease of redemption. The earliest banks were provided with very modest capital, and in several instances the reputed capital was represented by notes of stockholders, or if specie had been paid in as capital it was withdrawn subsequently and replaced by stockholders' notes. The stability of some banks, including the Providence Bank, rested upon the possession of actual capital, in the form of specie or the notes issued by the United States government pursuant to Hamilton's policy of assumption of the Revolutionary debt of the states. Assuming fictitious or manipulated capital, however, the stockholders became guarantors or underwriters of liability for deposits and for currency issued by the banks as well as other liabilities. Deposits relatively were small, for the banks had few customers with accumulated free capital; there could be few in a period in which the building of industrial plants and the financing of manufacturing processes rapidly exhausted credit, and the banks had not learned ways of making banking attractive to large numbers of individuals with small means. In many banks the depositors were, for the most part, stockholders who, having withdrawn the specie contributed as capital, deposited it in the bank, thus increasing both the liabilities of the bank and its resources, according to the point of view. The almost exclusively credit nature of the business of the banks before the Civil War is indicated by the expansion of loans and discounts, the steady increase in issues of currency, and the comparatively slight change in the volume of specie held by the banks. Paper currency issued by Rhode Island banks circulated freely without depreciation because of faith in the soundness of the banks, and the provision made by associations of bankers for prompt redemption. Occasionally, a bank failure, or the exposure of fraud or premeditated fraud, focused attention on banks and banking, and led to supervision or other regulation by the state. For the most part, however, there was little public restriction of the activities of banks in Rhode Island, and the period preceding the Civil War may be characterized as one of free commercial banking conducted by corporations chartered by the General Assembly, and regulated principally by recourse to legal remedies and court action under common law or general statutes.

The chartering of national banks, involving the reorganization of most and eventually the closing of all state banks except the now century old High Street Bank in Providence, marked a period of transition rather than a permanent phase in Rhode Island banking. The essential departures in the national plan from the practices of state banks were: (1) rigid supervision and inspection by agents of the United States treasury, including periodic examinations and listing of assets at values established by the Comptroller of the Currency; (2) double liability of stockholders, leading, in the instance of most national banks, to the accumulation of surplus equalling capital, or division of actual capital as fifty per cent. nominal capital and fifty per cent. reserve; (3) currency restricted to ninety per cent. of the par value of bonds of the United States deposited in Washington, the currency being printed by the federal government and redemption guaranteed by the federal government. State bank currency was driven from circulation by the levying of a heavy tax; this measure constrained state banks depending for profit principally upon currency either to enter the national banking system or to liquidate. Besides that, the new national bank currency issued by Rhode Island national banks exceeded the volume of state bank currency before 1865 by almost thirty-three per cent., and furnished for the time being all the needs for a medium of exchange which had been one of the reasons for the development of state banks. The profit arising from exchanging United States bonds for currency diminished as the bonds increased in market value or yielded lower interest rates as refunding series were issued, and Rhode Island bankers were quick to perceive that the capital invested in bonds and thus transferred practically to the quiet of the vaults of the United States treasury decreased the working capital of Rhode Island banks and the volume of loans and discounts that could be made with the same amount of capital.\* Moreover, the prosperity of savings banks had demonstrated the availability of working capital in the form of deposits that could be used to advantage in a commercial loan and discount business, and currency was becoming less and less profitable as the United States, after the war, achieved a national monetary system including a medium of exchange of ample volume. These were the factors that tended to limit to thirty-five years the period of the national bank as the predominant type of commercial bank, and to lead to the consolidation of national banks and their absorption by trust companies until in 1930 the number surviving had been reduced from sixty-three to twelve: (1) Decreasing profit in issuing currency as a banking function, and demonstration by trust companies that commercial banking without the currency function may be profitable; (2) recognition of overcapitalization of national banks as measured by the volume of loan and discount business related to working capital and the small dividends earned on the capital invested; (3) increasing volume of a surplus (excess of earnings over cost of living) in the hands of thousands of individuals, which, if attracted to banks in the form of deposits may be made a part of a bank's working capital as deposits exceed a reasonable reserve for withdrawals; (4) demonstration by the trust companies that banking based on a working capital consisting largely of deposits may be made highly profitable. The first Rhode Island trust company was incorporated within two years of the incorporation of the first national bank; and as the two systems—national bank and trust company—developed through the same period, there was no possibility of mistaking advantage for the latter.

As already indicated the genius of the trust company, or the banking institution dominating the third period of Rhode Island commercial banking, lies in the attraction of depositors and deposits, the latter to furnish a volume of ready-money working capital. Deposits are of two types—participation or savings deposits at a stipulated interest rate, usually the same as that paid by savings banks, received under much the same conditions and subject to practices similar to those prevailing in savings banks; and deposits subject to check or withdrawal at sight. On sight deposits interest may be paid at low rates upon the maintenance of stipulated daily balances; on deposits of small amounts interest seldom is paid, the depositor accepting

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\**Vide supra.*

the service of the bank in keeping his account and according him checking privileges as ample returns for his deposit. As banking accommodations have become more liberal, older rules requiring maintenance of stipulated balances as condition for the checking privilege have been abated. Eventually, however, the banks found that the carrying of large numbers of small accounts had become expensive because of the cost of bookkeeping, clerical and other service, including the printing of checks and other stationery (supplied by the banks), and in 1925 a service charge of one dollar per month was imposed on active checking accounts of depositors who fail to maintain through the month daily balances of at least one hundred dollars.

The volume of the checking business is indicated by the reports of the clearing house maintained by the banks for the purpose of adjusting daily balances between banks with the least possible transfer of actual money. The Providence clearing house reported annual exchanges, which at five-year periods are as follows: 1889, \$261,600,000; 1893, \$282,500,000; 1898, \$265,500,000; 1903, \$357,300,000; 1908, \$337,500,000; 1913, \$426,500,000; 1918, \$594,100,000; 1923, \$633,100,000; 1928, \$813,885,000. In forty years exchanges have more than trebled. Clearing house exchanges are regarded usually as reliable indices of general business conditions. In the series as given the years 1898 and 1908 are exceptions to the general rule of increase; business disturbances in 1898 produced an extraordinary number of bankruptcies throughout the United States in that year; in 1908 Rhode Island experienced a number of bank failures following the temporary discomfiture of the Union Trust Company. The building of branch banks within communities, such as the East Side, West Side and Smith's Hill branches of the Hospital Trust, or the Hopkins Square and Olneyville branches of the Union Trust, or the Washington Park, Elmwood and Atwell's Avenue branches of the Industrial Trust, or the Atwell's Avenue, Governor Street and Charles Street branches of the Columbus Exchange Trust, and the two city branches of the Providence Institution for Savings, is part of a banking service maintained as much for the purpose of attracting depositors as for the accommodation of customers. With accumulation of deposits one of the most important factors determining working capital, the central banks have justified branch banks within the home city and branch banks located in other communities, such as the far-flung system of the Industrial Trust, swinging in a circle about Providence from Newport, through Bristol, Warren, East Providence, Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Pascoag, Westerly and Wickford. Yet another purpose achieved by the branch bank is an economy in bookkeeping by the division of accounts; in this respect it is paralleled by the practices of central banks with large numbers of depositors in maintaining "banks within the bank," or classifying accounts and settling balances between divisions at the end of the banking day. Similarly in large banks the time-honored separation of receiving and paying teller is abandoned, and each teller becomes a "banker" for the day, receiving and paying money through the same wicket. Bookkeeping in banks is simplified by use of cards or looseleaf devices, and the introduction of machines of various types for calculating and recording. Withal, through the device of sight deposits and checking, the banks furnish a service for credit exchange with slight demand for actual currency.

The clearing house report of \$813,885,000 exchanges in 1928 may be interpreted as meaning that credits for that amount of money were achieved practically without the use of specie; for such purposes bank checks had served as media of exchange. A summary of the condition of Rhode Island trust companies for June 29, 1929, included deposits of \$283,743,517.74 among total liabilities of \$333,735,506.18. Capital stock, surplus, guaranty fund and undivided earnings, that is, the trust companies' own or invested money—amounted to \$34,178,707.21, or approximately little more than one-tenth of deposits. In large part, therefore, the extensive banking business carried on by trust companies rests upon deposits, which may be withdrawn, and in that sense are not, strictly speaking, subject to control. In other words, much of modern banking credit rests upon resources that are entrusted to the banks by depositors; the

number of participation deposits in 1929 was 188,286. Or, as compared with early commercial banking, the twentieth century system differs essentially in the number of persons who have enlisted to establish a banking credit system—from the small number of enterprising business men whose names were synonymous for credit a century and a quarter ago, to the multitude who now furnish banks with working capital by depositing their savings. The principles of sound banking have not changed with the variations in practice—it is still the function of the banker to select with care debtors who offer adequate security or whose character and ability identify them as first-class risks. The assets of the Rhode Island trust companies in 1929 included \$7,000,000 cash, \$20,000,000 due from other banks, \$52,000,000 public securities, \$42,000,000 bonds, \$21,000,000 stocks, \$67,000,000 mortgages, \$56,000,000 loans on collateral, and \$59,000,000 other loans. Dividends amounted to \$6,327,206.78. State banks and trust companies are subject to legislation regulating reserves and investments in quick and reserve assets, and are under rigid supervision and subject to examination by the Bank Commissioner. Except in the instance of banks in liquidation because of the financial troubles of 1907, which led to the creation of the office of Bank Commissioner and the enactment of a code of state banking laws, depositors, while subject to temporary embarrassment by suspension, have suffered no losses even by reason of liquidation of banks under state supervision, and stockholders have been well protected. Thus it must be while so much depends upon the confidence of depositors, who number close to 400,000 and who have entrusted \$460,000,000 to productive funds of the banks.

**INSURANCE COMPANIES**—The first incorporated insurance companies in Rhode Island were the Providence Insurance Company and the Newport Insurance Company, both of which were chartered in 1799. Long before that time, certainly so early as 1756, when the name of Stephen Hopkins was associated with “a system of insurance policies highly appreciated by the merchants,” private underwriters were active in obtaining individual subscribers to agreements to pay shares of losses in return for participation in the distribution of premiums. The Rhode Island practice resembled closely that at the Lloyds coffee house in London of underwriting and buying and selling marine risks, which preceded the organization of insurance companies. John Mason, Joseph Lawrence, John Gerrish and Henry Paget, perhaps others, conducted insurance offices in Rhode Island in the eighteenth century. The early underwriting, as at Lloyds, was almost exclusively of marine risks and the first two Rhode Island companies engaged in marine insurance. The first Rhode Island fire insurance company was the Providence Mutual, which was chartered in 1800 and is in active business in 1930.

An early close association of insurance and banking appears from the facts that the Providence Insurance Company bought stock in the Providence Bank, holding 150 shares in 1814, and that the Newport Bank, chartered in 1803, was authorized to organize the Rhode Island Insurance Company, which was to become a subscriber for half of the capital stock of the bank. The Exchange Bank of Providence was chartered in 1801 in connection with the organization of the Washington Insurance Company after the latter had rejected overtures for association with the Providence Bank on the same terms as the Providence Insurance Company. Similar relations and associations of banks and insurance companies appeared in Bristol and Warren, and later in the instance of the Bank of Commerce and the Merchants' Insurance Company, both of Providence and both chartered in 1851. The Providence Insurance and Washington Insurance companies refused to underwrite insurance on vessels engaged in the slave trade; the reason may have been extra hazardous occupation quite as well as opposition to slavery, against which there was a strong sentiment in Providence. The Bristol Insurance Company, Captain James De Wolf,\* President, was not so scrupulous; nineteen of the forty-five marine policies known to have been issued by the company covered voyages to the

\*Later Senator De Wolf. He was engaged in the slave trade, and during the War of 1812 fitted out privateers.

coast of Africa and return to the West Indies. Besides the companies mentioned, other early companies were Warren Insurance Company, 1800; Hope Insurance Company of Providence, 1804; Mount Hope of Bristol, 1805; Marine of Providence, 1807; Union of Warren, 1807; Marine of Newport, 1811, and another company of the same name, also of Newport, 1815; Peace, Union and Commercial, all of Providence, 1815; Eagle of Providence, 1817; Columbian Fire and Providence Fire of Providence, Ocean of Newport, Bristol Marine, 1818; Hopkinton Horse, 1818, and Kent Horse, 1819; Providence Marine, 1821. The Providence and Washington companies consolidated as the Providence-Washington in 1820. Most of the early companies were marine companies. The Marine of Providence, 1807, was authorized to underwrite any legal risk, and the Marine of Newport, 1807, might insure lives, houses, vessels and all other legal risks. The first horse insurance companies, 1818 and 1819, protected against loss by theft. Early in the nineteenth century Rhode Island insurance companies sought business beyond the borders of the state, and extra-state companies established agencies in Rhode Island, among them the Phoenix Assurance Company of London, England, 1805; and the Aetna and Hartford, both of Connecticut.

The Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1835 on the initiative of Zachariah Allen, who had introduced fire-resisting construction, a fire pump and fire hose, and a central heating and ventilating plant, instead of shop stoves, in his cotton factory at Allendale. When fire insurance companies refused a lower rate because of the reduced risk, Mr. Allen introduced the mutual principle of joint underwriting. Additional to obtaining lower rates because of reduced risk, an extension of the principle established by Mr. Allen has led in modern insurance practice to introduction of standard fireproof and fire-resisting construction, to provision of fire-fighting apparatus in factories, to equipment with sprinklers, to inspection of factories and to careful surveys of premises for the establishment of preferential ratings for reduced premiums, with emphasis on safeguarding against fire as better than insurance against losses. Other successful mill mutual fire insurance companies, of type similar to the Manufacturers' of Rhode Island, and all in active business in 1930, were established as follows: Rhode Island, 1848; Firemen's, 1854; State, 1855; Blackstone, 1868; Mechanics', 1871; What Cheer, 1873; Merchants', 1874; Enterprise, 1874; Hope, 1875; American, 1877; Mercantile, 1884. Six of these companies—The American, Enterprise, Manufacturers', Mechanics', Rhode Island and State—for many years have been so closely associated as to occupy the same quarters and to elect the same administrative officers. They constitute a thoroughly organized association of mill mutual insurance companies. The Union Mutual, chartered in 1863, underwrote principally insurance on dwellings and furniture; it has been associated with the Firemen's. Other associations occur in the instances of the Blackstone and Merchants', Hope and What Cheer, Mercantile and Narragansett, the last named chartered in 1894. Other successful mutual fire insurance companies, operating on the mutual principle of distributing profits as rebates on premiums, include the Providence Mutual of 1800, the Tiverton and Little Compton of 1865, the Pawtucket of 1844, the Patrons' Fire Relief Association of Kingston, chartered in 1900. The Franklin Mutual of 1854 was discontinued after sixty years of active business. The Automobile Mutual, 1907, and American Motors Mutual, 1917, are the most youthful mutual companies engaged in active business in 1930. The mutual companies in their reports to the Insurance Commissioner for 1929 showed \$59,000,000 of admitted and \$175,000,000 of contingent assets, with \$21,000,000 of liabilities and \$38,000,000 of surplus. They underwrote \$474,000,000 of insurance in Rhode Island in 1929, on which they collected \$3,500,000 premiums.

The great Chicago fire of 1871 and the great Boston fire of 1872 wrought havoc among Rhode Island stock insurance companies. The Chicago fire crippled the American, 1837; the Roger Williams, 1848; the Atlantic Fire and Marine, 1852, which was completely reorganized

with new capital; the Hope, 1858, and the Providence-Washington, 1799. The capital of the Providence-Washington was exhausted when the company had paid the losses incurred because of the Chicago fire, but fresh capital was obtained, and the company was reorganized in 1872. The Boston fire crippled the Narragansett Fire and Marine Insurance Company, 1859, and inflicted heavy losses on other Rhode Island companies. The Chicago and Boston fire losses were so serious as to discourage investment in insurance stock, and no stock companies were organized in Rhode Island for thirty-five years thereafter, the first being the Rhode Island, incorporated 1905, which began business in 1907. The Providence-Washington, 1799; Merchants', 1851, and Equitable, 1859, were the only Rhode Island stock insurance companies of the nineteenth century that continued business into the twentieth century. The Merchants' went into liquidation, which was almost complete by the end of 1917. The active stock insurance companies of 1930 include the Providence-Washington, the Equitable, and the Rhode Island; a new company bearing the name of the old Merchants', and the Anchor and the Guaranty. The stock companies were capitalized at \$8,250,000, and had admitted assets of \$45,000,000, liabilities of \$16,000,000 and surplus of \$21,000,000. Of Rhode Island insurance the stock companies underwrote \$147,000,000 in 1929, on which they collected premiums amounting to \$500,000.

Several Rhode Island companies chartered for life insurance have left no record of having actually engaged in business. The Economical Mutual Life Insurance Company, chartered 1866, transferred its business in 1874 to the Republic Life Insurance Company of Chicago, which failed in 1875. The Columbia Life Assurance Company, chartered 1892, transferred its policies and assets early in 1894 to the Commercial Alliance Life Insurance Company of New York, which failed in October of the same year. None of these companies was founded on sound actuarial principles. The period witnessed the founding, and also the collapse or insolvency, of many companies offering life insurance at rates that could be maintained only in the period of constant and rapid increase in the number of policyholders; and the records of these life companies were paralleled by equally unsound fraternal and beneficial insurance schemes. The Puritan Life Insurance Company, chartered in 1907, when life insurance principles were better understood, is the only Rhode Island life company writing life insurance in 1930.

State supervision of insurance companies, Rhode Island as well as extra-state and foreign companies, doing business in Rhode Island was introduced in 1859, and entrusted to a commission of three members, one of whom was the State Auditor. Later the commission was abolished, and the State Auditor became Insurance Commissioner, and continued as such until the State Auditor's office was abolished in 1929. The Insurance Commissioner continues in 1930 as head of an independent department.

The Providence Steam and Gas Pipe Company was organized in 1850, its business including, besides other pipe installation and pipe fitting, the building of sprinkler pipe systems in mills, factories and warehouses. The primitive sprinkler was a perforated water pipe located near the ceiling of a room, and connected with a supply pipe, through which water could be forced by pumping or other pressure into the sprinkler. The control was by valves operated by hand; in the instance of a system equipped with a high tank or other reservoir, the sprinklers were fed by gravity when the valves were opened. In other systems the supply pipe was or could be connected with a pump. Frederick Grinnell, who purchased an interest in the Providence Steam and Gas Pipe Company in 1869, experimented with various types of devices intended to improve the sprinkler system, including the water-joint sprinkler invented by Henry S. Parmelee in 1874, which operated when a cap covering a reaction turbine was released by the melting of solder at 155-160 degrees Fahrenheit. Mr. Grinnell in May, 1882, invented a new sprinkling device, which operated when released by the melting of a metal alloy sensitive at a lower temperature. He thus produced an entirely automatic device, which went into action quickly when the temperature of a room was raised above the normal safety

point. The Grinnell sprinkler was recognized immediately as a most important accessory for extinguishing fires in the incipient stage, and was almost universally adopted. Mr. Grinnell organized the General Fire Extinguisher Company of Rhode Island in 1892, with offices in the larger American cities. Incidentally, the introduction of the Grinnell Sprinkler led to the development of a new type of insurance—against loss by sprinklers. The underwriters of Providence, in 1875, organized the first of two quasi-public fire companies, known as "Protectives." The function of the Protectives, who were housed centrally on Richmond Street, was to respond to all alarms of fire, and to undertake to reduce losses incidental to the use of water as an extinguisher, by covering property as protection against wetting by dripping. The Protectives also removed water from a building so soon as possible after a fire, removed property against loss by theft, and covered property against further loss from exposure to weather. The Protectives, through a career of nearly fifty years, were maintained by the underwriters. Rhode Island's interest in reducing fire losses has extended to teaching fire prevention in the public schools as a part of the required curriculum for one hour per month. The Commissioner of Education has published for distribution in the public schools a pamphlet on safeguarding the home against fire, a course of study in fire prevention, and a uniform code for fire drills, through which pupils and teachers are taught to leave schoolhouses quickly and by orderly procession on the sounding of an alarm of fire. A statute enacted in 1929 required the placing of a fire alarm box in every schoolhouse.

Insurance had passed through the era in which the courts of England refused to enforce contracts for insurance as wagers, when enterprising Rhode Islanders began to organize banks and insurance companies as the earliest types of business corporations—the first for accumulating capital and credit to promote commercial enterprises and the second for relieving adventurous merchants of the hazards of total losses of their argosies. As in England, the earliest insurance was marine; fire insurance won its way gradually to recognition, and in Rhode Island particularly assumed a characteristic form through the Allen type of mutual company. The Allen Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and the Grinnell sprinkler rank as Rhode Island's most important nineteenth century contribution to insurance.

Life insurance, the third important form in the nineteenth century, was carried by Rhode Islanders, aside from fraternal and beneficial forms, principally in standard life insurance companies chartered by other states. In the twentieth century almost every conceivable risk may be covered by some type of insurance; it is related that London merchants insured the life of Queen Victoria against death before the celebration of her jubilee, and that promoters of outdoor entertainment insure against losses incident to unfavorable weather. Rhode Island insurance reports for 1930 classify risks as follows: (1) Life; (2) accident; (3) health; (4) fire; (5) ocean marine; (6) motor vehicle; (7) inland navigation and transportation; (8) tornado, windstorm and cyclone; (9) aircraft; (10) sprinkler leakage; (11) earthquake; (12) riot, civil commotion and explosion; (13) automobile liability; (14) liability other than automobile; (15) automobile property damage; (16) fire and theft of automobiles; (17) automobile collision; (18) engine and machinery; (19) livestock; (20) surety; (21) workmen's compensation; (22) burglary and theft; (23) credit indemnity; (24) fidelity; (25) plate glass; (26) steam boiler; (27) unclassified. The workmen's compensation statute of 1912 practically introduced a new type of insurance in Rhode Island, as employers sought indemnity against the increased liability; most corporations transferred the onus of compensation to insurance companies on the basis of payment of an annual premium. Horse insurance has disappeared with the almost complete extinction of the horse as a draft animal, and new types of insurance have been devised to cover almost every liability that the universal vehicle of the early twentieth century has created. Insurance keeps pace with modern development: witness aircraft insurance. The Rhode Island bill for insurance amounted to \$42,566,372 in 1929, of which \$9,219,703 was paid as premiums for insurance against loss of property, \$6,852,236 for insurance against liability of various types, and \$26,494,433 for life insurance.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES.

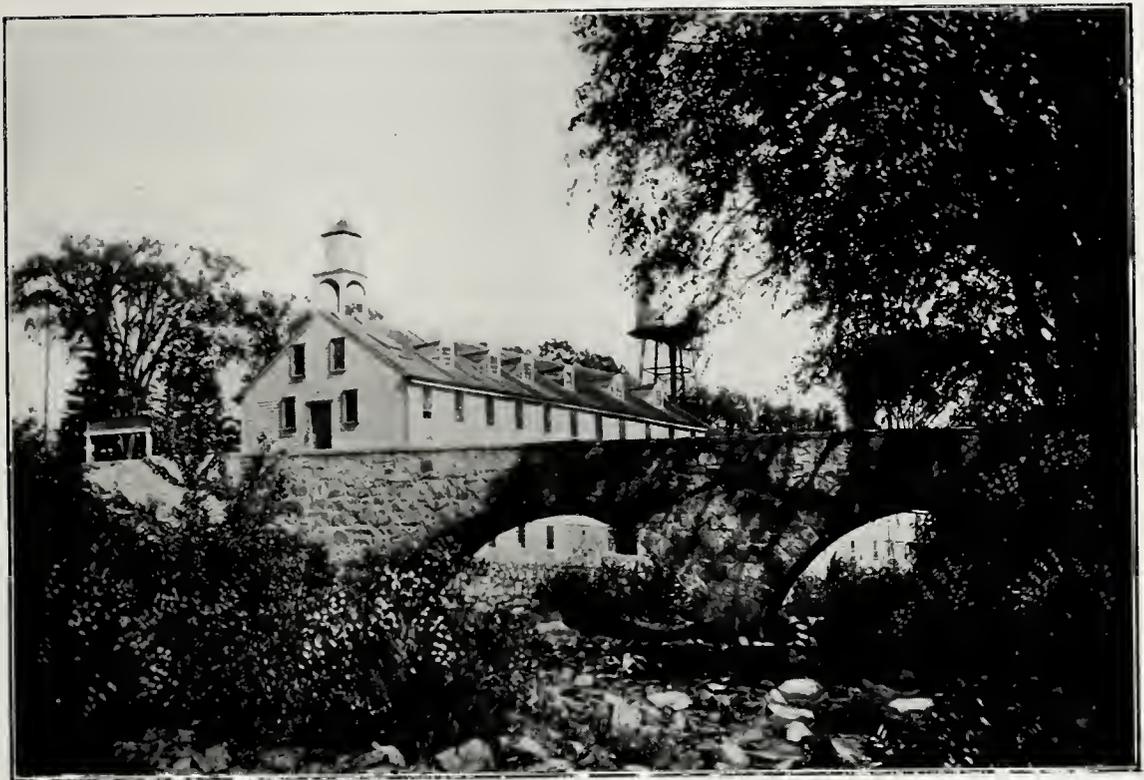
HESE pages . . . have been printed at so great a distance from home that the author has been unable to revise the proof with all the care that he could wish." The "great" distance thus referred to by Francis Wayland in the preface to "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System of the United States," was the forty-four miles that lay between Providence and Boston, less than a century ago, in 1842. It is difficult, in a century in which telegraph, telephone, radio, railway, automobile and airplane have almost annihilated both time and distance, to realize the difficulties that beset travelers in the wilderness of New England three and one-half centuries ago, when rivers and streams must be passed by fording at favorable shoals and when roads were Indian trails in the forest scarcely kept free of growing grass by the bare feet or soft moccasins of the Indian brave or hunter. Rhode Island, penetrated deeply by bay and inlet and river, was Venetian in its waterways, which at once facilitated commerce in boats between communities relatively far apart, and obstructed travel on foot or on horseback between nearby places. The earliest device for solving the problem of communication was the ferry. Except during the winter of 1740, when a horse could be driven over the ice near Newport, and again during the winter of 1780, when wood was carried on the ice from Narragansett to Newport, the island towns of Jamestown, Middletown, Newport and Portsmouth were dependent upon ferries for maintaining contact with the main. One of the earliest ferries was established, possibly in 1640, near the present site of Rhode Island Stone Bridge. Providence, as settled by Roger Williams, lay on the east side peninsula. A ferry across the river to the west preceded the building of the Great Bridge, later Market Square, and was reestablished in 1815 until the bridge, which had been carried away in the September gale, could be rebuilt. Lower down the river there were at various time other ferries connecting east shore and west shore: (1) between James Street and Ship Street; (2) near the present Point Street bridge; (3) the railroad ferry from the India Point station of the Boston and Providence Railroad to the Providence end of the Stonington Railroad near Hill's Wharf; (4) between India Street and Hill's Wharf; (5) between Kettle Point and Field's Point; (6) between Pawtuxet and Vanity Fair, and (7) between Pawtuxet and Crescent Park. A ferry crossed the Blackstone River near Lonsdale. Easterly from the Providence settlement by the Moshassuck stretched the Wampanoag Trail toward the upper narrows of the Seekonk near the present site of Red Bridge, and the Watchemoket and Montaup trail toward India Point and the lower narrows near the site of Washington Bridge. The Seekonk was crossed at both narrow places by ferries long before the Brown brothers built—Moses the Red Bridge and John the Washington Bridge. The Wampanoag Trail marked the beginning of the colonial trek to Boston; the Montaup Trail the road to Newport. Other ferries along the east shore connecting north and south settlements crossed (1) the Barrington and (2) Warren Rivers and (3) Bristol Narrows from Bristol to Bristol Ferry at the northerly end of Portsmouth on the Island of Rhode Island. The Barrington and Warren River ferries were replaced by bridges in the nineteenth century, and the Bristol ferry by the Mount Hope Bridge only in 1929. Bristol is still connected with Prudence Island by ferry. The Island of Rhode Island was connected with the mainland east across the Seaconnet River not only by the Stone Bridge ferry, but also by other ferries at points further south; westerly, ferries established connections with South Kingstown by way of Jamestown, and with North Kingstown at Wickford. In the twentieth century Newport's connection with the mainland west is by ferry to Jamestown, by road across

the island, and again by ferry from Jamestown to Saunderstown. Other ferries have been maintained from time to time (1) between Stonington and Watch Hill; (2) between Prudence Island and the west shore, and (3) between Oakland Beach and Buttonwoods. The post rider between Providence and New London crossed three ferries, passing the Seekonk, Barrington-Warren Rivers, and the Narrows at Bristol, to reach Newport, and two more, from Newport to Jamestown, and Jamestown to South Kingstown, to regain the mainland. Small wonder that he preferred the post road out of Providence starting southwestward along the Narragansett Trail, and that a change was made in Revolutionary days when the British occupation of Newport disrupted communications on the line across Jamestown. Ferryboats varied in design from long rowboats and flat scows, the latter sometimes operated by ropes stretched across the stream, through various types of sailing vessels, boats operated mechanically by live horsepower on treadmill or windlass, to steamboats and small gasoline-driven motorboats. The conventional ferryboat, operated in either direction without turning and landing in a specially constructed pier, is distinctly modern. Ferries were the earliest public utilities regulated by statute in Rhode Island. The General Assembly granted franchises and monopolies as well as wharf and landing rights, established legal fares for passengers and rates for animals and freight, limited the load to be carried, prescribed equipment to assure reasonable safety, and regulated operation to insure uninterrupted service and to guaranty travelers against unreasonable delays. On occasion, to maintain continuation of service, the colony or state became owner and operator, or authorized municipal ownership and operation, or municipal subsidy in the form of investment in capital stock or bonds of ferry companies. With the assumption by the federal government, following the decision in *Gibbons vs. Ogden*,\* of jurisdiction over inland navigable waters, ferryboats became subject to regulations prescribed by Congress and to federal inspection, both the volume of state legislation and regulation declining consistently.

BRIDGING OF STREAMS—Bridges replaced ferries over narrow waterways and wading through shallow streams. The earliest bridge in Rhode Island crossed from east side to west side in Providence, and was the predecessor of the wide bridge at Market Square. Almost immediately subtle questions of responsibility for bridge construction and maintenance troubled legislators, reaching to the ultimate liability of colony (or state) and municipality. The town of Providence was aided by lottery in rebuilding the town bridge when the latter was carried away by freshet or storm. The General Assembly was gracious in granting lotteries, contributions to the success of which were voluntary, whereas it hesitated to expend its meagre revenues for bridge building, lest an excess of expenditures constrain the levying of a tax. The colony divided with Massachusetts, after lengthy negotiations in which the latter evinced little interest if not complete indifference, the cost of building and maintaining a bridge across the Seekonk-Blackstone River near the falls that divide these continuous rivers and mark the place where the Blackstone becomes the Seekonk. The Assembly reluctantly assumed even a share of the cost of maintaining a bridge across the Pawtuxet River at the dividing line between Cranston and Warwick, and assisted in replacing a bridge across the Pettaquamscott probably only because Providence and South Kingstown both were seeking relief after the same storm and formed a strong bloc in the General Assembly. The problem of maintaining a bridge across the Pawcatuck River at Westerly was not simplified by the quarrels of Rhode Island and Connecticut over boundary lines. The General Assembly, after receiving petitions from several towns for assistance in building or rebuilding bridges considered the advisability of defining colony-state and municipal responsibility; the tendency, though no statute was enacted, was toward town liability† for bridges wholly within a town and joint responsibility of towns for bridges across streams that served as boundary lines. This policy was consistent

\*9 Wheaton 1.

†Enforced by indictment. *State vs. Cumberland*, 7 R. I. 75.



ARCH BRIDGE, SHOWING SLATERSVILLE MILL, SLATERSVILLE



MAIN STREET, LOOKING WEST, SLATERSVILLE



with the attitude with reference to roads, responsibility being local, but in the instance of bridges it did not serve to solve the problem of allocating responsibility in instances in which it was certain that a bridge on a main line of travel through colony or state served not only the towns on either side of the stream to be crossed, but also generally the travelling public of the commonwealth. In the period in which both roads and bridges were built by quasi-public turnpike corporations, which recouped expenditure and earned a profit for stockholders by levying tolls, a distinctly public solution of the problem could be evaded. Toll bridges were constructed across the Seekonk River by John Brown near India Point, and by Moses Brown near the site of Red Bridge; across the Barrington and Warren Rivers, and across the Seaconnet River at the site of Stone Bridge. When in 1869, the Red Bridge was replaced, the expenditure of \$55,000 was allocated: State \$20,000, Providence \$20,000, East Providence \$15,000. On the other hand, the Division Street bridge across the Seekonk connecting the town and village of Pawtucket, 1873; the Point Street Bridge, 1870, and the Crawford Street bridge, 1875, both in Providence, were constructed without contribution by the state. A later bridge policy, associated in its development with the state public roads system, will be discussed in other paragraphs.

ROAD BUILDING—As a colony, Rhode Island built no roads. In the instances in which committees or commissions were appointed by the General Assembly to lay out roads, the colony function was limited to surveying the line of the highway and defining it by statute in such manner as to establish direction and uniform width, and to order the removal of gates, fences, walls or other obstructions. This was true of the main roads, which in the earliest instances tended to follow the Indian trails, and of roads established later between Rhode Island settlements, and between Rhode Island settlements and settlements in neighboring colonies. There was no provision for construction of roads at colony expense, nor for contribution of any part of the cost of building from the general treasury. Lotteries were granted occasionally to assist in the improvement of roads. The colonial General Assembly ordered the paving of certain streets in Newport, that is, the Parade in front of the Colony House leading to Long Wharf, and Thames Street between the ferry and Long Wharf, to assure a reasonably good appearance of the principal streets in the "metropolitan." Providence later turned the precedent to advantage with reference to streets near the Colony House, and was granted lotteries to pave other streets.

As a rule, however, the General Assembly was constrained, both by the limited revenues of the colony and its own unwillingness to incur the odium of increasing revenues by recourse to direct taxation, to a very conservative attitude toward public improvements. This colonial inhibition descended upon the General Assembly of the state of Rhode Island, although the Revolutionary debt confronting the Assembly when independence had been achieved was almost sufficient to negative appropriations. The emphasis on Separatism, which in Rhode Island was translated into a greater respect for individual rights than prevailed anywhere else in the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as applied to towns nourished the most complete approach to municipal autonomy that was possible short of disruption of the body politic, and even that was threatened. Rhode Island towns knew neither of the maxims "one for all" and "all for one"; the Rhode Island slogan might more accurately be phrased "every town for itself." The prevailing philosophy was opposed to colony or state assumption of responsibility for building roads or streets, so clearly could these be identified as parts of the towns which they traversed. The first quarter of the nineteenth century had almost elapsed before a state road policy developed in Rhode Island. Except as open waterways facilitated transportation and travel, both were restricted physically in colonial days, but not more so in Rhode Island than elsewhere in America; witness the long journey of George Washington from Mount Vernon to New York preceding his inauguration as President. When, in 1736, a stage coach line between Newport and Boston was granted a franchise, a

coach leaving Boston at two o'clock Tuesday morning was scheduled to reach Bristol at noon on Wednesday. The coach did not cross the ferry at Bristol Narrows; the passengers were ferried across, and were taken in another coach from Bristol Ferry, in Portsmouth, twelve miles down the island to Newport. Completion of the sixty-mile journey in forty hours was considered fast travelling before 1750. Aside from the limitations of travel by horses or in horse-drawn vehicles, even when relays were furnished frequently, roads were bad—usually in the beginning because built of sand or clay, and later worse than bad if repairing was neglected.

In Rhode Island a town that failed to repair its roads might be indicted and fined.‡ “The mode of mending roads for a long time after the settlement of the state was very simple.§ The town elected surveyors, and these surveyors called upon the landowners, farmers and others, to turn out for the work with men and teams, according to their ability. Districts were assigned to them. But it was not until 1798 that towns were authorized to assess a tax for that purpose. In June, 1808, the tax system was made general. The assignment of districts was provided for in 1747, 1766, etc. In June, 1847, a law, which had been passed specially for South Kingstown, was made general, authorizing the election of surveyors in April, and providing that the surveyors should be elected in the order of districts, etc. These various provisions, adopted from time to time, and afterward incorporated together, account for some of the apparent and real inconsistencies in the statute.” A citizen against whom a tax had been assessed might commute the payment of money by working on the roads.¶ In more recent years the state assumes responsibility for the construction and maintenance of roads made part of the state system of public roads, and town responsibility for the maintenance and repair of other roads is enforced indirectly, by holding the town liable to answer suits for damages incurred while travelling or using public town highways. The town may limit its liability somewhat by accepting or refusing to accept a road as a “public highway,” but it cannot avoid responsibility for roads established as public highways by long use.\*\*

PACKET LINES AND STEAMBOATS—Rhode Islanders went down to the sea in ships, brigs, brigantines, schooners and large sloops; for traffic in Narragansett Bay and on coastwise trips through Long Island Sound packets were preferred. Packets were vessels of from seventy-five to one hundred tons, built on lines to assure speed, sloop rigged with a single mast to carry a wide spread of canvas, including foresails, topsails, and sometimes spinnaker. The sloop was fast, quick in stays, easy to handle with sheet and rudder, and of light draft suitable for sailing in shallow water. Providence Williams, son of Roger Williams, owned and sailed a sloop as early as 1675. The “Hannah,” packet, Captain Lindsey, lured H. M. S. “Gaspee” to destruction on the soft bed of mud on Namquit Point. The “Hancock,” packet, Captain Brown, brought President Washington and party to Rhode Island from New York in August, 1790, and carried them back. Packets carried freight as well as passengers, and as travel and traffic increased in volume, sailed on regular schedules that were dependable. Packets furnished a favorite means of travel between Rhode Island ports, particularly Newport and Providence, and New York, anticipating the steamboat lines of later years and accommodating not only Rhode Islanders and Knickerbockers, but travellers from points further north and east, and south and west, who reached Rhode Island or New York by other types of transportation. Thus merchants and others from Boston and beyond might ride to Newport or Providence by stagecoach, and sail for New York by packet. The time of passage varied with the speed of the vessel, and with tide, wind and weather, from the record trip of eighteen hours between Providence and New York made by the “Huntress,” packet, to a week. The shorter passage was much preferred by captain and owner, not only because of pride in accomplishment and

‡State vs. Cumberland, 6 R. I. 496.

§Note by Justice Potter, 13 R. I. 323.

¶See in re Registry Law, 12 R. I. 580.

\*\*State vs. Cumberland, 6 R. I. 496; and see North Providence vs. Dyerville Mfg. Co., 13 R. I. 45.

seamanship, but also because the fare, usually ten dollars, included meals. While the longer journey from Narragansett Bay to the Hudson River appeals more to romantic imagination and gathers to itself a wealth of story and tradition, packet service in Narragansett Bay was most important for Rhode Island. Packets travelled up and down and across the bay in every direction, through the three passages between the islands at the entrance to the bay, and in and out of the estuaries which opened north toward Providence, west toward East Greenwich and Wickford, and east toward Taunton. Rhode Island was bound closely by means of rapid communication and transportation that facilitated a prosperous intersectional trade.

Early experiments with steamboats in Narragansett Bay\* were not pressed sufficiently to disturb the serenity of the proprietors of packets, although Elijah Ormsbee's "Experiment" was the forerunner of successful steam navigation. When the "Firefly," steamboat, undertook, in 1817, to establish a regular service between Newport and Providence, the packets pooled resources and starved the steamboat out by successful competition. The "Firefly" made its first trip from Newport to Providence on May 28, 1817, in three hours; she carried President Monroe from Bristol to Providence while he was visiting Rhode Island in the same year. But the packet captains, by offering to carry passengers between Newport and Providence for twenty-five cents, or for nothing if they failed to make the trip in shorter time than the "Firefly," captured and held the patronage, and the "Firefly" was withdrawn from Rhode Island for service where sailors were less intrepid and enterprising. The packet triumph was temporary and brief; six years later a line of steamboats between Providence and New York was established by the Fulton company, and the first successful line was followed by others. Owners of packets sought to combat the steamboat competition by recourse to legislation. The Fulton company had been granted a monopoly of steam navigation in New York waters, and Connecticut had excluded steamboats from her ports as a measure of retaliation for the monopoly. The Rhode Island Senate was persuaded to pass an act levying a tax of fifty cents per passenger on the new steamboats, but the House deferred action. Meanwhile the opening of a steam ferry between New Jersey and New York had precipitated litigation, and the case known as *Gibbons vs. Ogden*† was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision in *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, declaring the New York monopoly void and asserting federal jurisdiction in navigable waters, applied equally to Connecticut's embargo, and the proposed tax approved by the Rhode Island Senate. Monopoly, embargo and tax—all were unconstitutional, and the steamboats had come to stay. Thereafter the prosperity of the packets diminished, and their service gradually was replaced by steamboats on long and short trips, although, so late as 1839, the General Assembly was constrained to order the head of Long Wharf at Newport reserved for steamboats. The packets, resorting to obstructive tactics, were forbidden to tie up at such times and in such manner as to prevent steamboats from reaching the wharf to discharge and take on passengers and freight. At that time steamboats plying between Narragansett Bay and New York stopped usually at both Newport and Providence.

In the twentieth century little of the commerce that passes through Narragansett Bay is carried on sailing vessels; even the fishermen have equipped their staunch boats with gasoline engines. Something of the Rhode Island love for a piping wind and flapping canvas is preserved, however, in fleets of yachts and small pleasure craft, and the waters of the bay, dotted with the sails of these, recall the exploits of packet days, and the races between rival captains.

TURNPIKES AND STAGECOACHES—With the metamorphosis of Rhode Island, whereby the most intensely industrial of American states has emerged from a farming and maritime community, a system of internal transportation became necessary to meet the needs of factories and population massed along the banks of non-navigable streams. Rhode Island developed the turnpike company, operating a toll road. The earliest Rhode Island turnpike companies were

\*Chapter XV.  
†9 Wheaton 1.

chartered just before 1800, almost simultaneously with the introduction of the factory system, and the last in 1842, when the steam railroad system had been practically completed as to main lines. The turnpikes were located principally in the northern section of the state, as might be expected because of their intimate relation to the extension of manufacturing. Some of the major ventures were the Providence and Norwich (Connecticut) turnpike; Providence and Boston, extending through North Providence, Smithfield, Cumberland, Attleboro and Wrentham, toward Boston; Rhode Island and Connecticut, through Providence, Johnston, Scituate and Foster; Smithfield, toward Douglas (Massachusetts); Louisquissett, northward through factory villages; Providence and Pawtucket; Powder Mill, Providence to Greenville; Coventry and Cranston; Foster and Scituate; Providence and Pawcatuck; Pawtuxet (from Providence).

The principle underlying the turnpike system was revealed in charters and toll rates. The turnpike company was obligated to maintain a road in reasonably passable condition for vehicular traffic, on penalty of forfeiting tolls or franchise. Tolls were levied at rates stated in the charters on vehicles and animals, but not on pedestrians. The exempting of "persons passing . . . for the purpose of attending public worship or funerals; . . . of persons living within four miles of the place of the turnpike, passing on said turnpike road for the purpose of attending town meetings or other town business, or going to or from mills, or for the purposes of husbandry," indicate that the burden of providing and maintaining the road was to be placed on travelers who were not of the community. Any other practice with reference to the latter would, in most instances, violate established rights, as the turnpike roads often incorporated stretches of old roads, the company contracting to maintain these, as well as new sections, in passable condition. Exemptions were construed favorably to traffic; thus a lower rate for vehicles carrying United States mail was held to apply to a coach actually carrying letters although no contract had been made.\*

The turnpike roads not only helped to solve the problem of transporting raw material to inland factories and finished manufactured goods from inland factories to tidewater, but also facilitated the development of stagecoach lines operating on regular schedules. A picturesque type of wayside inn and tavern arose along the line to accommodate stagecoach travelers, usually close to the places where the coaches stopped to exchange horses, or at convenient intervals to tempt travelers to rest for the night instead of pressing on with the coach, if, indeed, the latter also did not stop. Taverns were located also in the larger factory villages, catering to salesmen and others who visited the factories. The stagecoaches on turnpike roads radiating from Providence served also as feeders of passengers for the packets operating in Narragansett Bay, or sailing to ports along the Sound or to New York. Travelers from Boston or farther north or east would choose a short overland ride to Providence in a reasonably comfortable coach, operating on a guaranteed time schedule, and a water trip on a fast packet to New York, in preference to a long stagecoach ride across country, even in the general direction of the "air line" through Blackstone, Willimantic and Hartford. When stagecoach lines to Norwich and New London *via* Pawcatuck had been established, some took the stage to Stonington or New London, and a packet thence westward. Poor sailors dreaded the water trip around Point Judith even in reasonably pleasant weather. Operating both turnpike road and coaches, the road companies prospered usually; in the event of separate ownership, the road helped the coaches, and the coaches helped the road, each the other, to make a profit.

Railroad competition eventually made both unprofitable. For a time the railroad competition was effective only for "long hauls," the coaches operating on "branch" lines serving as feeders. The railroads captured both passenger and freight transportation, eventually, and the rumbling coach with its prancing horses disappeared from Rhode Island, perhaps moving westward with the frontier. The roads remained. Few of the turnpike companies were suc-

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\*R. I. and Connecticut Turnpike Society *vs.* Harris, 6 R. I. 224.

cessful in the sense that through toll earnings they were able to collect "the full amount of the cost of making and laying out said road, and of purchasing the land through which the same shall pass, and twelve per cent. per annum for the interest of all such costs, after deducting the incidental charges, and expenses of keeping said road in repair, and of collecting the tolls," and were dissolved, the roads then vesting in the state. Some were abandoned by their proprietors as operation was found to be unprofitable. The General Assembly in 1864 authorized towns to acquire the property of turnpike and toll bridge companies by purchase. Six years later it was reported that there were three toll bridges—Stone Bridge across the Seaconnet, and bridges across the Barrington and Warren Rivers—and six turnpikes still collecting tolls. The total mileage of turnpike toll roads was less than fifty in 1870. The state enforced forfeiture of charters for neglect to maintain turnpikes in passable condition, and in instances in which the companies transferred rights to other agencies.† The state purchased the franchise of the Rhode Island and Connecticut turnpike in 1872. Most turnpikes had been converted into public roads before 1875, thus ending a system that never had been popular and that had become obnoxious. Turnpike roads as returned to the state, abandoned, forfeited or purchased, became part of town public road systems, and towns became responsible for maintenance of roads and bridges along the line.‡

**BLACKSTONE CANAL**—One other venture in transportation before steam had revolutionized traffic on land and water was the Blackstone Canal, completed in 1828, and affording an all-water route between Providence and Worcester, along the course of one of the greatest manufacturing rivers in the world. John Brown, thirty years earlier, had planned a canal route from tidewater at Providence to Worcester *via* the Blackstone River, and thence westward to the Connecticut River Valley. The Blackstone Canal afforded facilities for freight and passenger transportation, the former in fleets of flat-bottomed scows drawn by horses or mules, and the latter in the "Lady Carrington," a liner, of unusual construction, elegantly fitted up with cabin and other conveniences. The passenger boat made trips north and south on alternate days. The canal was a failure financially, although most who had subscribed to the stock recouped losses through investment in the Providence and Worcester Railroad. The charter granted to the latter required the abandonment of the canal, and restoration of water rights by removal of locks that changed water levels. The railroad paralleled the canal along most of the route between the two cities, and accomplished both the purposes of the canal, that is: (1) furnishing convenient transportation facilities for factories in the Blackstone Valley, and (2) opening up central Massachusetts as a profitable trade center.

**A CENTURY AGO**—One hundred years ago Rhode Island depended on turnpike road, stagecoach and oxcart, canal and canal boat, for travel and transportation above tidewater, and principally upon sailing vessels, fast packets and heavier boats, for travel and transportation on navigable rivers, bay and ocean. Steamboats had entered into active competition with sailing vessels and had begun to crowd the latter in a way that indicated that their era was approaching termination. Two railroad charters had been granted in the United States, the Mohawk and Hudson, 1825, and the Baltimore and Ohio, 1827, and only thirty miles of railroads were in operation in 1830, when the "Providence Journal," in January, advocated the building of a railroad between Providence and Boston. "The best project for a railroad that we have seen is that from Boston to this town," said the "Journal" in an editorial. "The traveling now between the two places is immense, and by many is supposed to exceed 50,000 persons annually. In addition to this great number of passengers, there are vast quantities of freight transported in wagons between the two places. A railroad would vastly increase the quantity of freight and number of passengers—and then the convenience to business men.

†*State vs. Pawtuxet Turnpike Company*, 8 R. I. 182, 521.

‡*North Providence vs. Dyerville Mfg. Co.*, 13 R. I. 45.

Should the railroad be built, a man could ride on rails to Boston in two hours; he might leave home in the morning, transact in the city what business he had to do and return home to dinner at his usual time. This would be bringing the two places very near together. It would certainly increase the traveling." The editorial is significant also because of the estimate of the traffic between Providence and Boston in 1830, including as it did in the number of 50,000 those who passed through Providence traveling south or north to destinations other than Providence and Boston. Dow\* estimated the number of stagecoaches, entering and leaving Providence, "not counting large stages running to points within twelve miles" of the town, as 328 a week in the summer of 1829. The large traffic between Providence and Boston was related to packet and steamboat lines to New York, many of the coaches being driven directly to the wharves.

RAILROADS—The earliest Rhode Island railroad charters were fashioned on the models of the Blackstone Canal and turnpike charters. In the instances of the former two charters were obtained, one from the Rhode Island General Assembly for the line within the state, and another from the Massachusetts General Court for the line within the commonwealth. Similarly railroads crossing state lines obtained charters in each state, and authorization to combine to form operating companies. The objection to single chartering was delicacy as to granting rights of eminent domain to acquire the right of way. Incidentally, it is worthy of note that the provision for combining sections of roads was suggestive, at the very beginning of railroading in America, of the consolidation of roads that became in later years one of the most significant problems that confronted states undertaking to regulate the operation of these most important public utilities. The likeness to the turnpike charters lay in the general enunciation of powers with reference to acquiring title and easements along the route, and in the grant to the railroad company of authority to collect "tolls" and to establish "toll gates" and toll stations.

The charter granted to the Boston and Providence Railroad would cover a quasi-public road on which rails had been laid, the company collecting tolls from owners of vehicles (with wheels spaced to fit the rails) drawn over the line. The company began operations with horse-drawn cars, while awaiting completion of the entire line and the delivery of locomotives. The first train operated by steam made the trip from Boston to Providence in June, 1835. The road passed through Attleboro and East Junction on a straight line which carried it two miles east of the centre of Pawtucket. It crossed the Seekonk River on a bridge south of Washington Bridge, which was then in direct line with India Street in Providence. Until 1847, the road was entirely within Massachusetts until it crossed the Seekonk. The station was on India Street, Providence, convenient to the wharves, whence sailed packets and steamboats for New York. The railroad supplanted the stagecoaches speedily, as the steamboats had driven the packets from competition; though there were some like the Irishman pictured by the "Providence Journal" who, on being told that the railroad fare to Boston was \$1.50 and the time 1:30, chose to go by coach for a dollar because the dollar purchased a three-hour ride, all of which might be true except the figures! With the development of India Point as a railway terminus, the J. B. Mason house, crowning the east side hill overlooking India Point and the river and bay, was remodelled as a hotel and called the Tockwotton House. Mrs. J. B. Mason was a daughter of John Brown, who had promoted the first development of India Point as a commercial centre. The Tockwotton House, abandoned as a hotel after the railway terminal had been shifted, was subsequently home of the Providence Reform School. The grounds are a park, known as Tockwotton Park, marred in 1930 by the approach to the new Washington Bridge.

The "Stonington" line, Providence to Stonington, was opened in November, 1837, having

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\*"History of Steam Navigation Between New York and Providence."

been constructed by the New York, Providence and Boston Railroad Company, which had been chartered in 1832. The Providence terminal station was on the west side of the river opposite Fox Point. The India Point Station of the Boston and Providence and the Stonington station were connected by steam ferry, which carried through passengers and freight across the river. Trains were operated on "connecting" time tables. The route from Boston to New York was by rail to India Point, by ferry across the Providence River, by rail to Stonington, and by steamboat to New York. The third Rhode Island railroad was the Providence and Worcester, following the valleys of the Blackstone and Moshassuck, and entering Providence on the south side of the cove. The road was completed and in operation in 1847. Between the cove and Exchange Place a union station was erected and completed in 1848, and occupied by the three railroads. The Boston and Providence built a connecting line from East Junction to Boston switch near Central Falls, and its trains entered Providence on the rails of the Providence and Worcester. The New York, Providence and Boston built a new line from Auburn to Olneyville and entered the new station from the southwest, connecting with the Worcester rails. With this arrangement it was possible to run trains directly from Boston through Providence to Stonington, and later with the development of western and southern lines, directly to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. The connection with Worcester tapped the system now operated by the Boston and Albany, and New York Central lines for points west to Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis.

Other Rhode Island railroads were constructed as follows: (1) Providence to Hartford, 1854, chartered as the Providence, Hartford and Fishkill; (2) Providence, Warren and Bristol, 1855, entering Providence over the railroad bridge at India Point, with terminal station at Fox Point;\* (3) Fall River, Warren and Providence, 1860, a branch line of the Providence, Warren and Bristol from Warren to Slade's Ferry, opposite Fall River, with which it was connected first by steam ferry and later by a bridge; (4) Old Colony, operating a line from Fall River to Newport, 1864, crossing Seaconnet River on a bridge north of Stone Bridge, and as connected at Fall River furnishing rail connection between Providence and Newport, and Newport and Boston; (5) Providence and Springfield, 1873, but completed only so far as Pascoag until 1893, when it was connected with the New York and New England at East Thompson; (6) Woonsocket and Pascoag, 1892, a road connecting with the Providence and Springfield at Harrisville, and with the New England system at Woonsocket; (7) the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Railroad Company, 1872, operating a line from Valley Falls to Franklin, connecting the Providence and Worcester and New York and New England, and furnishing a line from Providence to Boston *via* Valley Falls and Franklin; (8) Pawtuxet Valley branch, 1872, Auburn, through Pontiac, Natick, Riverpoint to Hope; (9) Warwick and Oakland Beach, 1874, extended in 1880 to Buttonwoods; (10) Newport and Wickford, 1870, by rail from Wickford Junction to Wickford, and by steamboat from Wickford to Newport; (11) Narragansett Pier Railroad, 1875, from West Kingston to Narragansett Pier; (12) Wood River branch, 1872, Wood River Junction to Hope Valley; (13) Moshassuck Valley, 1877, Woodlawn to Saylesville; (14) branch line of Providence and Worcester, 1874, Valley Falls to East Providence. By various consolidations, leases and sales, all Rhode Island railroads except the Narragansett Pier, Moshassuck Valley, Newport and Wickford, and Wood River branch, were controlled and operated in 1893 by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. The consolidated system included 190 miles of railroad; the independent systems barely twenty miles.

Regulation of railroads became a problem by the middle of the nineteenth century. The General Assembly appointed a committee in 1851 to investigate charges made against the Stonington road that fares were not uniform, that the company was interested in certain stagecoach lines and discriminated against passengers patronizing other lines, that the rights

\*Changed later to Union Station.

of the general public were ignored, that free passes were granted to some, and that freight rates were not uniform. The Assembly, in 1852, ordered the Stonington road to establish and maintain uniform, non-discriminatory rates. Again, in 1853, an investigation was ordered of charges that free passes were distributed, and that freight was refused with the purpose of compelling patronage of one express company with which the road had made a contract; the committee was also to ascertain what freight and baggage had not been delivered, which had not been claimed, of what delivery had been refused, and what disposition had been made of money received from sales of freight and baggage. Legislation was enacted with the purpose of curing the evils suggested by the complaints. The General Assembly required annual reports from railways; and appointed commissioners, whose function was inspection of roads and bridges, and also of accidents, particularly those resulting in death. The Supreme Court, in 1872, failed to grasp a chance to abolish grade crossings, holding that a railroad may pass a road at grade if it does not "impede and obstruct safe and convenient use."†

The Union passenger station in Providence, erected in 1848 between the south side of the Cove and Exchange Place, the civic centre, on which it fronted, though attractive architecturally with graceful campaniles and sheltered colonnades, and remarkable, when constructed, for convenience, within twenty-five years was considered inadequate; another quarter of a century was to elapse, however, before it had been replaced. The delay was because of disagreements arising from conflicting interests, the city wishing to retain the Cove for æsthetic reasons, the railway companies being unwilling to abandon a location with reference to the city that scarcely could be improved. After the companies had rejected, in 1888, a plan to place the station on the north side of the Cove, a compromise was reached in a proposition to fill the Cove and locate the station on the new land. Tracks and station were elevated and carried above broad streets; provision was to be made for subways to avoid crossing tracks, and the station was reached by ramps of easy grade. When the station was completed otherwise, the Mayor of Providence, Edwin D. McGuinness, refused to sanction opening it for service as meeting all the requirements of the railroad companies' agreement with the city, until a substantial trainshed covering esplanade and tracks had been erected. A courageous and masterful man, his strategy was convincing, and he was successful in constraining action. The station was opened in 1898. The old station, part of which had been destroyed by fire, February 21, 1896, was removed, the site being laid out as a park fronting the new station.

**STREET RAILWAYS**—A street railway, operating horse-drawn cars between Central Falls, Pawtucket and Providence, was opened in May, 1864. Charters for street railway lines in Providence were granted as early as 1861; operation by the Union Railroad Company, a Sprague corporation, with Amasa Sprague as President, began February 22, 1865, with the opening of a horse-car line from Market Square to Olneyville *via* Westminster and High Streets, returning *via* High Street and Weybosset Street. Later in the same year four other lines were in operation; the Union Railroad Company owned thirty-five cars and 250 horses, and carried 2,369,261 passengers in its first year. The Providence lines, including those built in later years, radiated from Market Square; there the company was authorized by the General Assembly in 1867 to build a station and waiting room sixty feet square over the waters of the river north of Weybosset Bridge. The system was extended by the opening of additional lines, and was practically complete as a horse-car service reaching all parts of Providence and suburban communities within a radius of five miles by 1884. The independent line to Pawtucket and Central Falls was acquired and merged with the system in 1872. The horse-car service was picturesque; the cars, closed in winter, and open in summer, were drawn by two horses. Routes were planned to avoid steep hills; two east side lines, to Governor Street and to Brook Street, ran south on South Main Street to circle the steep east side hill and

†Johnston *vs.* Providence and Springfield, 10 R. I. 365.

climb by easier grades in flank and rear. On some grades a third horse, called a "hill horse," was added to the team. Horse car service was inaugurated in Pawtucket in 1885.

Tradition relates that George Washington, on one of his visits to Providence, suggested a tunnel as the most satisfactory device for overcoming the steep grades of east side streets; the tunnel was constructed more than a century later. In 1889, the Providence Cable Tramway Company built a cable road over the hill, the cable being operated underground and kept in motion by a power plant near Red Bridge. The route was up College Street, through Waterman Street to East River Street, returning *via* South Angell, Angell and Prospect Streets to College Street. The Union Railroad Company acquired the tramway stock in 1891, operating the line by cable power until electric traction was introduced. Thereafter, until the building of the tunnel, and the abandonment of College Street as a railway approach to the east side, a counter-weight was operated under the old tramway slot in College Street to balance cars on the heavy grade.

The first street car operated by electricity made its initial run in Woonsocket on September 25, 1888. Equipment was made at the plant of the Woonsocket Electric Machine and Power Company, under the direction of Frank M. Thayer. A horse car was rebuilt and equipped with apparatus, and Thayer supervised the hanging of trolley wires. The experiment was successful, and the Woonsocket street railway service was changed from horse to electric. Electric tramways were introduced at Newport soon after. After an unsatisfactory experiment on the Broad Street line in Providence with an electric car operated by storage batteries, electric traction with overhead trolleys was introduced in Providence in 1892. Within two years, April 24, 1894, horse cars had been abandoned. Meanwhile the Union Railroad Company, with the alleged purpose of obtaining additional capital for equipment, had obtained legislation authorizing it to issue bonds to an amount not exceeding \$3,000,000, and to contract with towns and cities for franchises for terms not exceeding twenty-five years. A group of capitalists purchased controlling interests in the Union Railroad Company, paying \$250 per share, and in the Pawtucket Company, at \$125 per share, and obtained in New Jersey a charter for a holding company known as the United Traction and Electric Company. The next few years witnessed a rapid extension of trolley lines covering a large part of the state, many operated by the Rhode Island Suburban Railway Company, also controlled by the United Traction and Electric Company. Other companies or lines included: The Pawcatuck Valley Street Railway Company, 1893, Westerly to Watch Hill; Pawtuxet Valley Electric Street Railway Company, 1894, linking the valley villages, from Hope to Clyde, Washington and Crompton; lines from Pawtucket to Attleboro and North Attleboro, 1892 and 1895; Cumberland Street Railway Company, 1898, Lonsdale to Cumberland Hill; Newport and Fall River, *via* Stone Bridge, 1898; Sea View Railroad, Wickford to Narragansett Pier, 1899; Providence to Wickford, 1900, connecting with the Sea View; Warwick and Oakland Beach, 1900, conversion of the old steam railroad; Providence to Apponaug and East Greenwich, 1900; Providence to Barrington, Warren and Bristol, 1900.

With the substitution of electricity for horses, lines were extended into places more and more remote from cities, opening up new sections for building homes, which were by the new tramway service brought into the circle of convenient suburbs. The Union Railroad Company extended lines to Centredale, Riverpoint, Crescent Park and Rocky Point. Other lines from Providence, operated by or connecting with the Union system, reached Danielson, Connecticut; Fall River through Swansea and Somerset; and Taunton. Four parallel lines were operated between Providence and Pawtucket, with connections reaching from Pawtucket to Taunton and the Attleboros, or northerly through the Blackstone Valley. A direct express line to Woonsocket, for the most part on its own right of way, was constructed, with other lines to Saylesville and Smithfield. Within Rhode Island 218 miles of electric roads were operated in 1900, and 52,922,041 passengers were carried in that year. Similar expansion of transpor-

tation systems had occurred elsewhere, and it had become possible through connecting systems of electric tramways to travel long distances over country roads at speed that was reasonable for accomplishment and yet slow enough to permit sightseeing. A few of the longer trips that could be made from Providence by connecting lines were to Narragansett Pier; to Danielson, Connecticut; to Worcester *via* Woonsocket; to Taunton, Brockton and Middleboro, and eventually to Boston; to Newport *via* Fall River; to New Bedford *via* Fall River. Even longer trips could be made by transfer from line to line. Supplementing the passenger system, freight service was inaugurated on many lines. We shall leave the electric tramway as a practically complete system of transportation at the end of the nineteenth century with the purpose of returning in later paragraphs to trace its history in the twentieth century.

**SOUND STEAMBOATING**—We left the captains of Rhode Island packets and other small sailing vessels engaged in bay and coastwise commerce face to face with competition by steamboats that indicated disaster for the packets. As a matter of fact, the sailing captain faced also competition with railroads that was more decisive possibly than that of the steamboats. The volume of the traffic on small sailing vessels is indicated both by the number of lines in operation and the number of boats. In 1825, besides the lines operating within Narragansett Bay, regular sailings were made to Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Hartford, New York and Philadelphia. In the same year eighteen sloops were operated between Providence and New York; six small schooners, and later five larger schooners, between Providence and Philadelphia; four small schooners, between Providence and Boston; seven vessels, including a brig, between Providence and Baltimore; seven sloops, between Providence and Albany; five sloops between Providence and Hartford. Besides passengers the vessels carried freight in quantity; the latter was the staple source of revenue. The advantages of speed of small over larger wooden vessels, which encouraged the use of packets and small schooners, vanished with the coming of steamboats and steam railroads. The steamboats were the earlier competitors. The first regular steamboats between Providence and Newport, were the "Connecticut," Captain Bunker, and the "Fulton," Captain Law, which made two trips weekly in each direction in 1823. Three years later another steamboat, the "Washington," joined the fleet, and three sailings were made weekly. The fare was ten dollars, as it had been in the packets. Occasionally a competing steamboat offered reduced rates, so low as six dollars. Five boats, the "Washington," "Fulton," "Chancellor Livingston," "Benjamin Franklin," and "President," ran in 1829 and until 1831, when the "Washington" sank after a collision with the "Chancellor Livingston," May 14, in Long Island Sound. The "Chancellor Livingston" was 500 feet in length, with accommodations for 200 passengers. Her 250-horsepower engines, with three smokestacks, developed an average speed of eight and one-half miles an hour. She was built on lines resembling sailing vessels of the period, and carried three masts, with sails. Steam-power was applied to side paddle wheels, the latter having the appearance of being added afterward, although her designers softened her lines by graceful curves. The "Benjamin Franklin" was a rival, and the vessels raced from Providence to New York in October, 1828. The "Providence Journal" reported the race thus:

"By 11 o'clock the dense columns of smoke which blackened the heavens gave note of the dreadful preparation. All was life and animation. The passengers and even the spectators partook of the feelings of the owners and commanders of the two boats, and in fact the boats themselves seemed animated for the occasion and alive for the race. Before the clock struck twelve the 'Franklin' parted her fasts, apparently impatient for the encounter. She moved slowly down the stream and came to Fox Point Wharf, waiting the departure of the 'Chancellor.' At the usual hour the 'Chancellor' left the wharf, and the 'Franklin' at the same time set her wheels in motion, but being too far to the westward she unfortunately grounded, and the 'Chancellor' passed her. In about six minutes the 'Franklin' was again in motion, proceeding rapidly on her voyage. It should be remembered that the 'Chancellor' was not pre-

pared for the race. Just before the 'Franklin' started her commander received a note from the captain of the 'Chancellor' saying that the latter's piston was cracked in such a manner that it would prevent putting on the usual quantity of steam. The 'Chancellor' was also prepared for her regular trip to New York with a large number of passengers and the wood was stowed as usual upon her upper deck. Had the 'Chancellor' been prepared, the result would have been more favorable; as it was, she was beaten about three miles or from twelve to fifteen minutes. With regard to the boats, we entertain but one opinion. They are both first-rate steamships, and, . . . we think there are not . . . better boats in the country."

The "Chancellor Livingston" was withdrawn from the Providence line in 1832, and was wrecked in Boston harbor in 1834. Two new boats, the "Providence" and the "Boston," were added to the fleet, and the "Connecticut" was withdrawn. In 1833-1834 the "Providence" and the "Boston," and the "Benjamin Franklin" and the "President" were operated as competing lines. The "Lexington" entered service in 1835 as a rival to both. Two other new boats, the "Rhode Island" and the "Massachusetts," were added to the fleet in 1835, with the opening of the Boston and Providence Railroad. The "Narragansett," 1836, and "Cleopatra," 1838, were further additions; in 1837, the "Narragansett" and the "Rhode Island" were transferred to a line operating from Stonington in connection with the Stonington railroad.

A Rhode Island steamboat, the "John W. Richmond," was launched in 1837 at Eddy's Point on the Providence River. Her engines were built by the Providence Steam Engine Company, and her speed made her queen of the Sound. Gradually finer lines and better engines were having an effect on steamboat traffic. The "Massachusetts" had reduced the running time between Providence and New York to thirteen and one-half hours; the "John W. Richmond" made the trip in eleven hours. Against the "Richmond" the "Lexington" was pitted, rivals for passengers and in speed. In a race from Stonington to New York the "Richmond" beat the "Lexington" by a half-hour. The "Richmond" was sold in 1840; the "Lexington" was destroyed by fire off Huntington, Long Island, January 13, 1840, only four of 150 passengers and complement surviving. The "Lexington" carried a cargo of cotton, piled close to the smokestacks. Fire was discovered early in the evening, and Captain Child headed his vessel for shore. The steering gear was disabled and the fire spread rapidly. A panic among the passengers prevented safe launching of the boats, and many were drowned. The four who were saved left the steamer on cotton bales; others who did likewise perished from cold and exhaustion in the bitter cold of midwinter. The "Lexington" burned until three in the morning and sank. David Crowley, who left the steamer on a cotton bale, burrowed into it, and drifted about from Monday night until Wednesday. A companion on the same bale died from exposure. Crowley reached shore on Long Island fifty miles from the wreck, crawled over the ice, and walked a mile to reach shelter. He recovered and saved the bale of cotton. Tradition relates that he kept the cotton at his home in Providence until the Civil War, when he sold it for the high price that prevailed because of the blockade of the cotton ports of the South. The Lexington brand of cotton cloth took its name from Crowley's bale of cotton.

The opening of the Stonington Railroad, and afterward the completion of all-rail connection from Boston to Stonington through the Providence Union station tended to reduce passenger traffic by steamboat from Providence to New York. Indeed, the rail route to Stonington and boat route thence to New York was favored, patronage of the Providence boats decreased, and service was reduced. The first steamboat substituting screw propeller for side paddles was the "Washington," which was built at Bristol, and ran between Providence and New York, 1844-1847. The "Washington" was sold to the United States government for use as a transport during the Mexican War. In 1845 a line from Providence ran to

Greenport, Long Island, connecting with the Long Island Railroad for New York. By 1848 the traffic between Providence and New York by steamboat had reached almost its lowest level, the factors contributing being (1) the Stonington line; (2) the removal of the railroad terminus from the water front and a direct connection through the Union station, and (3) the opening of the Fall River line connecting with the Old Colony line from Boston and Newport.

The Commercial Steamboat Company with three steam propellers, the "Osceola," "Pelican" and "Petrel," opened a freight service in 1851, which was so successful that new boats were added in 1852 and 1853. Competition ensued, the new line for a while carried passengers to New York for fifty cents, and freight at reduced rates. In a compromise agreement passenger service was discontinued, and the company continued to increase its facilities, operating a daily freight service in 1855. Other boats on this line besides the three named above were the "Westchester," "Curlew," "Albatross," "Penguin," "Falcon," "Eagle," "Seagull" and "Kingfisher." The Commercial Company was absorbed by the Neptune Steamboat Company in 1864. The Neptune Company operated a fleet of nine vessels, the "Electra," "Galatea," "Oceanus," "Metis," "Thetis," "Doris," "Nereus," "Glaucus" and "Neptune." The Neptune Company was consolidated with the Stonington line in 1866, under a new corporation called the Merchants' Steamship Company, the joint enterprise operating fifteen steamers, including the "Commodore," "Commonwealth" and "Plymouth Rock." The company was prosperous, and undertook the building of two new steamers out of earnings on a capital stock of \$2,750,000. Disasters destroyed the company; the steamer "Commonwealth" was burned at its dock at Groton, Connecticut, with the dock a total loss. The "Commodore" was wrecked, and the "Plymouth Rock" went ashore at Saybrook. The Merchants' Company went into bankruptcy in 1866; the new steamers under construction were sold for \$350,000, entailing a loss of \$1,000,000 on these alone. Renamed "Bristol" and "Providence," instead of "Pilgrim" and "Puritan," these vessels were the finest in the world at the time; they were operated for a time from Bristol to New York, but later were transferred to the Fall River line. The "Bristol" was destroyed by fire at Newport in 1888; the "Providence" remained in active service until 1899, and was dismantled in 1901.

The Providence and New York Steamship Company, a Sprague enterprise, succeeded the Merchants' Company as proprietors of the line from Providence. This company was prosperous and planned the building of two steamers to rival the "Bristol" and "Providence." But the loss of the "Oceanus," burned at her dock in New York in 1868, and the sinking of the "Metis," off Watch Hill, August 30, 1872, delayed the enterprise. Then came the Sprague failure in 1873. The wreck of the "Metis" involved the loss of fifty lives, and for years affected traffic. Among the saved were Joseph Banigan, later builder of a vast rubber manufacture in Rhode Island, and Bridget Riley, who floated away from the steamer on a mattress. She, like David Crowley, saved from the "Lexington," lived for many years afterward in Providence, where she was known as the Metis.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF STEAMBOATING—The Providence and Stonington Steamship Company, in 1875, acquired both the Providence and the Stonington lines and operated them harmoniously with the Stonington Railroad. Four new steamships—the "Stonington" and the "Narragansett," 1867, and the "Rhode Island," 1873, and the "Massachusetts," 1877—were employed, the "Rhode Island" and the "Massachusetts" on the Providence line. The "Rhode Island" was wrecked in the West Passage at Bonnet Point, and replaced by another steamer of the same name. The steamer "Connecticut," a marvel in marine construction at the time, a "side-wheeler without a walking beam," and almost the last side-wheeler built for service on the Sound; the "Priscilla," "Puritan," "New Hampshire" and "Maine," all magnificent steamships, were employed at various times on the Providence line, which operated two boats, with nightly sailings in both directions. These steamers were floating hotels, palatial in pro-

portion and equipment, affording all the accommodations that a traveler might find in the best metropolitan hotels of the period, and luxuriously fitted up and kept immaculately clean and meticulously spic and span. They were lighted by electricity before the same service was available in most hotels. The passenger might dine in a splendid restaurant, spend a cool and pleasant evening on the open deck or listen to a fine concert in a magnificent salon, and retire to a luxurious cabin for restful sleep while traveling. A business man having appointments in New York might ride by boat during the night, spend a long business day in the metropolis, and return by boat the following night, fresh for business in Rhode Island. The steamers floated majestically and gracefully as swans, which in their coats of white paint they resembled, their size producing an illusion which concealed their steady speed. With the boats of the Providence line a direct railroad communication from Boston and White Mountain resorts was maintained by train, which entered Rhode Island over the rails of the old Boston and Providence Railroad, crossing the Seekonk River at India Point, and discharging passengers on the wharf, across which they might walk to the steamer. The nightly sailing was an event which attracted hundreds to the wharf, there to listen to the parting band concert, opening with the "Star Spangled Banner" at sunset. Along the shores of the bay the steamers were greeted by fireworks, and answered with the drone of whistles.

By 1898, the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, which had consolidated steam railroads in Southern New England, including more than ninety per cent. of railroad mileage in Rhode Island, had acquired also control of four steamboat lines to New York, operating from Providence, Fall River, Norwich and Stonington. The Joy line, which started a competitive line from Providence in 1899, was driven off by the New Haven Steamship company, which also entered the competition. The dominating railroad company bought the New Haven steamboats in 1900, and at that time had no other competitor in Rhode Island waters than the Joy line, which had returned. To meet this opposition, the railroad placed two old steamboats—"Rhode Island" and "Massachusetts"—in commission. The railroad then operated six lines of steamers to New York, two from Providence, and one each from Fall River, Norwich, Stonington and New Haven, with a fleet which included the passenger steamers "Rhode Island," "Connecticut," "Maine," "New Hampshire," "Massachusetts," "Priscilla," "Puritan," "Plymouth," "City of Lowell," "City of Worcester," "Chester W. Chapin" and "Richard W. Peck," and, in addition a large fleet of steamers carrying only freight.

Other lines of steamers sailing from Providence were the Winsor line to Philadelphia, established in 1866, and operating, in 1900, two iron twin-screw steamers, making two trips weekly in both directions; and the line to Baltimore, established in 1873, and operating, in 1900, four iron twin-screw steamers, making three trips weekly in both directions. The Clyde line operated steamers to Southern ports for a few years. Besides the regular liners, a large fleet of steamers, sailing vessels and barges were engaged in the coal-carrying traffic, and Narragansett Bay floated many an occasional visitor with cargo of cotton, salt, sulphur, rubber, iron, dyewood, wool, or other raw materials for Rhode Island factories.

RIVER STEAMBOATS AND SHORE RESORTS—Steamboats eventually replaced packets and other small sailing vessels in the territorial waters of Rhode Island. Additional to the service between Newport and Providence provided by steamboats to and from New York, which stopped at both Rhode Island ports on trips in both directions between 1822 and 1847, the steamers "Firefly," "Bristol," "Providence," "Babcock," "Rushlight," "Wadsworth," "Kingston," "Balloon," "Iolas," "Roger Williams" and "Perry" plied between Newport and Providence at various times to 1865. The summer service was unbroken from 1847 to 1900, operated partly as an accommodation for travelers and commuters, and partly to carry excursionists to the beaches and other attractions of the island city. A line connecting Providence and Fall River was maintained from 1827, the steamers employed being the "Hancock," "King

Philip," "Bradford Durfee," "Canonicus," "Richard Borden" and "Mount Hope." The "Mount Hope" opened a service to Block Island in 1889. Other lines have operated from time to time between Providence and Warren, Fall River, Bristol, East Greenwich, Seaconnet Point, Narragansett Pier, Wickford, and Saunderstown; between Newport and Wickford, Narragansett Pier, Fall River and Saunderstown. The American Steamboat Company, operating excursion steamboats between Providence and shore resorts along Narragansett Bay, began operations in 1865, its steamers including the "Perry," "Bay Queen," "What Cheer," "Montpelier," "River Queen," "City of Newport," "River Belle," "Day Star," and "Crystal Wave." The Continental Steamboat Company acquired the property in 1878 and continued operations. The Shore Transportation Company began competition in 1885 with the steamers "Baltimore" and "Philadelphia," which were replaced three years later by the "Pomham" and "Squantum." The Continental Company acquired the "Pomham" and "Squantum" in 1891, and in 1895, it was absorbed by the Providence, Fall River and Newport Steamboat Company, which controlled most of the excursion steamers in Narragansett Bay thereafter, its fleet in 1900 including the "Mount Hope," "Bay Queen," "City of Newport," "Richard Borden," "Warwick," "What Cheer," "Rambler," "Pomham," "Squantum," and "Favorite." Pawtucket also had a line of excursion steamers, including the "Pioneer," "Pontiac," "Pawnee," and "Peerless."

Beginning shortly after 1860 favorite shore resorts were developed at Oakland Beach, Buttonwoods Beach, Rocky Point, Field's Point, Silver Spring, Golden Spring, Ocean Cottage, Bullock's Point, Camp White, Crescent Park, Pleasant Bluff, Hauterive, and later Vanity Fair. The outstanding attraction at each was a Rhode Island clambake, usually a bathing beach, and later the introduction of other types of entertainment. Of these, Rocky Point and Crescent Park were the most popular, although both Field's Point and Silver Spring achieved almost world-wide reputation for excellence of distinctive shore dinners. Both Rocky Point and Crescent Park were scenes for great popular meetings and political rallies, the speakers including Congressmen, presidential candidates, Governors of Rhode Island and of other states, a long list of distinguished men and great orators who came to Rhode Island to appeal for popular support of their causes. William J. Bryan, Governor Altgeld of Illinois, and Senator Tillman of South Carolina, addressed one Sunday afternoon gathering at Crescent Park. Today only Rocky Point and Crescent Park survive as shore resorts, and each is only a shadow of the past. Field's Point has disappeared to make room for harbor improvements and a great municipal wharf. The rotting spiles of abandoned wharves still mark old landing places elsewhere, at which excursion steamers discharged crowds of pleasure seekers or took on the tired-out men, women, and children, anxious to return home after a day at the shore. The dining pavilions in which thousands were fed have disappeared or have been converted to other purposes, and the noisy merry-go-round with flying horses is still forever, though it, invention of Benjamin Crandall of Westerly, was the greatest favorite with children, and with many grown-up boys and girls. Gone are excursion steamers, too; one by one they were retired from service, banished to other waters than those of Rhode Island, or tied up for the last time in some quiet place to rot slowly, or grounded to be burned for salvaging of iron. Only the "Mount Hope," of the proud fleet of Rhode Island excursion boats, is still in service, and she no longer stops as she speeds up and down the bay on express trips between Providence, Newport and Block Island. An attempt to revive steamboat traffic in 1914 failed; a new type of excursion boat, planned for shallow waters and equipped with gasoline engines, was condemned as unseaworthy on her trial voyage. The decline in the prosperity of excursion steamers began with the building of electric tramways to Crescent Park and Rocky Point, and continued with the introduction of the automobile as the workingman's private carriage. The excursion steamers carried 600,000 passengers in 1882, and 1,250,000 in 1900. Another type of steamboat excursion that has been eliminated is the once favorite long Sunday

or holiday trip to New London, Gay Head, Martha's Vineyard or Cottage City (Oak Bluffs), and the sail around the Brenton's Reef Lightship, Beaver Tail, or Block Island. The fashions, even in recreation, change from generation to generation.

**CONSOLIDATION AND CONFLICT**—With the opening of the twentieth century transportation in Rhode Island was thoroughly organized in four principal divisions: (1) Steam railroads, 210 miles, operated with the exception of twenty miles of short branch lines, by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company; (2) electric tramways, 218 miles, operated principally by the Union Railroad Company, or the Rhode Island Suburban Railway Company, both controlled by the United Traction and Electric Company; (3) two lines of steamboats to New York, operated by the dominating railroad company, one competing line, and two regular lines to Philadelphia and Baltimore; (4) a fleet of excursion boats on Narragansett Bay, owned, with few exceptions by the Providence, Fall River and Newport Steamboat Company. The railroads and commercial steamboats were not competitors; it required little vision to foresee that electric tramway competition would eliminate excursion steamers, since these were already experiencing a loss of patronage.

Electric tramways, paralleling steam railroads, had become active and successful competitors for passengers except on long trips, and were organizing a freight and express business that was cutting into railroad profits. Had these remained the only factors in the problem of transportation the solution lay in further consolidation, that is, in steam railroad control of electric tramways, or control of steam railroads by the electric traction companies. The undetermined factor, the importance of which was scarcely perceived if, indeed, anticipated in 1900, was the development of the automobile. It was little more than a toy in 1900, jeered by the crowd when a failure of engine to function necessitated towing home by horse power. No one at that time foresaw 100,000 private passenger cars in Rhode Island, with seats for every man, woman and child in the state; an automobile public omnibus service competing with steam railroads and electric tramways; and an automobile truck service that would revolutionize freight and express business on hauls up to 100 miles. The inevitable conflict in 1900 lay between steam railroads and electric tramways, and the battle of giants was soon waged in earnest.

**HARBOR IMPROVEMENT**—The erection of a steel bridge across the Seekonk River near the site of the old Washington Bridge built by John Brown in 1793 was authorized in 1883 as part of a project for continuing the improvement of navigable waters of Rhode Island, which began as early as 1853. In the year last mentioned Lieutenant William A. Rosecrans, United States Engineers, afterward General Rosecrans in the Civil War, completed a survey of Providence harbor, and a federal appropriation of \$5000 was expended in dredging, under the direction of Captain George Dutton, United States Engineers, at the "Crook," a shoal south of Fox Point having a depth of only 4.3 feet at low tide. The channel was lowered to nine feet in 1853, and by further dredging in 1867 to twelve feet. Congress made other appropriations in 1870, 1872 and 1873, with which the channel was made fourteen feet deep from Fox Point to Sassafras Point, and a part of a shoal opposite Sassafras Point was removed. Bulkhead rock was blasted, and in 1878 the work of dredging a channel twenty-five feet deep from Fox Point to Field's Point was begun. General G. K. Warren, United States Engineers, who was in charge of the work in 1880, in his report said: "Providence is a city of about 100,000 inhabitants and is the second city in size and importance in New England. It is a manufacturing city of importance. Large quantities of arms of war are made here. It is a very convenient distributing point, and its fine approaches from the ocean will give it a large opportunity for foreign trade as soon as the contemplated deep channel is secured. The total number of vessels that arrived at the port of Providence during the year 1878 was 5580, of which 1975 were steamers from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Newport, and Fall River; 3440

were barks, brigs, schooners, sloops and barges from various American ports, and 112 foreign barks, brigs and schooners. Providence is in the Providence collection district, and that place is a port of entry. The amount of revenue collected there during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, was \$405,682.73." Another project carried forward in the same period was the building of a breakwater at Block Island, 1879, thus to protect the old harbor.

Providence had visions of becoming a seaport for export trade with the development of the New York and New England Railroad and the completion of a direct rail route from the West, crossing the Hudson, first by ferry, and later by bridge at Poughkeepsie. The General Assembly asked Congress to dredge a ship channel to the depth of twenty-five feet, thus to accommodate ocean-going cargo ships. The resolution recited:

Within the past few weeks a direct railroad communication has been established between the city of Providence and the western states, by which the varied products of that great section of the country that are transported over the main trunk lines of railroad may be distributed, not only throughout New England, but forwarded to foreign lands by the unequalled facilities of Narragansett Bay; . . . this new communication has been secured by the completion of the New York and New England Railroad, the managers of which have declared their determination to afford the city of Providence equal advantages with the city of Boston in the transportation and delivery of freight at tidewater in said city of Providence; . . . the city of Providence has declared its intention to improve its tidewater facilities by the vote of its city council to expend the sum of \$75,000 during the present season in dredging that portion of the harbor within its jurisdiction; . . . the board of trade in said city has, by its action and through its officers and committees secured assurances from responsible parties that the large ocean steamers from foreign trade can and will be sent to said city as soon as the dredging and repairs shall be accomplished; and . . . it is desirable and necessary that . . . the sum to be expended by the general government . . . should be largely augmented, to the end that the present deep channel may be deepened to a depth not less than twenty-five feet at mean low water, and widened to a width of not less than 300 feet.

Dredging in the Seekonk River, with the purpose of developing the wharves from Fox Point to India Point, and thence northward to construct new wharves along the Seekonk, and to open a channel to Pawtucket, was begun in 1868. Ten years later it was reported that 350 schooners and fourteen barges had been towed, in 1878, up the improved channel to Pawtucket, and that the freight carried amounted to 100,000 tons. The old wooden Washington bridge and the railroad bridge further south were obstructions not only to use of the channel, but to further improvement. The original Washington bridge, built in 1793, was carried away by storm in 1807. Replaced and strengthened, the second bridge went out during the September gale of 1815. When a third bridge was constructed the spiles were anchored by piles of stone, the first lot of which sank through the soft mud in the river bottom and disappeared. When repairs were made in 1867 more stone was piled around the piers. Eventually the stone formed the basis for an underwater dam across the channel, which could not be removed without endangering the bridge. Down stream from Washington Bridge a railroad bridge had been constructed in 1835 and replaced in 1867-1868. In strengthening foundations for this bridge, stone and a layer of oyster shells four feet deep had been dumped into the river. Because of the obstructions the flow of water, restricted to a narrow space, sometimes attained a speed of five miles an hour. Between the bridges and beyond, in both directions, double lines of spiles had been driven, to hold vessels within the channel. Vessels going up, were warped through because a turn of forty-five degrees made towing impracticable. Vessels going down raced with the tide in order to maintain steerage-way, and occasionally were damaged in collision with the spiles.

A state commission appointed to consider the problem reported in 1881 plans for a double-deck iron bridge to replace both the old Washington bridge and the railroad bridge, both of which were to be removed to permit suitable dredging of the channel. The iron bridge was to be carried on piers "of the least practicable sectional area," and to have a draw 160

feet long, swinging on a central pier, thus to leave the channel unobstructed for eighty feet on either side. The lower deck of the bridge was to be devoted to railroad travel; the upper deck, twenty feet above, would carry vehicular travel and pedestrians. The upper level was to be reached by ramps at either side so planned as to eliminate grade crossings. The commission suggested the possibility that Providence might become a port for Boston, large vessels entering Narragansett Bay and discharging cargoes for rail shipment, thus to avoid the dangerous sailing trip around Cape Cod. A part at least of this vision has been realized in the twentieth century, in the development of Narragansett Bay as a terminus for oil and lumber shipments by water, and as a distribution center for oil and lumber for New England.

The commission suggested also the need for a horse car line from Providence to East Providence, prohibited because of the dilapidated condition of Washington Bridge. The cost of a new bridge was estimated at \$425,000, and it was recommended that the money be raised by a bond issue limited to thirty years at four per cent., the bonds to be retired by accumulating a sinking fund, to which the state, Providence, East Providence, Pawtucket and the three railroads that might use the new bridge should contribute. Eventually the plan for the double-deck bridge was abandoned, and in 1883 a statute authorized the building of a new Washington bridge by a state commission, if the city of Providence did not exercise an option to build the bridge on its own initiative. The new bridge was built by the state, with allocation of part of the expenditure to Providence and East Providence. It was planned to cross the river at a level that would eliminate grade crossings in East Providence, thus necessitating the building of approaches from either side, and the changing of grade lines on streets in East Providence. The original plans contemplated the payment of no damages because of street changes, on the assumption that much of the property affected by the change of grades would benefit because of the improvement. Governor Davis condemned as "unnecessary" the payment by the state of damages and other charges in 1891 amounting to \$50,102.07. The state ordered a new bridge built across the Seekonk on the site of the Red Bridge in 1894, assuming payment of \$20,000 of the cost, the remainder to be apportioned to Providence and East Providence.

Another project affecting transportation within Rhode Island was proposed in 1887 and again in 1894, when federal aid was asked for the dredging of a canal across the Island of Conanicut to permit direct ferry connection from Newport to the west shore of the bay.

**RAILWAY VS. TRAMWAY**—The railroad bridge at India Point had been constructed in 1835 as an approach to the Providence station of the Boston and Providence Railroad. After the passenger service had been diverted to the Union Station, the bridge continued in use for freight trains of both the Boston and Providence and the Providence and Worcester approaching the freight yards and wharves along the south waterfront; it was used also by the passenger and freight trains of the Providence, Warren and Bristol Railroad, which maintained a passenger station in India Street near Fox Point. The India Street station was not favored; in 1886 the Providence, Warren and Bristol was authorized to lay rails on South Water Street to Crawford Street, and to erect a station over the river between Planet and Crawford Streets, with the purpose of establishing a terminus nearer the centre of the city. The railroad company failed to carry the plan through to completion, and the option lapsed. Fifteen years later, after changing from steam locomotive to electric power, the railroad company found itself balked in its wish to establish a terminus nearer than India Street to the centre of the city, by an exclusive franchise for the operation of electric tramways in the streets of Providence granted to the street railway company.

An act of the General Assembly, 1891, authorized towns and cities to grant exclusive franchises to public service corporations engaged in furnishing water, gas or electricity, or operating street railways or telephones. The franchises were limited to twenty years, and conditional (1) upon payment of a tax of three per cent. annually on gross earnings, and (2)

upon maintaining current rates for service without increase. A later statute, 1895, authorized exclusive franchise for twenty-five years; and in 1898 street railway franchises were made "perpetual"\* at the option of the companies by the provisions of a statute levying a state tax of one per cent. on gross earnings (additional to the municipal franchise tax), provided that all earnings in excess of eight per cent. should be paid into the general treasury. For practical purposes the new statute imposed a state tax of one per cent. on gross earnings; at that time the capitalization of public service corporations was based upon earning capacity, or the ability to pay dividends, rather than upon capital investments. Instead of increasing dividends, new capital stock was issued; thus earnings could be kept under eight per cent. The new state tax became operative with respect to companies that formally accepted the provisions of the statute, the consideration for acceptance on the basis of a contract with the state being a continuation of the company's franchise so long as the tax was paid.

When, therefore, the Providence, Warren and Bristol wished to enter the streets of Providence from its own right of way, it found that it must bargain with the Rhode Island Company, which had an exclusive franchise for electric tramway service in Providence. An arrangement was made for connecting the two systems by crossover switching in East Providence, and, for a few days only, the heavy cars of the Providence, Warren and Bristol were brought into Providence over the rails of the tramway company crossing Washington Bridge. The railway cars were splendidly planned for rapid service on the company's own roadbed, but were too large for narrow city streets. It was found also that the wheel flanges did not fit the grooved rails used by the tramway company, that the trolley equipment was enough different to occasion inconvenience, and that the cars stalled on curves that were ridden easily by the smaller street railway cars in service. The city engineers doubted the safety of Washington Bridge under the heavy load of the new cars, and the city council by ordinance defined the maximum weight and size of vehicles that could be used on the bridge at measurements that would exclude the large and heavy railroad cars. The railroad company abandoned the project, and for a time the Providence, Warren and Bristol company moved its electric trains across the railroad bridge at India Point and through India Street by steam locomotive traction.

The railroad bridge at India Point was ordered rebuilt in 1900. Four years later the railroad company was authorized to construct a tunnel through and under the East Side hill and a bridge across the Seekonk between Red Bridge and Washington Bridge. The completed system crosses the Seekonk from East Providence on a double-track bridge with tilt-lift draw, passes through a tunnel below all street levels east of the East Side hill, out of the hill and on a viaduct across North Main Street and Canal Street in Providence, and enters the Union Station from the east end. The tunnel affords continuous track connections with the main lines through the Union Station, and with the east shore lines, and the Providence and Worcester and Boston and Providence in East Providence. The project was carried through with a view to establishing connections for fast freight and passenger service to northern and eastern places, as well as with the lines to Warren, Bristol and Fall River, using the almost straight line from India Point to Boston *via* East Junction. Other legislation in 1904 authorized the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company to acquire and consolidate other railroads operating in Rhode Island, as part of a gigantic scheme for controlling railroad service in all parts of southern New England.

**MUNICIPALITY VS TRAMWAY**—The introduction of horse car service occasioned little friction. The cars were small and might be operated on single track with occasional turnout switches; the speed scarcely attained that of ordinary horse-drawn vehicles. The convenience of providing "rapid transit" for the people generally who could not afford private carriages was recognized, and the service was popular. In Providence the development of Roger Williams Park and of other parks that could be reached by the new car service tended to link

\*See State Public Utilities Commission *vs.* Rhode Island Company, 43 R. I. 135.



MAIN STREET, PAWTUCKET



NURSES' HOME, SAYLES MEMORIAL HOSPITAL, PAWTUCKET



the system with the need for fresh air and recreation. The advent of the electric tramway introduced new problems and sources for friction. The overhead trolley with poles and wires offended a not too well developed sense of the "city beautiful"; the speed of the cars, exceeding that of horse-drawn vehicles; the size and particularly the width of cars and the need for wider highways; and eventually double tracking on most main lines to accommodate the demand for more frequent trips—all of these were new problems affecting the companies, the municipality as the agency responsible for public highways, and the general public which patronized the trolleys.

Almost immediately two radically different opinions related to the extension of street tramway service developed. Company officers assumed that the tramways were public service organizations furnishing a very necessary means of internal transportation, and that the increase in travel made possible by the companies imposed upon municipalities an obligation to widen streets or build highways to accommodate the traffic; on the other hand, municipal officers and a large number of citizens viewed the tramway companies as responsible for the demand for new and wider streets and as obligated to finance the improvements. The divergence of opinion reached an acute stage in Pawtucket, and was one of the causes contributing to the bad feeling displayed during the trolley strike.\* Relations were somewhat more harmonious in Providence, but there was disagreement occasionally as to the equitable allocation of the expense of street widening.

The problem of providing satisfactory transportation for the East Side was difficult of solution because of what a visitor from Chicago called "an Alpine situation." Two solutions had been tried—the routing of horse cars on a long detour south to avoid climbing the hill, and the building of the cable-tramway. The General Assembly chartered the "College Hill Tunnel Company" in 1872, and in 1874 authorized the construction of a tunnel from South Water Street at any point within 150 feet from Crawford Street to an easterly terminus at Amy Street. The tunnel was not constructed because capital was not available. The construction of "easy grade" streets planned to climb the East Side hill by bias-slant instead of straight-on lines against the hill was suggestive. Thus, North Main Street was carried by an easy slant up the hill to a junction with Benefit Street; Waterman Street detours somewhat by an easy curve to the southeast, affording a rest and an easy connecting link between two straight-on sections working directly east; and the grade on College Street, from South Main to Prospect Street, was modified from its natural slant. The General Assembly in 1900 authorized the city to expend \$200,000 for a new street of easy grade from South Water Street to Prospect Street, but the city did not build the street. Eventually the solution of this problem was undertaken by the construction of a tunnel, 1914, from North Main Street south of Waterman Street by an easy grade to Thayer Street, from which cars are operated north, south, east and west to reach all parts of the East Side beyond the hill.

The new tramcars with higher speed suggested a new element of danger in public highways; the state Railroad Commissioner in 1894 recommended equipment with fenders, and in 1897 asked for legislation requiring automatic brakes and wheelguards or fenders, and forbidding or regulating riding on running-boards. The agitation over fenders was most urgent. The railway company insisted that the mattress type of projecting fender, resembling somewhat the cowcatcher on a steam locomotive, was unsatisfactory for town and city streets; and that the projecting unyielding gridiron type of fender in common use elsewhere was not actually a safeguard. Whether the company's objection was a reason or an evasion (it was termed the latter by advocates of fenders), eventually a new type of automatic-drop wheel guard fender was introduced by most lines operating in Rhode Island. In actual experience the number of accidents because of running down pedestrians was much less than had been anticipated, because the walking public soon accommodated itself to the new speed of traffic.

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The automatic wheel guard fender has worked well in most accidents, but the most effective safeguard against accidents still is careful operation of cars and watchful care by pedestrians.

Other quarrels developed over the use of streets, such as that in Newport arising from the wish to bar electric cars from Bellevue Avenue; in a case taken to the Supreme Court it was held that rails could be laid across the avenue to connect the rails in two streets ending nearly opposite each other at Bellevue Avenue,† thus making possible a line connecting the centre of the city with the bathing beach. The franchise legislation required a town or city council which ordered rails removed from any street to assign to the street railway a convenient parallel street.

THE TRANSFER QUESTION—The public patronizing the street cars was more immediately interested in the question of "transfers." In Rhode Island most horse car routes had been built on lines radiating from a centre, and the electric cars followed the same routes or new ones planned similarly. Most horse car routes served two sections, a trip consisting of a ride across the city through the centre. A patron might ride for a single fare from terminus to terminus or from any point to another point on the line; but a patron wishing to ride from point to point not on continuous lines must change cars at the centre and pay two fares. There was discussion, which the companies quieted sometimes by alternating termini, so that a patron might find opportunity for several cross-centre direct connections.

The lengthening of lines, the increased patronage of street cars, and the popular belief that electric traction was cheaper and vastly more profitable than horse cars brought about renewed discussion, and a demand that the companies should furnish service that would make it possible for a patron to travel from any point on the system to another point for a single fare. The railway companies' first proposition to meet this demand was embodied in the transfer act of 1896 for Providence, which directed the street railway company to transfer passengers at intersections of connecting lines through transfer stations. The transfer stations were to be located on land owned by the city of Providence and leased rent free to the company. The principal transfer station was to be at Weybosset Bridge, which was the centre of the system, but other stations were to be provided at other places to accommodate the public patronizing connecting lines without the necessity of traveling to the centre. The act was *mandatory in form if accepted by the company*;‡ the city of Providence objected to the requirement of providing sites for transfer stations, and the discussion reached quickly the status of the debate on the locus of the obligation to widen streets.

The old street railway station at Weybosset Bridge, which had been for many years considered a nuisance because of sanitary, if for no other reasons, was removed in 1898. At about the same period the street railway company undertook systematically a new routing of its lines in Providence in such manner that Dorrance Street at Westminster became the definite centre of the system, past which every street car passed. The removal might be associated with the westward movement of the retail trade centre from its earliest location at Cheapside, the old name for part of North Main Street, west of the river to the Arcade location by the middle of the nineteenth century, and thence onward until Dorrance Street marked almost its most remote eastern limit by 1900. Some there were, however, who pointed to the new Union Trust building at the corner of Dorrance and Westminster streets, and alleged a purpose of the President of the Trust Company—Marsden J. Perry, who was also a powerful influence in the railway company—to use the railway to bring all Rhode Island to the doors of his bank; it might be just as true that Perry chose the site for the bank with reference to the centre of the railway system, and the retail district. The transfer station plan had been discarded by 1901, when the new trust building was occupied, and the work of rerouting the trolley lines had been practically completed.

†State vs. Newport Street Railway Company, 16 R. I. 533.

‡Thus resembling the perpetual franchise act.

A new free transfer act, to be accepted by the company, was enacted in July, 1902, which provided for the issue of a transfer ticket on request of a patron who designated his destination at the time fare was paid. Transfers were not transferable from person to person, could be used only on intersecting lines, and were punched when issued to indicate destination. On interurban lines transfers were valid for riding for a single fare between two points within a town or city. This system was accepted. So far from decreasing revenues, the transfer system in operation had the effect of making the cars more popular. The form of transfer ticket was changed later, and less emphasis was placed on destination. The practice of charging for transfers was introduced as part of a plan for increasing revenues after the trolley system had passed the crest of prosperity. One other venture in regulating trolley service, a ten-hour law for conductors, gripmen and motormen, led to a strike\* in 1902; the act was emasculated in 1902, by making its provisions practically optional instead of mandatory.

**MARAUDERS IN CONTROL**—The Rhode Island Company was authorized, in 1902, to acquire and consolidate other public service corporations; it had already begun to move in this direction, and it had within a short time brought electric tramway systems as completely under its control, as had the New Haven the steam railroads. It had also begun to link up interurban systems in such manner as to parallel the steam railroads, and to compete, by offering frequent and convenient service at lower rates, for short-haul patronage. Consolidation was principally the preliminary strategy for a contest between the systems, although it should be noted (1) that so far as the railroads were concerned economy could be achieved in administration and better service on long hauls promoted by consolidation, and (2) that improvement in power transmission systems, as well as economy in administration, favored consolidation of electric traction companies.

The contest between rival steam railroad and electric railway in Rhode Island eventually became part of a war extending beyond the borders of Rhode Island and involving financial interests of national reputation. The decisive battle was fought in Wall Street, resulting in the retiring of the unsuccessful competitors of the New Haven Railroad, and the emerging of the latter with much plunder as the result of the campaign. It is more than a casual coincidence that the international telegraph code name for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company is "Marauders." The Wall Street movement was aimed principally at Charles W. Morse and his associates, who had established a line of steamships between New York and Boston, which competed with the railway, and who were promoting the Westchester electric railway as part of a high-speed rapid-transit system intended to connect New York and Boston and to rival the New Haven railway lines. Morse and his associates, including Marsden J. Perry, President of the Union Trust Company, were caught in the kind of trap that is used in Wall Street when one great financial interest plans to defeat or absorb another. Rumors that Perry had lost his fortune precipitated a run on the Union Trust Company, which closed its doors after two days, in order to conserve the interests of its creditors.† The trust company had assets which, though non-liquid, could be disposed of in a reasonable time so favorably as to make it possible to pay all claims; eventually it did, after a receivership, and continued business as a solvent institution. As a result of the Wall Street campaign control of the Rhode Island electric traction system passed to Morgan and New Haven interests. Thus it happened eventually that the New Haven controlled its own railroads, including practically all steam railroad service in Rhode Island; the Rhode Island electric system, also consolidated; and most of the steamboat lines operating regularly in and out of Narragansett Bay. It came to be true that a person who wished to travel in or leave Rhode Island must patronize the New Haven road unless he walked or traveled in a private conveyance; and the same was true of persons entering the state. The New Haven also

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bought, as opportunity offered, wharf and dock sites and rights, so that its control of waterways was as complete almost as that of overland rail routes. It needed a revolution almost to break the monopoly. The New Haven was compelled to release control of some properties in 1914, under the Sherman anti-trust law.

**THE BICYCLE AND GOOD ROADS**—Meanwhile a new factor affecting transportation and travel in Rhode Island was rising, although its future influence scarcely was perceived when, in 1886, the Bristol County Wheelmen obtained a social corporation charter. Clubs of bicycle riders at the time were principally social or sporting organizations; the bicycle was passing from the era of the high wheel to the "safety" model, and the pneumatic bicycle tire was being introduced, laughed at at first, to be sure, as are most innovations, but making its way to popularity. Eventually it made the bicycle itself so popular that all the state was awheel, and thus began a movement for better roads to accommodate bicycle riders. The influence of the bicycle appeared in legislation, such as (1) the act of 1896 forbidding the throwing of tacks, glass and other substances injurious to bicycle tires in streets or highways; (2) the act of 1898 providing for the construction of sidepaths along streets and highways to be reserved for bicycle riders; (3) the act of 1900, providing for a sidepath commission consisting of a cyclist from each county with authority to construct sidepaths, three to six feet wide, from fees paid voluntarily by cyclists.

More might have been accomplished by the sidepath commission, probably, if the movement had not become merged in a general interest in better roads. The General Assembly in 1892 appointed a commission to examine and report on the condition of state highways, and two years later appointed a state commission, with authority to construct state highways and apportion the cost in part to towns. The roads commission was authorized in 1895 to build sample macadam roads three yards wide and not more than one-half mile long, for demonstration purposes. In the same year the General Assembly defined in the statute law the responsibility of towns and cities for highways and bridges, ordered the appointment of highway surveyors, and the elimination of grade crossings where practicable. Progress toward the improvement of highways was underway, and to protect new and old roads, the minimum width of wagon tires was prescribed in 1897 and 1902 with reference to weight of load and size of axle. The State Board of Public Roads was created in 1902, with power to employ an engineer and to construct state highways, ordered by the General Assembly. The early road building program was financed for the most part by loans, obtained through bond issues approved in 1905, 1908 and 1911. At a special election in June, 1913, a proposed highway construction loan was rejected 12,383 to 6,629 for approval, while at the same time a bond issue for charitable institutions was approved 14,828 to 5,201 for rejection. The decisive rejection of the highways loan was clearly not accidental; the majority against was too large, and it had been given when another loan was approved. The reason was dissatisfaction with the results of the road building program. Early construction was of water-bound macadam, and the roads wore out rapidly under heavy traffic; the electors had grasped the incongruity of issuing long-term bonds to build roads which had disintegrated years before the bonds matured and the loans were repaid. Eventually, the road building campaign was carried forward and financed from the proceeds of registration and license taxes on automobiles, a three-cent tax assessed on towns, additional to and with the general state tax, and the acceptance of federal aid. The tax on property was replaced by a tax on sales of gasoline. The quality of public highway construction has improved steadily with the introduction of new processes, including oil and tarvia bound macadam, and cement, until in 1930 Rhode Island has achieved a national reputation for the excellence of its road system both in quality and the number of roads traversing the state in all direction.

The automobile is essentially a twentieth century vehicle, although steam, electric and

gasoline-driven internal engines had been invented and used in vehicles earlier than 1901. A few enthusiastic Rhode Islanders, alert to the possibilities of the new vehicle obtained a charter for the Rhode Island Automobile Transportation Company in 1899. The earliest use of automobiles in Rhode Island, aside from machines used in racing contests while the gasoline engine was still a toy, was principally commercial. Automobile delivery from retail stores and the use of an automobile truck by the "Providence Journal" to deliver bundles of papers to newsstands were novelties. It was not until the state public road system had opened up routes between towns and cities and through open country and woodland that the automobile became popular as a pleasure car. Registration of automobiles and motorcycles was required by law in 1904, the fees being appropriated for the construction and maintenance of roads. The development of automobile transportation and the extension of public roads in Rhode Island were closely interrelated, and the combined effect has been the inauguration of passenger and freight service that has had a marked significance for railroad and electric traction systems.

LATER BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION—Participation by the state in building the Seekonk River bridges marked the beginning of a new policy with reference to bridge construction, resting upon the recognition of the fact that a bridge, while serving primarily residents of a town in which the bridge is located, or the residents of towns connected by a bridge across a waterway that constitutes a town boundary, may serve also a large body of the public non-resident in the town or towns. As part of its public road construction program the state has erected bridges connecting links of the highway system. Additional to highway construction loans, bond issues for bridges have been approved in 1916, 1920, 1922 and 1926. The responsibility for maintaining a bridge that has become part of the state public roads system by lying within any line of road constructed by the state\* or by lying between and connecting two roads constructed by the state† rests upon the state rather than the town. Through extension of the state system of public roads most of the much-traveled bridges in Rhode Island are state-constructed and maintained if located within towns or between towns.

The state public roads system does not penetrate cities; bridges within cities or between cities are maintained by cities. Thus Pawtucket was authorized in 1904 to issue bonds to finance the building of streets and bridges. Five years later, after Pawtucket and Central Falls had neglected to rebuild the North Main Street bridge across the Blackstone River, connecting the two cities, the General Assembly appointed a bridge commission and charged the construction to the cities. The constitutionality of the bridge commission was sustained.‡ In this instance the construction of the bridge was financed by Pawtucket, and Central Falls was required to reimburse Pawtucket for a part of the expenditure later. On the other hand, Rhode Island Stone Bridge, across the Seaconnet River, connecting the Island of Rhode Island with the mainland, has been maintained and reconstructed from time to time by the state of Rhode Island. In 1911 the state ordered new concrete bridges constructed on the sites of the Kelley and Barrington bridges, which previously had been maintained by Warren and Barrington. The Mount Hope Bridge, across Bristol Ferry, is a toll bridge, title to which will pass to the state of Rhode Island after the construction company has recouped itself from tolls for the expense of building and made a fair profit on the venture while under operation. The need for a new bridge to replace the forty-year-old Washington Bridge, which had become inadequate to carry traffic conveniently and satisfactorily, evoked discussion of the responsibility for construction. The new bridge, completed in 1930, connects Providence and East Providence directly, but is also a most important link connecting state highway systems east and west of Narragansett Bay. Eventually the construction of the bridge itself

\*Johnston vs. Lee, 38 R. I. 316.

†Johnston vs. Lee, 39 R. I. 528.

‡Newell vs. Franklin, 30 R. I. 258; Blais vs. Franklin, 30 R. I. 413; Blais vs. Franklin, 31 R. I. 95.

was undertaken by the state of Rhode Island, and financed by two bond issues for a total of \$3,500,000. East Providence and Providence, each on its own side, were required to condemn and pay for the property taken for approaches. The bridge rests upon granite piers, the foundations of which are carried to bedrock. It is constructed of concrete reinforced with steel, and faced with cut granite. It is massive in proportion, but built in graceful lines with turrets that lend an ease to the sweep because of the perception of height. Between turrets the structure is arched except at the middle, directly over the channel. The draw is of the tilt-lift type, but is carried so high above mean high water mark that it need be opened only for vessels with tall masts of a type that rarely visit the Seekonk River. The approach from Providence is a long ramp faced with cut granite starting at East Street, just at the crest of Tockwotton Hill; the approach carries over intervening streets. A shorter ramp on the East Providence side includes a viaduct over the railroad tracks of the New Haven system. On the Providence side the bridge approach meets a new broad highway, the Fox Point Boulevard, which stretches west directly to Point Street Bridge across the Providence River, thus affording connections west and south, and taps six city streets leading to the north before Point Street Bridge is reached. On the East Providence side a broad connecting street affords access to Taunton Avenue, Warren Avenue, and the Barrington Parkway, radiating north-east, east and southeast toward the north, east and south trunk lines of the state highway system along the east side of Narragansett Bay.

THE CHANGES OF A CENTURY—The nineteenth century witnessed the substitution (1) of steamboats for sailing packets in passenger and freight transportation within and in and out of Narragansett Bay; (2) of steam railroads for the Blackstone Canal and stage coaches traveling on turnpikes; (3) of electric tramways for horsecars; and the beginning of the building of a state system of public roads and bridges to accommodate bicycles and automobiles. Early in the twentieth century (1) steam railroads and electric tramways had been consolidated each into a system of nearly equal mileage; (2) steam railroads monopolized long hauls; (3) electric tramways monopolized intra-urban traffic; (4) steam railroads and electric tramways were active competitors for patronage on short interurban lines, the advantage resting with the tramways because of more frequent service, and because, using public highways instead of private rights of way, they received passengers and discharged them with greater regard for the convenience of the latter. Another factor favoring the electric cars was the standard fare—the popular nickel—contrasted with the mileage rate collected by the steam railroads. The railroad company had met competition on one line by electrifying the Providence, Warren and Bristol, and introducing a zone system of standard nickel fares.

Not all electric railways were profitable; with the introduction of the trolley system and its early success in urban traffic and with the extension of it to interurban traffic, which also yielded profits in the first instances, new lines in every direction were planned, corporate charters were sought, capital was obtained by sale of stock or bond issue, and service was inaugurated. Interurban lines were profitable as they served established communities, and sometimes also as they furnished the transportation system which made possible the opening up of new territory for home building and which induced people to remove from congested city and town neighborhoods out into the country to places made convenient by regular car service at a low fare. But population did not invariably follow new lines, the amount of interurban traffic was sometimes overestimated, and promoters found that patronage was not sufficient to cover operating expenses and earn dividends. In consequence many lines had been abandoned even before the automobile had become a competitor of both railroads and tramways.

The rivalry between steam and electric systems was abated temporarily while the tramway companies endured the New Haven captivity resulting from the success of the railroad

interests in Wall Street. Reaching out further to control transportation within its chosen province of Southern New England, the New Haven company succeeded also in establishing practically a monopoly of steamboat traffic in and out of Narragansett Bay. The one competing rival suffered a crushing blow financially and in loss of prestige through the wreck of the steamboat "Larchmont," on February 11-12, 1907. Resolutions adopted in the General Assembly characterized the "Larchmont" disaster as "a calamity unparalleled in the history of the navigation of the waters in the vicinity of Rhode Island." The "Larchmont," ploughing its way through a blinding blizzard in Block Island Sound, met a small heavily laden, low-lying sailing craft in collision, and sank in open water before it could be beached. The hole opened in the hull was so large that fires were quickly extinguished and the vessel lost headway; buffeted by heavy gales it went down, carrying with it most of its passengers, officers and crew, the loss of life totalling 131. Many of those who left the wreck in boats or on rafts or on the upper deck, which floated away as the hulk disappeared, were drowned or frozen to death in the terrific winter storm. The weather was the coldest of the season, and a snowstorm raged through the night, the fall in Providence being almost the heaviest in years. U. S. S. "Chickasaw," attempting to answer the "Larchmont's" call for help, was forced to return to port. Three small fishing schooners, the "Elsie," Captain John A. Smith; the "Clara E.," Captain Ralph E. Dodge; and the "Theresa," Captain R. A. Sanchez, all out of Block Island, undertook the work of rescue or salvaging dead bodies. They persisted when other craft fled the violence of wind and wave. For days after the disaster ice-covered bodies were found floating in the neighborhood of the wreck, or were cast upon the beaches of Block Island or the Rhode Island south shore, and for days harrowing scenes accompanied the identification of the dead in an improvised morgue. The following Block Islanders, all hardy fishermen, received the thanks of the General Assembly "for their heroism, persistence and endurance in scouring the tumultuous waters of Block Island Sound in the piercing cold of February 12 and 13, 1907, to succor the suffering survivors and recover the ice-cumbered bodies of the dead": Captain John W. Smith, G. Elwood Smith, Albert W. Smith, Harry L. Smith, Earl A. Smith, Jeremiah M. Littlefield, Edgar Littlefield and Louis E. Smith, of the schooner "Elsie"; Captain Ralph E. Dodge, William P. Dodge, William Dodge, Elmer Allen and Eugene Stenson, of the schooner "Clara E."; and Captain R. A. Sanchez, R. A. Sanchez, Jr., Joseph Sanchez, Thomas Ferguson, Justin Thomas and Samuel Brown, of the schooner "Theresa."

Only once since the sinking of the "Larchmont" has there been a disaster approaching that in destruction of life. Leaving Newport, August 18, 1925, with a crowd of excursionists from Pawtucket and Central Falls, who had spent the day at the beach, the "Mackinack," steamer, was wrecked by boiler explosion, and fifty-three lives were lost before the vessel could be beached and the passengers removed by boats from the government stations and the harbor. The cause of the "Mackinack" disaster was a weakened boiler, which yielded to extra steam pressure and poured upon the passengers a scalding cloud of vapor, inflicting death or fearful wounds, from which many who were removed to hospitals died subsequently. A worse disaster was averted only by the pilot's prompt beaching of the vessel, and by the fact that the explosion happened so shortly after leaving the dock that help was available almost immediately from other boats in Newport harbor.

**HARBOR DEVELOPMENT**—Rhode Island was restive under the monopoly that controlled transportation and which tended, because of the New York financial interest in the New Haven company to route traffic in such manner that Narragansett Bay had become tributary to Manhattan. Furthermore, there was early in the twentieth century a dawning realization that Narragansett Bay as a seaport must be deepened to accommodate the large vessels coming

into use. The convention of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association in Providence, August 31-September 3, 1910, challenged Rhode Island to realize the possibilities of a splendid harbor. A movement had already been inaugurated when in 1909, the people authorized the issuing of \$500,000 bonds to finance the acquisition and improvement of shore property in Providence, Pawtucket and East Providence. A second harbor improvement loan was approved in 1912. The work of reconstruction was carried forward as an enterprise to which the state of Rhode Island, the city of Providence and the United States government contributed. The state's share was the acquisition of shore property, riparian rights and tide-flowed land, preparatory to the construction of wharves, slips and piers. Not all that has been purchased by the state has been developed, but two state piers have been built.

State pier number one, in Providence, west of the river and east of Allen's Avenue, juts out 600 feet and provides docking facilities for two large ocean steamships at the same time. On the pier is a steel shed\* 400 feet long, 100 feet wide and two stories high. The pier is connected by spur tracks with the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. It was used first by the S. S. "Venezia" of the Fabre Line (French), on December 17, 1913, and is still used by the Fabre Line, which maintains a direct passenger and freight service between Narragansett Bay and French and Mediterranean ports. The Fabre Line steamships are thoroughly modern; the queen of the fleet is the S. S. "Providence," which was constructed for the service in Narragansett Bay. Accommodations are provided on the state pier for a United States immigration station, and for United States customs, quarantine and other inspection officers. The state property in connection with the pier fronts 700 feet on the river and contains 748,523 square feet. State pier number two is located on the east side of the Seekonk River in Pawtucket. It consists of a solid masonry quay wall 700 feet front on the river; the state land includes 170,000 square feet. This pier, because of the narrowness of the Seekonk River and the depth of water alongside, does not project.

The share of Providence in the tripartite plan for improving the harbor consisted in building a seawall and municipal pier at Field's Point. This project involved the elimination of Field's Point as a geographical fact, by cutting away the sharp projection completely as the harbor line was drawn straight. With Field's Point went the clambake pavilion and the shore dinners that had made Field's Point famous the world over. The city built a seawall 3000 feet long, dredged the harbor in front and alongside to a depth of thirty-five feet, and reclaimed the tide-flowed flats behind part of the wall by washing down a hill by hydraulic power into the flats. The wall was completed in 1914, and two years later other work had been carried forward sufficiently to warrant formal dedication. Rail connections for the municipal wharf have been established with the New Haven and the projected Southern New England Railroad; and a marginal railway along the front of the wall and storage tracks on the flats provide ample accommodations for freight. The dock has been equipped with freight houses, traveling cranes and other modern machinery. Because of its docking facilities Providence has become an eastern port for a direct lumber trade with the Pacific coast through the Panama Canal, and a lumber distributing centre for New England and parts of the United States east of the Mississippi. It is possible to ship lumber at Seattle *via* the Panama Canal and Narragansett Bay for ultimate delivery so far west as Michigan, with advantage in carriage rates and time as compared with overland shipment by railroad freight. The benefit of the improvement is not confined to the northern parts of Rhode Island, by any means; recognition of the strategic position of Narragansett Bay for coastwise commerce, including Atlantic-Pacific transportation, led to the choice of the northern end of the Island of Rhode Island, at Bristol Ferry in the town of Portsmouth, as place for another lumber dis-

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\* Destroyed by fire, 1931.

tributing centre, and the construction of piers, yards, sheds and other buildings that rival the establishment at Providence.

The federal government's share in the improvement of Narragansett Bay consisted in dredging the channel of bay and harbor from the deep water of the lower reaches of the bay, to Providence. This work was undertaken under the provisions of an agreement that the state of Rhode Island and the city of Providence should expend for harbor and docking development an amount equal at least to federal appropriations. The state and city more than met the requirements of the contract with the United States, and the United States has dredged a channel that opens Narragansett Bay to the heaviest commerce carried in ships. Incidental to deepening the channel and clearing anchorage space, obstructions were removed, and the channel was straightened. The monopoly of wharves and docks that had been almost accomplished by acquisition or lease has been broken, and state and city can offer ample facilities for regular or transient commerce in ships. The better channel and harbor have attracted to Narragansett Bay also a large commerce in mineral oil, shipped direct from Gulf ports in Texas and Mexico to Rhode Island. The oil companies have bought or leased shore property, and have built tanks and piers, and established connections with the railroad system. From the shores of the bay long trains of tank cars carry the oil to all parts of New England. One company has established in Rhode Island a large oil refining plant.

NEW ENGLAND SOUTHERN—Rhode Island welcomed in 1910 the Southern New England Railway Company and its project for building a new railroad connecting immediately at Palmer with the Northern New London Railroad, and eventually *via* the Central Vermont with the Canadian Grand Trunk. The incorporators of the Southern New England included Charles M. Hays and E. H. Fitzhugh of the Grand Trunk, which was seeking through Narragansett Bay an ice-free harbor as the terminal for its lines in Canada. The charter granted by the General Assembly in 1910 empowered the Southern New England to condemn and to acquire a right of way and to build a railroad from the Massachusetts state line through the towns of northern Rhode Island, provided that the main line "shall run into or through the cities of Woonsocket, Pawtucket and Providence"; and also to construct and operate a lateral branch line to tidewater ending in Providence, Cranston or Warwick. The charter permitted the Southern New England to connect its tracks with the tracks of other railroads for the exchange of cars in the comity between railroads that exists in America, but forbade consolidation of the new railroad with the New Haven system or of the New Haven with the new road. The company was authorized to enter the Union station in Providence from the west, a right reserved for a new railroad in the contract under the terms of which the station had been constructed. The new company was required to file "the location of the said railroad" before July 1, 1911, and to complete the construction before July 1, 1915. Rhode Island was enthusiastic, as it visioned in the advent of a new railroad the wealth of Canadian commerce brought to the shores of Narragansett Bay, and specifically Narragansett Bay as a seaport for Canada. Very unfortunately for the Southern New England, Charles M. Hays, who had been the most aggressive champion of the Grand Trunk extension, was a passenger on the White Star liner "Titanic" on its maiden voyage, and was lost at sea when the "Titanic" sank in the disaster of April 14-15, 1912. The work of surveying and acquiring a right of way, and of building roadbeds and foundations for bridges progressed steadily for a time, but eventually was abandoned, although the General Assembly more than once extended the time in which the new road might be completed.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad was a persistent opponent of the new project. In a particular instance the New Haven extended a freight yard between Woon-

socket and Blackstone across the proposed right of way, thus to constrain the Southern New England, which in the exercise of eminent domain to acquire a right of way, could condemn the property of another railroad only for the purpose of carrying its own tracks under by tunnel or over by bridge, to undertake an engineering project in overhead construction that was disheartening because of the probable expenditure necessitated. In 1930 an effort to revive the Southern New England was undertaken, the project contemplating renewal of the charter and purchase of the right of way and the roadbed and bridge foundations. The New Haven Company opposed the proposition, urging that the port of Providence needed "tidewater terminal facilities in the form of additional piers and a grain elevator, and such marketing, purchasing and banking agencies as will be required by the grain and other traffic using the port." The New Haven asserted also that its own rail connections afforded fourteen different routes to all parts of the United States and Canada, as follows: A direct route to Oswego and Lake Ontario *via* the New York, Ontario & Western, owned and operated by the New Haven; and connections with the Canadian National *via* Willimantic or *via* Worcester and the Boston & Maine; with the Canadian Pacific *via* Lowell or Worcester and the Boston & Maine; with the New York Central west to Chicago, *via* Worcester and the Boston & Albany; with Erie, Pennsylvania, on Lake Erie, *via* Maybrook or *via* Fitchburg or Worcester and the Boston & Maine-Delaware & Hudson; with the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western *via* Maybrook; with the Lehigh Valley *via* Maybrook or New York; with the Pennsylvania system *via* New York; with the Baltimore & Ohio-Central Railway of New Jersey-Reading *via* Maybrook. The New Haven suggested also the advantages accruing to New York as a centre for export traffic because of the New York barge canal, and to Montreal and St. John because of the Welland and Lachine canals. The import commerce of Providence during the year ending June 30, 1928, was: Coal, 36,501 tons; petroleum, 183,365 tons; cement, 14,634 tons; salt, 1671 tons; provisions, 1243 tons; lumber, 17,109 tons; miscellaneous, 152 tons. The export commerce was 2915 tons.

The New Haven argument continued:

In the early days the service for Providence was provided by several independent railroads. As the railroads improved their service and increased their traffic the several independent companies came under a common control as a public necessity, so that the through routes that are now available would be possible and that the same terminal facilities could be used for all the traffic without additional expense to the shipper. . . . Providence has one advantage enjoyed by few ports. Both sides of the harbors are served by the same railroad, permitting the development of the entire harbor on an equal basis. Each pier constructed along the shores of Providence harbor can have a physical connection with railroad facilities already in existence. The tremendous investment usually required to connect new steamship piers with the railroad will be unnecessary at Providence, and it will not be necessary to establish any terminal railroad to serve the piers. Adequate track and yard facilities easily accessible to any new piers that may be constructed, are already in existence at Providence with sufficient excess capacity to take care of any increased traffic that may move through the port. . . . The advantages enjoyed by Providence through being served by a single railroad are now sought by the ports served by several railroads. Expensive belt line railroads are even operated through the public streets at some ports to connect the piers and industries with the several railroads. With a suitable harbor, reasonable port regulations and port charges, proper terminal facilities and adequate rail service to the interior, all available, the next step in the development of the port is to induce the steamship lines and the import and export traffic to use the port.

PASSING OF ELECTRIC TRACTION—The prosperity of electric tramways endured for scarcely a quarter of a century. Even sooner than that lines that had been constructed without assurance of patronage and with a rashness that suggested speculation, were discontinued and abandoned. So early as 1912 all tramway companies had begun to measure the effect of automobile competition in reduced earnings. The purchase price of gasoline cars was grad-

ually reduced as cheaper models were introduced and mass production made economy in construction possible. The automobile tended to become not only the family pleasure car competing with the tramcar on Sundays and holidays, but also the means whereby the owner traveled between home and work, thus also depriving the electric company of fares. The earliest competition was by use of private cars principally, all of which tended to divert patronage.

By 1915, a public automobile competition had appeared in the jitney, which was a privately owned car that received passengers on street and road and charged a nickel fare for a ride usually paralleling the tracks of a street railway. Jitney service was more flexible, more frequent and quicker than trolley service, and tended to become more popular. The number of jitneys in use, the street space occupied for parking while waiting for passengers, and the methods resorted to by some drivers to obtain patronage suggested regulatory legislation so early as 1915. Eventually the street railway companies complained of "unfair competition," and in 1922 the General Assembly required the bonding of jitneys, and placing their licensing and operation under the regulation of the Public Utilities Commission. The rules imposed by the commission were so stringent and drastic that jitney service was discontinued on July 3, 1922.

Private automobile competition continued and waxed stronger. The automobile was almost the only commodity that did not increase in price during the World War; on the contrary, the price of automobiles tended to decrease, and the number of automobiles in use increased as workingmen, earning larger wages at war time scales, were able to become purchasers. So far as the street railways were concerned, the rising prices of commodities, including equipment, without a corresponding increase in the number and rate of fares, produced embarrassment.

The plight of the Rhode Island Company was described by the Supreme Court in 1920\* thus:

The Rhode Island Company is the operating company of the greater part of the street railway system of this state. Its control of the different street railways was secured by long term leases or by purchase. In 1907, the Rhode Island Company was acquired for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, and in 1914, in proceedings brought under the Sherman anti-trust law, federal trustees were appointed by the courts of the United States to control and manage the properties. In 1917 a special commission was appointed by the Legislature to investigate the finances, management, property and mode of operation of the Rhode Island Company, for the purpose of determining whether proper service was furnished by the company and whether the company was receiving a fair and equitable return upon the property. The commission was authorized and directed to determine upon such modification of rates of fares, transfers or systems of fares and transfers as they should find to be just and equitable, to certify its determination thereof to the Public Utilities Commission, and said commission was directed to make such modifications as were determined upon by the special commission. It was further provided as follows: "Such modifications shall be subject to change from time to time by the Public Utilities Commission whenever in its opinion the public interest shall so demand and the affairs of the Rhode Island Company shall warrant." March 7, 1918, the special commission made its report to the Legislature . . . that the Rhode Island Company did not receive a fair and equitable return upon its property; that for several years the property had been operated at a heavy loss and that a modification of the system of fares and transfers then in effect was necessary in part for a fair return upon the property. The commission recommended that the primary regulation of the utility be by the Public Utilities Commission, that municipal franchises be abolished, that the company be relieved of certain obligations in regard to the paving of streets, that changes be made in the routing of the cars and that changes in equipment recommended by the commission's engineer be made as soon as practicable.

After consideration by a joint committee of the General Assembly, the report of the special commission was ratified and "the Public Utilities Commission was directed to order the Rhode Island Company to make such modifications in its system of fares and transfers as

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\*Public Utilities Commission vs. Rhode Island Company, 43 R. I. 135.

recommended." The effect was the introduction of a zone system. "Under the new system there was established about the Providence traffic centre a central five cent fare and transfer zone with an air line radius of two and one-half miles. About the centres of Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Riverpoint there were established zones with air line radii of two miles in length. Outside of these various traffic centres were suburban zones in which a fare of two cents was charged." "The company, in August, sought modification of the zone plan, and after hearings, the Public Utilities Commission ordered a new schedule." "The general result of the order was to cut down the radius of the central zone about the traffic centre of Providence to a radius of two miles, to make the fare in all zones, suburban zones as well as central zones, five cents, and to fix a charge of one cent for each transfer issued." The new tariff was made effective until March 1, 1919. The Superior Court appointed a temporary receiver for the Rhode Island Company on January 30, 1919, and on March 5, 1919, Frank H. Swan, Theodore Francis Green and Zenas W. Bliss were appointed receivers. The tariffs in force were continued in effect by orders of the Public Utilities Commission. "From July 19 to August 6, 1919, there was a strike of the employes of the company to obtain increased wages. Later an agreement was reached whereby substantial increases were made in the pay of the employes of the company. On August 8, 1919, the receivers filed their petition with the Public Utilities Commission, in which they set out the financial condition of the property in their hands and prayed that an action might be ordered modifying the tariffs then in existence." After hearings a new order was entered. "The effect of the order was to maintain the zone limits existing at the time, to increase the fare from five cents to six cents in each zone, and the charge for the transfers from one cent to two cents. . . . The Rhode Island Company was required to file a detailed financial statement each month with the commission, showing the monthly results of the new tariffs." Reviewing appeals filed by twelve municipalities against the formal order of the Public Utilities Commission, the court said: "It is a matter of public record and public knowledge that the company is still in the hands of receivers, and that it has been and is today being operated at a loss. It is in testimony that the receivers were unable to borrow on the security of the company sufficient money to insure the continued operation of the railroad. It was and is today a vital interest of the state and its inhabitants that there should be no stoppage of transportation by the street railway company. Transportation is in the nature of a commodity. It is provided not by public funds but by private capital. It cannot for any length of time be furnished to a community for less than cost, which includes not only the expenditure for operation, etc., but also a fair return on the capital actually required to furnish the transportation. Increased revenue was required in order to continue the operation of the cars."

The United Electric Railways Company was incorporated in 1919, with power to acquire by purchase the property and franchises of the Rhode Island Company and the properties operated by it and the Rhode Island Suburban. The United Electric Railways Company purchased from the receivers the property of the Rhode Island Company, *et als.*, and continued operation, without, however, assuming outstanding indebtedness. Practically the purchase was a receivers' sale of a bankrupt estate. The United Electric Railways Company was relieved, in 1921, of the state tax of one per cent. on operating revenues, and of the street paving obligations theretofore imposed, and eventually of practically all franchise and excise taxes, including the state tax on corporate excess and intangible property. Operation of cars by one man, serving as both conductor and motorman, was introduced in 1922 as an economy. From time to time modifications in fare tariffs have been made by the Public Utilities Commission. The schedule in operation in 1930 included a single fare of eight cents for any zone ride, zones tending to conform to town area; or a fare of seven cents if token fare coins were purchased in lots of five; and a two-cent transfer charge. Thus a patron might ride across

the centre of a town or city for ten cents, including the transfer charge, or for nine cents, including transfer, according as he paid a single fare or purchased fare tokens.

The company, following systematically a policy of retrenchment, has abandoned unprofitable lines altogether, reduced service on other lines following careful studies of actual patronage, and substituted gasoline omnibuses for electric cars in many instances. The experience of the Rhode Island Company parallels the vicissitudes that have attended street railway operation in other states. In Rhode Island centres other than those near Providence, electric tramway service has been abandoned. In Westerly and vicinity rails have been removed; in Newport local service has been practically discontinued and replaced by gasoline buses. Woonsocket saw its last trolley car in operation in July, 1930. The Narragansett Pier Steam Railroad was authorized in 1920 to discontinue service; at the same session the towns of South Kingstown and Narragansett were authorized to subsidize the road or take other measures to maintain such transportation as the towns considered indispensable. Under agreement with the railroad company, which continues to haul freight, a gasoline omnibus for passengers operating on the rails and right of way of the railroad company meets all trains stopping at Kingston. Of the Narragansett Pier Railroad the story is still told that when President Mellen of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad once asked President Hazard of the Narragansett Pier, "What will you take for your railroad?" the answer was, "The Narragansett Pier is not for sale; what will you take for the New Haven?" The branch railroad from Wickford Junction to Wickford, connecting the main line of the New Haven with the docks at Wickford, and with the ferry between Wickford and Newport, affording a favorite line of travel, has been abandoned. Gasoline buses and taxicabs have replaced this service. The Sea View Railway, electric, connecting with the Rhode Island Suburban and Rhode Island Company lines and affording through passenger service between Narragansett Pier and Providence, is no longer more than a memory. The interurban electric systems connecting Providence with Warren, Bristol and Fall River, except the electrified division of the New Haven, have been abandoned, and replaced by omnibus service; so also have the electric lines connecting Pawtucket with the Attleboros and Taunton, save for a street railway line to Attleboro operating on minimum schedule. In both Pawtucket and Providence street railway lines are giving way to gasoline omnibuses operated by the United Electric Railways Company.

**AUTOMOBILE TRANSPORTATION**—The twentieth century has witnessed the development of an automobile transportation system for passengers, express and freight that has affected not only electric street railways but also steam railroads. For passenger service public gasoline-driven omnibuses are now operated almost universally between towns and cities on direct lines not usually exceeding fifty miles, with occasionally longer routes, and possibilities of transfer by connecting systems. Transcontinental touring by connecting omnibus lines is achieved, the equipment on some lines including sleeping and other overnight accommodations. Both steam railroads and electric railways have supplemented rail service with bus service, and both operate elaborate systems either directly or through separate corporations under control. The gasoline omnibus is operated usually over a public highway, and the company owning it incurs no expenditure for acquiring a right of way, building a roadbed and tracks, or for maintenance of road, all of which have been heavy charges on rail systems. The gasoline omnibus rolls over a public highway, the cost of which to the taxpaying public may reach as high as \$50,000 per mile. In a particular instance, Newport and Providence are nearer in the twentieth century from the point of view of intermunicipal travel than ever before in the history of Rhode Island, the connection being by rapid-transit gasoline omnibuses following almost a straight line from Washington Bridge across the Seekonk River, through East Providence, Barrington, Warren and Bristol to the Mount Hope Bridge, and

thence, through Portsmouth and Middletown, all the way over splendid highways. Mount Hope Bridge reduced the time of riding to approximately one hour. Omnibus service is not so rapid as electric or steam service over direct private rights of way, but it affords the same convenience of using streets and roads, and of stopping to accommodate passengers which made the electric tramway in short-haul interurban service a stalwart competitor of the steam railroad. The answer of both the electric tramway and the steam railroad to this competition is entrance of the same field by operating gasoline omnibuses. The steam railroads have also undertaken a radical improvement of long-haul service by introducing finely equipped express trains operating on high-speed schedules, this development having a view also to the threat of airplane competition.

Along with accommodations for passengers, interurban electric tramways introduced freight and express service that quickly rivalled steam railroads, but only for a few brief years, as both steam and electric systems were challenged by gasoline trucks. The earliest types of gasoline truck consisted of chassis planned for a passenger car, with body modelled for commercial purposes, and the use was for light delivery service from retail stores. The possibilities of automobile truck service were quickly recognized, and new and sturdier types of engine, chassis and body were constructed. The result has been almost the disappearance of horsedrawn vehicles from public highways; instead, private and public automobiles, and trucks ranging from light delivery wagons to vehicles weighing tons and capable of carrying the heaviest type of load, throng streets and roads and suggest problems of congestion. The flexibility of automobile truck service revolutionized express and short-haul freight service. As an instance, a wholesaler or retailer in Rhode Island operating a fleet of trucks can deliver daily within a radius of 100 miles or more, or can patronize any of a large number of automobile freight or express trucking companies operating on established interurban schedules. On short hauls, such as, for instance, between Providence and Newport, railroad freight service might require several days for transportation; a Newport plumber can order by telephone up to three or four in the afternoon of one day, and have delivered at his shop the following morning early enough for work any type of plumbing supply carried by the jobber who maintains a warehouse in Providence or Boston. The steam railroads have lost short-haul freight and express business; instead they have developed a better service on long hauls. In the expansion of interurban truck freight and express operations, night movement has assumed proportions little dreamed of by those who accept service but think not of the method by which it is accomplished; the long cement ribbons that connect cities and are thronged with private automobiles and passenger omnibuses in daylight hours, at night carry another type of traffic, as long trains of trucks seek open highways for rapid transportation of heavy loads.

A horsedrawn vehicle is so much a rarity in Rhode Island as almost to be a curious relic of an era that has passed. This is true in city and country. In the latter, trucks and tractors have replaced farm wagons and horse or ox-drawn ploughs or other farm equipment; in the former, cars and trucks have replaced carriages and wagons. Even the hansom cab and hackney carriage have gone the way of the stagecoach and horsecar. A funeral is no longer an impressive parade of "hacks" drawn by horses; instead a motorized hearse leads an "automobile cortege." The substitute for public hansom or hackney carriage is the modern "taxicab," so called because of the taximeter, used to record distance in terms of the fare earned. The early principle of taxicab service fixed fares with relation to length of ride, and the taximeter was a device for preventing the type of discussion common in hackney carriage days accompanying disputes as to the amount of fares. A modern deviation in taxicab service eliminates the meter and establishes a flat rate for all rides from a centre to a zone limit, usually a town or city line. In this the flat-rate taxicab resembles the street railway practice

of uniform fares. Mass production of automobiles has made possible the maintenance of large fleets of taxicabs, and reduction of rates, which in the period immediately preceding 1930, had reached figures so low as to make the convenient low-priced taxicab service an actual competitor of the street railway company. Assuming for the latter a fare of eight cents per passenger, a taxicab fare of twenty-five cents, at any moment without reference to the set time table of the trolley company and directly to the doorstep of destination, had attractions outweighing the extra cost. As the taxicab carried extra passengers without extra fare, the service was even more attractive for couples and large parties. Regulation of taxicab service in Rhode Island, stipulating glass partitions between driver and passengers, licensing, etc., had little effect in reducing the number in service; indeed, in 1930, a competitive war between taxicab companies tended to increase the number, as each company tried to make its own service more convenient and popular. Entirely aside from the question of the possibility of maintaining taxicab service with reasonable profit at the low rate, the street railway company had measured a decrease in its own revenues because of the large numbers of passengers diverted from electric cars to taxicabs, and in 1930, while asking legislation that would restrict further by regulation the activity of taxicabs, was considering entering the taxicab field with a fleet of its own. The General Assembly enacted regulatory legislation in 1930. A new corporation, allied with the United Electric Railway, almost immediately acquired control of ninety per cent. of taxis in service, and the fares of passengers were raised slightly. The current rate in 1930 makes the taxicab a favorite vehicle for the convenient service rendered.

FLYING—Rhode Island aeronauts, James K. Allen, and Ezra Allen, his son, used balloons during the Civil War to examine positions occupied by the enemy. James K. Allen made his first ascension in Rhode Island in 1856, and it is related of Count Zeppelin, the German inventor of the modern dirigible balloon, that he made his first balloon flight with one of the Allens, while the Count was a member of the German Embassy and the latter was engaged in military observations somewhere in Virginia. Because of the popularity of the Allens in Rhode Island a balloon ascension was for many years a time-honored tradition of the celebration of July 4. James K. Allen made an ascension as part of the program for the observance in 1886 of the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Rhode Island. Fifty years after his first flight (1856-1906) James K. Allen ascended in Providence on July 4, and disappeared in the clouds during a rainstorm; when hope for his safety had been abandoned almost, because of fear that he had been carried out to sea, he returned home for another ascension.

Brave Rhode Island youth played their part as aviators in the World War. One of the earliest airplane passenger lines established in the United States linked Newport and New York, June 29, 1923. Several flying fields owned by corporations are maintained in Rhode Island, additional to the airplane and seaplane facilities at and near Newport, established by the United States Navy Department. The people of Rhode Island in 1928 approved a bond issue to finance the acquisition and development of a state airport, and in 1929 a state commission, appointed to carry the project into effect, purchased a tract of land at Hillsgrove in Warwick. The airport is in process of being cleared and graded in 1930.

Airplane or seaplane is suggested as a regular means of travel between Block Island and the mainland, always a problem. The town of New Shoreham, in 1901, put into regular service a large steamship, the "New Shoreham," which made daily trips with a new harbor constructed on Great Pond as the island base. The state loaned New Shoreham \$25,000 on the town's note to assist in carrying forward the project of cutting a breachway from the pond to the ocean, and dredging a channel to a land-locked dock. Within the pond a fleet of fishing

vessels may ride safely, however wild the tempest on the stormy Atlantic Ocean or Block Island Sound. In 1908 the General Assembly after listening to an appeal by "Tal" Dodge,\* fisherman and pilot, declaring that the town was too poor to pay even the interest on its debt, cancelled the indebtedness. After a quarter of a century of service the steamer "New Shoreham" was sold. Winter service between the island and mainland is maintained by a small steamboat, which carries United States mail, but occasionally Block Islanders who must reach the mainland make the winter voyage by small fishing boats landing in the Point Judith Pond, to avoid a longer exposure by sailing to Newport. Announcement of airplane service between Block Island and the mainland has been made by a Rhode Island transportation corporation.

Thus 1930 finds Rhode Island's transportation needs served by (1) a steam railroad company operating 200 miles of main and supplementary lines within the state, with established connections with main trunk lines outside Rhode Island affording fourteen different contacts outside New England, north, east, south and west; (2) by a large fleet of passenger and cargo-carrying steamships engaged in coastwise and foreign commerce; (3) by a street railway service principally in the northern part of the state, where the population is most congested; (4) by gasoline omnibuses in passenger service and trucks in freight and express service operating on established lines and reaching all parts of Rhode Island and neighboring states; (5) within cities and compact towns by taxicabs; (6) and last, but not by any means the least important, by over 120,000 private automobiles operating on a statewide system of splendid highways and bridges; with (7) airplane service in prospect and partly realized. Rhode Island is looking forward to the future of the airplane, whatever that may be.

**WATER COMPANIES**—The General Assembly granted charters of incorporation in 1772 to three water companies—the Field Fountain Society, the Rawson Fountain Society, and the Cook Fountain Society, all of Providence. Each company supplied a section of the town lying west of the river with water, thus relieving apprentices and other boys of the work of carrying water from clear wells, springs and brooks to supply houses and shops in low-lying spots, particularly immediately west of the bridge, where well water was brackish. John Howland, in his "autobiography," recalled this duty of apprentices. Remnants of the wooden pipes used in carrying water underground were found occasionally thirty years ago when excavations were made.

The General Assembly, in 1864, chartered the Providence Water Company, with authorized capital of \$1,000,000 and power to draw water from the Ten Mile River and to establish conduits under the Seekonk. This project was made feasible by the acquisition of East Providence in the adjustment of the eastern boundary line, 1862, but was abandoned, even before the city of Providence was authorized, in 1866, to obtain a municipal water supply from the Pawtuxet, Blackstone, Ten Mile or Woonasquatucket River. The Pawtuxet was chosen, and the work of building dams and reservoirs, and acquiring title to land and protecting watersheds, and constructing a main trunk supply line three feet in diameter to the centre of the city proceeded for nearly five years. The venture involved an expenditure of \$5,000,000. The first water was discharged through an exhibition jet in Exchange Place on Thanksgiving Day, 1871; the stream was described by a contemporary as shot under pressure higher than adjacent buildings, and as falling, because of intensely cold weather, below zero, in the form of ice before reaching the ground. A similar tale is told of the Aldrich House fire, February 15, 1888, when water thrown from fire hose, the temperature being twelve above zero, reached the blaze in the form of sleet. Of the demonstration of the new water system in 1871, it is related that "parties attempting to cross this treacherous mass (of ice) were caught in its embrace, and came near freezing to death in the presence of thousands of spectators." The

\*Talbot Dodge.

requirements of residents of the East Side highlands were supplied by building Hope Reservoir on the crest of almost the highest elevation and maintaining a stand of water in the reservoir by pumping. With relatively little extension the Pawtuxet water system, with a pumping station at Pettacousett, supplied the needs of the city for nearly fifty years.

Early in the twentieth century, nevertheless, Providence, still a growing city with larger needs, sought a more ample water supply, and in 1910, under legislative authorization began to acquire land and water rights along the north branch of the Pawtuxet River, principally in Scituate. The largest unit in the new system is Scituate reservoir, formed by a dam 3200 feet long and 100 to 180 feet high from valley levels, across the Pawtuxet River Valley at Kent. The reservoir collects drainage water from a watershed the total area of which is little less than 100 square miles, and has storage capacity of 36,900,000,000 gallons and flow capacity of 85,000,000 gallons daily. From Kent Dam, the flow line of which is 284 feet above mean high water in Narragansett Bay, the water is carried through an aqueduct 7.3 miles long, more than half of which was tunneled through rocky hills to Sockanosset Hill and a connection with the old Providence water system. Two supplementary covered reservoirs have been constructed at Neutaconkanut and at Longview in North Providence, and the water is filtered. The first water from the new system reached Providence on September 30, 1926. The total expenditure for the completed system, including main conduits will approximate \$22,000,000. Providence supplies water for parts of Cranston, Warwick, Johnston, Scituate and North Providence.

Pawtucket was authorized in 1875 to take a municipal water supply from the Blackstone River or Carpenter's Pond, but selected Abbott's Run in Cumberland, authorization for which was obtained in 1876. The Pawtucket system as developed includes three reservoirs, at Stump Hill in Lincoln, and at Diamond Hill and Arnold's Mill in Cumberland, with a capacity of 2,770,000,000 gallons. Pawtucket supplies water for Central Falls and parts of Cumberland, East Providence, Lincoln and North Providence. The Newport city water system was authorized in 1877 under a charter granted to George H. Norman and associates; the charter was replaced by another in 1879. The supply is drawn from Easton's Pond; deepened as a reservoir, and the capacity is sufficient to supply 4,000,000 gallons daily. Except in extraordinarily dry seasons, Newport has an abundant water supply; the problem of increase is difficult because of island location and want of extensive river valleys or broad watersheds. Woonsocket has a municipal water system, the only problem related to which arises from the fact that part of the watershed lies in Massachusetts, and may be protected adequately only with the cooperation of extra-state officers. In several compact towns water is provided by private water corporations, which maintain reservoirs or standpipes, pumping stations, mains and distributing pipe lines.

**STREET AND HOUSE LIGHTING**—The earliest statutes referring to street lighting were measures penalizing interference with private lights placed at entrances to estates. The illumination of streets and buildings mentioned occasionally in connection with celebrations or receptions in honor of distinguished guests consisted of lighted candles placed behind window panes. A few streets in Providence were lighted in 1821. Newport is credited with being the first American city to light a street with gas, which was used on Thames Street. Gas was not used for public lighting in Providence until 1848, when the Providence Gas Company, newly established, placed forty poles in the circle around the Cove as a demonstration. Other gas companies were chartered and gas plants constructed at the period, and gas gradually replaced whale oil and gasoline as a street illuminant, and also for house lighting. The earliest gas manufacture was principally for lighting purposes; although gas as an illuminant is little used in the twentieth century, the manufacture of fuel gas for cooking, heating, and hot-flame

processes in factories continues with a tendency to enlarge gas-producing plants and distribution systems. Thus the Providence Gas Company sells 3,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas annually to 75,000 customers in three Rhode Island counties. The Blackstone Valley Gas and Electric Company, supplying Pawtucket, Central Falls and much of the Blackstone Valley northward, continues to increase its output of gas.

The introduction of electricity for lighting purposes awaited the perfection of the incandescent lamp half a century ago (1879) and the invention later of a satisfactory and practical type of carbon arc lamp. The Narragansett Electric Lighting Company was incorporated in 1884. Street lighting by electricity had not become usual until the opening of the twentieth century. The improvement of transmission systems makes the operation of large power plants practicable, with distributing lines supplying vast areas. There are few streets and roads in Rhode Island, and few houses, so far removed from electric trunk lines as to be without electric service. The completely modern installation includes lights, cooking range, electric refrigeration, a long list of electrical devices to be plugged into convenient sockets, and radio with electric-socket charged battery or direct service.

**OTHER UTILITIES**—Electric telegraph companies operating intercity lines were chartered in Rhode Island soon after the Morse apparatus had been perfected; eventually these companies were merged in the national systems. An ambitious project was disclosed in 1869, when the General Assembly granted a charter for the "Narragansett and European Cable Company," which had a plan for laying an ocean submarine cable with one end in Rhode Island. The following year the "National Submarine Company" was chartered, not to anticipate Jules Verne\* and John P. Holland, but to conduct marine diving operations. The Providence Telephone Company was chartered in 1880, and extended its lines to cover the whole of Rhode Island and parts of southeastern Massachusetts.

The Rhode Island telephone system is connected with the network of lines covering the country. With the perfection of the De Forest apparatus for wireless telegraphy the "Providence Journal" established wireless stations at Point Judith, April 1, 1903, and on Block Island, May 5, 1903. Beginning July 9, 1903, the "Journal" printed a daily newspaper through the summer of 1903 on Block Island, the news being relayed from the mainland by wireless telegraph.

The General Assembly created a Public Utilities Commission in 1912, placing under its supervision and administration public service corporations operating transportation systems or furnishing utility service such as gas, electricity, telegraph and telephone. The commission may approve or disapprove tariffs applying to intrastate commerce, and to house service by other companies, and enforce such regulations as will insure reasonably satisfactory advantage to the general public from the franchises granted to the great corporations that control utilities. For reasonable economy in maintaining pipe lines and mains, and conduits for cables, poles for carrying wires, public utilities tend to become and remain monopolies; and public regulation is the condition precedent to granting franchises for the type of exclusive service that seems warranted.

The convenience of a normal Rhode Island home is indicated by the well-lighted street or road on which it is located, and access to a transportation system. Within the home the pressing of a button or the turning of a knob or faucet brings water, light or heat; most homes are supplied with machinery that operates by electric power and tends to reduce the drudgery of housework, and even to cool the atmosphere if relief from summer heat is wished. By telephone the home is connected with thousands of other homes in and outside the state of Rhode Island, besides with stores, shops, offices and other business establishments. A tele-

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\*"Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea," 1870.

phone message brings to the door of the home every conceivable commodity that caprice may suggest, delivered in gasoline driven wagons. It brings to the door also a public automobile to transport the citizen where he would go, or to the station or another transportation system. The local telephone exchange extends service to long-distance lines traversing the continent, so that the citizen may talk with a friend in the next house or thousands of miles away; it connects him with telegraph or cable system for relaying land or ocean messages, and it delivers telegrams addressed to him over his home telephone. Turning the knobs on a radio receiving set, the citizen picks up from the air a concert, educational program, news broadcasting, drama, public address, perhaps a sermon or a religious concert; occasionally 100,000 Rhode Island homes in a million through the nation are reached in one gigantic national hookup of broadcasting stations, so that all who will may hear some important message. Truly there is no place like home—in Rhode Island.





## CHAPTER XXIX.

### RHODE ISLAND INDUSTRY AFTER 1850.



UT of the experiments conducted by Samuel Slater in Pawtucket grew a cotton manufacturing interest in Rhode Island, which in 1850 included 158 factories with capital investment amounting to \$6,675,000, employed 10,875 persons, and produced annually goods valued at \$6,447,120. In the same year 45 Rhode Island woolen and worsted factories employed 1758 persons. The capital invested in the manufacture of wool amounted to \$1,013,000, raw material cost \$1,463,900, and the annual product sold for \$2,381,825. In sixty years most of the available natural water sites had been occupied, although there were still possibilities awaiting development through the building of higher dams and reservoirs for storing water. The two textile industries had followed the river valleys, seeking water for power and clear water for bleaching and dyeing and mixing the chemicals used in printing. By 1850, however, mills driven by steam instead of water power were in operation, following the beginning of an import and coastwise trade in coal, which had been brought to Narragansett Bay from Newcastle, England, so early as 1819, and from Sydney, Nova Scotia, in 1831. The coal trade was destined to increase tremendously with the development of mines in Pennsylvania. The iron and steel industry, one of the earliest developed in the colony, was versatile in 1850 in its production of nails and screws of all kinds and sizes, hand tools, iron and steel utensils, and machinery. Most of the machinery installed in Rhode Island textile factories was manufactured in Rhode Island; indeed, the Wilkinson family, into which Slater married, engaged before he came to Rhode Island in casting and forging iron and steel, undertook to build the machines designed by Slater and afterward to manufacture others for new factories. Other enterprising metal workers recognized the opportunity opening for the manufacture of mill machinery, as the latter was improved and new types were introduced. Thus the iron and steel industry found a new field, and was extended rapidly at a pace commensurate with the increase in cotton and wool manufacturing. Rhode Island foundries and machine shops were well equipped to accept and fill orders for weapons in war times, bayonets, sabres and swords, muskets and parts of fire-arms, and heavy cannon, and the old line of the Greene forges, anchors, chains and metal fittings for ships. Iron foundries had facilities for making brass and bronze castings, as these hardened copper alloys came into use for purposes for which iron and steel were not suitable. Two large wooden screw\* factories were in operation in 1850, which were by consolidation to become the nucleus for the American Screw Company. Wire for manufacture into screws was made in Rhode Island. The Brown & Sharpe factory was an infant industry, giving little promise in 1850 of the development that was to come later because of the inventive genius of one and the sound business practices of the other member of the firm. The Providence Steam and Gas Pipe Company had been incorporated in 1850; years later it was to become the General Fire Extinguisher Company, manufacturing devices for protection against fire losses that would make the name of Grinnell known the world over. George H. Corliss had already built and patented his first improved type of steam engine, and the firm of Corliss & Nightingale was manufacturing, besides, machine tools of new and novel design invented by Corliss. The iron and steel industry, associated as it had become with textiles, also followed the river valleys and was distributed over the state. The granite quarries at Westerly were being worked, and there was quarrying elsewhere of granite and marble, although gran-

\*A steel screw for use in wood.

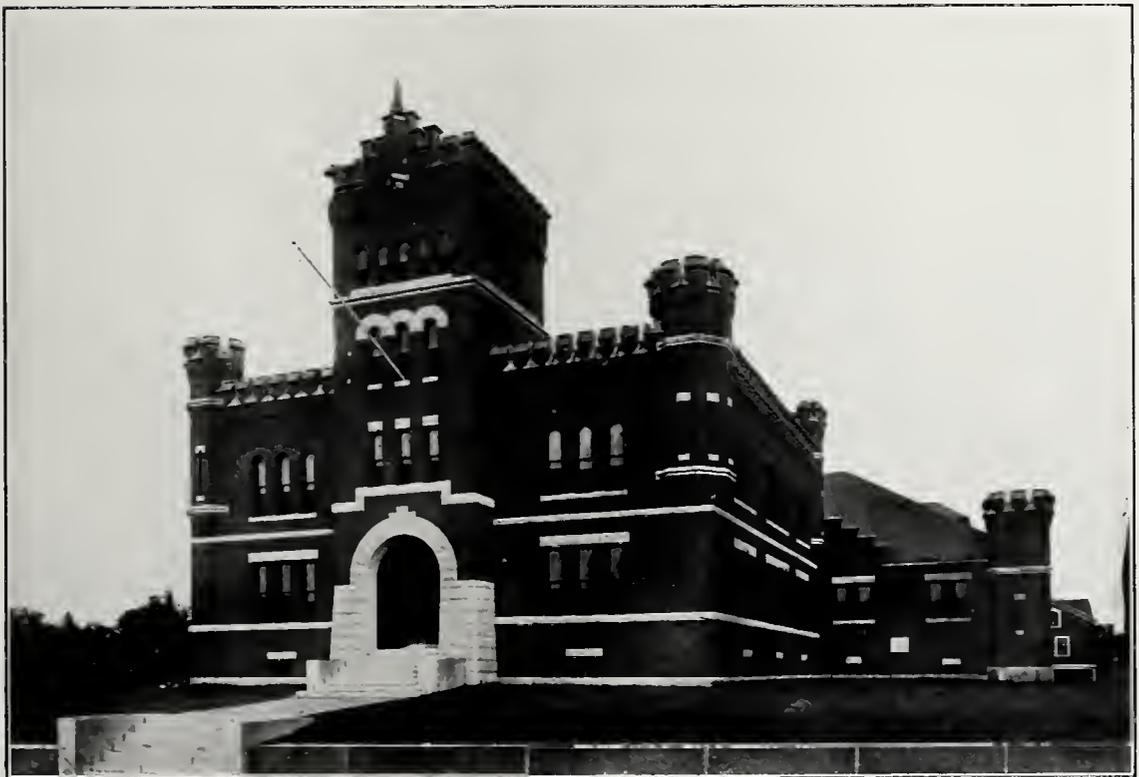
ite had not yet replaced the brown sandstone familiar in old Rhode Island buildings, including the State Houses at Newport and Providence, and the "College Edifice" at Brown University; nor the slate used for cemetery monuments. The jewelry industry was well established by 1850; six years later the fifty-six establishments in Providence employed 1400 operatives, and produced annually jewelry and silverware valued at \$2,696,000. Like the manufacture of cotton textiles it had risen within seventy years, the expansion from a general line of small production having been due principally (1) to Nehemiah Dodge's invention of a method of making gold plate by soldering a thin sheet of gold on a base of copper, and rolling both out to suitable thickness; (2) to Jabez Gorham's enterprise in improving methods of making silver spoons and afterward other silverware, and (3) to the introduction by Thomas H. Lowe, in 1846, of a method of gold plating by "sweating." The output in Providence in 1790 was 100 pairs of silver shoe buckles, 1400 pairs of plated buckles, and 80 dozen silver spoons. From Nehemiah Dodge's invention had developed an industry that was to make Rhode Island the leading state in the production of low-priced jewelry; from the effort of Jabez Gorham to improve methods of producing silver spoons sprang the silversmithing industry. Experiments with manufacturing silk resting upon the development of mulberry plantations and cocoons had been unsuccessful; in 1850 cotton and wool textiles were profitable beyond the dream of wealth in silk. Besides the main lines of cotton textiles, wool textiles, iron and steel, machinery and tools, jewelry and silversmithing, other smaller industries promised development, but did not in 1850 compare in capital invested, in value of product, or the number of persons employed with the major industries in a state which years ago had passed out of the classification of farming and fishing, and by 1850, because of the transfer of capital from ships to factories, was completing the commercial cycle and becoming predominately manufacturing.

COTTON AS KING—Samuel Slater, by introducing water-driven machinery, and Eli Whitney, with his cotton gin, had enthroned cotton as king both in the agricultural Southland and in industrial Southern New England. Rhode Island cotton factories received the raw product from the ginning and baling sheds on Southern plantations, and transformed it from cotton wool or lint into a finished, merchantable product as cloth; they spun the lint into yarn for warp and woof, wove the yarn into gray cloth, and bleached, dyed, or printed the gray. Except cloth bleached white for domestic uses, printing was the favorite finishing process, although the art of the spinner and the weaver was occasionally displayed with beauty of color design in a fabric of gossamer thread and filmy texture. "A new pattern of mousseline de laines arrived from France at New York" in February, 1840, "and was offered by the importer at fourteen cents per yard by the case. The agent of a Rhode Island calico-printing establishment forwarded a piece of the new style of goods to Providence the day after their arrival, and in sixteen days he had the same style of goods and of equal fabric in New York, selling at ten cents per yard. The manufacturer had but twelve days to engrave the new pattern on a copper cylinder then hardened and made ready for impression; to compound the ingredients for colors discovered by chemical experiments," and to print the cloth, dry it and pack it in cases for market.† In this exploit the advantage of an environment suitable for the manufacture of cotton textiles played much smaller part than the enterprise of the men who captured the industry. With the exception of a short period during the panic of 1857, which was felt so severely in Rhode Island that Philip Allen, one of the most prominent calico printers, was forced to make an assignment, the period from 1850 to 1860 was profitable, and both capital and value of product were nearly doubled. In 1860, 135 cotton factories contained 766,600 spindles and 26,000 looms, employed 12,089 operatives, and produced goods

†The quotations are from Bishop's "History of Manufactures."



WOONSOCKET INDUSTRIAL PLANTS



ARMORY, WOONSOCKET



valued at \$12,258,677. Then came the Civil War, and the blockade of Confederate ports; raw cotton disappeared as a marketable commodity, and the price of cotton rose from ten cents to \$1.80 per pound. For a period almost no cotton of any kind could be found at any price, and many factories were completely idle. Cotton manufacturing was revived immediately after Appomattox, and by 1870, 139 factories contained 1,142,000 spindles, employed 16,745 operatives and produced annually cloth valued at \$22,049,203. The capital invested had increased from \$6,675,000 in 1850, to \$11,500,000 in 1860, and to \$18,836,300 in 1870.

The cotton textile industry, because of the practice of "finishing" cloth in specialized factories and of the method of selling through agents who control usually the entire output, lends itself to consolidation or large units, as converters establish control of yarn and cloth mills to assure a constant flow of cloth through their bleaching and dyeing vats or printing machines, or as yarn and cloth mills combine to own or to control a finishing plant. The Rhode Island firm of Brown & Ives began in 1808 to transfer its capital investments from ships into factories. The last Brown & Ives vessel was sold in 1838, and by 1846 Brown & Ives owned the Blackstone Manufacturing Company and the Lonsdale Company in the Blackstone Valley, and the Hope Company in Scituate. The three corporations operated 275,000 spindles in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, with looms for weaving the yarn. Lonsdale cambric, which achieved a worldwide reputation, was only one fabric manufactured and marketed by this organization. The first of the three William Spragues whose names are associated with cotton textiles in Rhode Island extended an interest, which began with a gristmill in Cranston converted into a yarn factory, until it included five mills in Warwick and Cranston, and the bleachery and print works at Cranston. The second William Sprague and his brother, Amasa,\* continued the expansion through twenty years from 1836, and under the third William Sprague the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Company operated 280,000 spindles and twenty-eight printing machines in Rhode Island, Connecticut and Maine. The firm of B. B. & R. Knight was organized in 1852 by two brothers, who as children had been employed in the Cranston Print Works and had learned the methods and practices of the Spragues. The Knights in 1852 owned one mill in Warwick. Subsequently they acquired mills at Hebronville and Dodgeville, the Grant Mill in Providence, the Manchaug in Sutton, the Whiterock in Westerly, the Clinton in Woonsocket, the Jackson and Fiskville in Scituate, and the Readville in Hyde Park. The Knights purchased six of the Sprague mills in Warwick in 1883, operating 200,000 spindles; their combined factories operated 400,000 spindles at the end of the century. One of the products of their mills, Fruit of the Loom cotton cloth, was and is known all over the world, and the picture trade mark has been printed probably more times than any other. The Lippitt family, after operating smaller mills in Newport and in Connecticut, purchased shares in and eventually acquired the Ballou mills in Woonsocket, which were organized as the Social Manufacturing Company. The Lippitts entered the field of woolen as well as of cotton textiles. Their holdings included also the factories of the Manville Company. The Spragues were eliminated following the panic of 1873. At the end of the nineteenth century, the then three leading cotton textile combinations in Rhode Island were as follows: The Brown & Ives group, operating in Rhode Island the Lonsdale, the Berkeley and Hope companies, 300,000 spindles, with Goddard Brothers as agents; the Knight group, with Rhode Island mills principally in the Pawtuxet Valley, operating 300,000 spindles; the Lippitt group, with mills in Manville and Woonsocket, 225,000 spindles, with Henry F. Lippitt as agent. The Conant Mill property of the J. & P. Coats Company, producing sewing thread, also operated 300,000 spindles.

The panic of 1873 was disastrous in Rhode Island in its effect upon the leading industry—cotton textiles. Almost at the beginning the house of Sprague, then operating almost

\*Until his death, 1843.

twenty-five per cent. of the 1,142,000 spindles in Rhode Island, besides the largest and finest finishing factory in New England, suspended. The Sprague factories were reopened, and operation was continued by the trustee in possession under an assignment for the benefit of creditors, but confidence had been destroyed, and the recovery was slow. Eventually other industries were affected by the business depression, many failures were entailed, and thousands of persons were unemployed. Uncertainty as to the actual financial condition of the Sprague estate delayed the return of confidence and optimism; ultimately the failure of Rhode Island's greatest manufacturing organization was found to be so complete as to involve almost total losses, as an immense property shrank in value and was dissipated in litigation. The total loss in Rhode Island was vastly more than the \$14,000,000 indicated by the amount of Sprague notes issued by the trustee, inasmuch as not all of the creditors accepted the composition; besides that, there was a tremendous shrinkage in general property values throughout the state, marking the end of a period of prosperity in which widespread development had been planned, and land had been bought and sold at prices that reflected optimism. Factories had been busy, wages had been relatively high, and the development of the street railway systems in Rhode Island cities opened up new areas for dwellings. Then came a crash and a deflation that were unprecedented. The blow was so severe that Rhode Island, and the textile industry particularly, scarcely had recovered from the effects of the disaster at the end of the century. Yet the physical equipment—the factories and machinery and the power—for a great industry was practically intact; confidence and active operation were necessary to restore the cotton textile industry to the preëminence that had made cotton king.

In the ten years from 1870 to 1880 the number of cotton factories was reduced from 139 to 115, but the capital invested had been increased by nearly \$10,000,000, from \$18,836,300 to \$28,047,331, the number of employes was nearly 5000 greater, and the weight of goods produced had increased from 38,503,000 to 60,906,000 pounds. The value of the product, measured by the selling price, had increased less than \$1,000,000, from \$22,049,203 to \$22,875,111. Compared with increases in capital, employes and poundage, the statistics of value of product suggest explanation. Three factors were significant: First, the variation in the purchasing power of the dollar was fifteen per cent. between 1870 and 1880; if the selling value of the product of the mills in 1870 is reduced to terms of the standard dollar of 1880, it indicates an increase of \$4,000,000 in the value of the product in 1880 over that in 1870, which is consistent with other statistics of the industry. Secondly, the range of raw cotton and cotton goods prices was definitely lower in 1880 than in 1870. Thirdly, the Sprague factories, although operated in 1880, were not flourishing, and the administration, as indicated by the evidence taken in litigation that opened shortly after 1880, was neither economical nor efficient. The number of factories was reduced further from 115 in 1880 to 94 in 1890, and to 87 in 1900; but the number of persons employed was increased from 21,474 in 1880 to 24,832 in 1890, and dropped slightly to 24,032 in 1900. An increase in the volume of the product between 1890 and 1900 was offset, as affecting value of product, by lower prices for cotton goods. The industry, although not affected seriously by actual changes in tariff schedules, had weathered the depression attributed variously to a vacillating tariff policy or to a poorly adjusted monetary system. The decrease in the number of plants was due to consolidation involving the replacement of small by larger units, and economy in the organization of factories. The number of persons employed increased in spite of improvements in machinery, including not only simplification in the duties of operatives, which suggested the allotment of a larger number of machines to each employe, but also the introduction of machines or of mechanical devices to be attached to machines, which tended to reduce hand labor. The industry had been strengthened in the twenty years from 1880, and in 1900 was in better physical condition in Rhode Island than at any earlier time. Almost the only reason then for

doubting that the future of the industry would be as prosperous as it ever had been was the threat of competition by factories erected in the South, which had been so successful that Northern mill owners were watching their progress anxiously.

Eventually Rhode Island manufacturers met the threat of Southern competition by entering the Southern field, and the twentieth century has witnessed the duplication in Southern states of many New England and Rhode Island factories. In this Rhode Islanders were following the lead suggested by the Sprague investments in mill sites and water rights in South Carolina before 1873, and the success of Southern mills has justified the Sprague venture as not so speculative as it had seemed when conservative men met in conference to discuss the condition of the Sprague properties after the panic. The same twenty years, from 1880 to 1900, revealed an increase in the number of bleaching, dyeing, printing and other finishing factories in Rhode Island, in the number of persons employed by converters, and in the capital invested and value of the product. The last may be explained as due in part to the fact that Rhode Island finishing factories were converting thousands of yards of cloth woven in other states, and that much of the product of Southern factories was shipped as gray cloth to Rhode Island to be processed by bleaching, dyeing, mercerizing, printing, and other methods. In finishing cloth Rhode Island had an undisputed advantage, because of large quantities of pure, clear water available and free both from alkali, rust and other mineral impregnations, and from the vegetable and animal growths that flourish in warmer Southern waters.

An enumeration of factors that have operated somewhat to depress the cotton cloth industry in Rhode Island during the first quarter of the twentieth century—including (1) strikes and lockouts and the ill-feeling betwixt capital and labor that arises from divergent views as to the equitable distribution of the profits of industry; (2) stringent laws regulating conditions of employment, and prohibiting labor by children under fifteen years of age; (3) increasing competition by Southern mills in the production of cotton yarn and cotton cloth; (4) radical changes in the character of women's clothing arising from preference for other fabrics than those made of cotton, and from fashions tending both to eliminate certain garments and to reduce the yardage of cloth required for other garments—suggests a decrepit industry tottering along the brink of bankruptcy. Yet an industry that gives employment to nearly 26,000 persons, in spite of all the improvements of nearly a century and a half in machinery and methods, that operates over 1,800,000 spindles and 40,000 looms, is neither moribund nor unprofitable. The closing of mills—indicated by the reduction to sixty in the number of units in service—lends itself to interpretation as a measure of economy quite as readily as one of decline. The industry has endured reverses, but it is still fundamentally sound. The genius of the Rhode Island cotton manufacturer has been displayed in finding new lines to replace those which have been abandoned because of changing circumstances.

The following list of products of Rhode Island cotton mills is suggestive: Besides the lines of staple yarns and plain cotton cloth—corduroy, velveteen, plush, twills, satin broadcloth, voile, corded shirtings, jeans, sheetings, corded sheetings, cotton flannels, draperies, bedspreads, cotton blankets, broad loom jacquard-decorative fabrics, fine lawns, muslins, cross-barred muslins, cambrics, velours, pile fabrics, mercerized cotton substitutes for linen, tire cord, tire fabrics, cotton wadding and batting, book cloth, cotton and silk corset cloth, cotton and silk cloth, cotton and rayon fabrics, cotton and mohair upholstery plushes, and other combinations of cotton, silk, rayon, wool and mohair in yarn and cloth. The rising automobile industry has opened new lines for Rhode Island cotton mills in the production of tire cloth, cloth bases for waterproof fabrics used in covering, and upholstery cloth for linings and fittings. Units or combinations operating more than 50,000 spindles each in 1930 included: The Brown & Ives organization, Goddard Brothers, agents, operating six mills at Ashton,

Berkeley, Hope, Lonsdale, North Smithfield and Phenix, producing combed shirtings, broadcloths, voiles, corded shirtings, jeans, sheetings and corded sheetings, 297,200 spindles and 6834 looms; the Lippitt organization, the Manville Jenckes Company, C. H. Merriman, agent, operating four mills, at Manville, Pawtucket and Woonsocket, producing tire fabrics, sheetings, fancy cotton goods, 296,400 spindles and 7550 looms; B. B. & R. Knight Corporation, G. Edward Buxton, agent, operating six mills in Providence, Warwick and West Warwick, producing Fruit of the Loom cotton cloth, 200,000 spindles and 6000 looms; Lawton Spinning Company, Woonsocket, William Halliwell, President, producing fine yarns, 126,000 spindles; Warren Manufacturing Company, H. G. Goorley, agent, producing cotton yarn and cloth, 119,660 spindles and 2820 looms; Nyanza Mills, Woonsocket, J. G. Oswald, manager, producing mercerized and dyed yarns, 72,000 spindles; Warwick Mills, West Warwick, Weston Howland, treasurer, producing silk and rayon fabrics, 67,104 spindles and 2500 looms; Berkshire Fine Spinning Associates, Coventry, Fred R. Budlong, superintendent, 65,156 spindles and 1262 looms; Parker Mills, Warren, L. S. Chace, treasurer, producing fine cotton goods, 65,000 spindles and 1500 looms; Greenhalgh Mills, Pawtucket, G. T. Greenhalgh, treasurer, producing fine combed cotton goods, 61,600 spindles and 1419 looms; Lorraine Manufacturing Company, Pawtucket and Westerly, W. B. MacColl, treasurer, cotton division, producing rayon and cotton dressgoods and shirtings, 54,296 spindles and 1939 looms; Potter Fine Spinners, Pawtucket, E. Linguard, treasurer, producing fine cotton yarn, 48,576 spindles.

Twenty-two dyeing and finishing establishments in 1890 employed 3720 persons; twenty-four in 1900 employed 5942; in 1930 forty-one employed 9375. The larger organizations in 1930 were: United States Finishing Company, Andrew C. Imbrie, treasurer, dyeing, printing, mercerizing, bleaching and finishing cotton piece goods, operating four plants in Pawtucket and Providence, and employing 2420 persons; Sayles Finishing Plants, Andrew E. Jencks, buyer, dyeing, bleaching, mercerizing and printing textiles, operating four plants at Phillipsdale and Saylesville, and employing 1700 persons. Other establishments employing more than 300 persons were: Apponaug Company, dyeing and finishing piece goods; Bradford Dyeing Association, Bradford, dyeing, bleaching and finishing cotton and silk; Cranston Print Works, printing cotton piece goods; Franklin Process Company, Providence, yarn dyeing and dyeing machinery; Greenville Finishing Company, bleaching and dyeing cotton piece goods; Imperial Printing and Finishing Company, Edgewood, dyeing, bleaching and finishing cotton; Lincoln Bleachery and Dye Works, Lonsdale, dyeing and bleaching cotton piece goods; Providence Dyeing, Bleaching and Calendering Company, bleaching, finishing and mercerizing cotton piece goods; Slatersville Finishing Company, finishing cotton piece goods.

WOOLENS AND WORSTEDS—The woolen and worsted industry in Rhode Island has had a steady and generally prosperous development. Rhode Island had achieved leadership in production of worsteds in the United States in 1890, and ten years later the wool manufacturing industry in Rhode Island had surpassed cotton. Whereas cotton manufacturers, as a rule, have favored a high protective tariff, with specific duties rather than ad valorem duties on cotton cloth, wool manufacturers have leaned toward a tariff for revenue and lower duties and have been willing to forego protection while raw wool has been on the free list. Yet only slight changes in tariff rates, on occasion, have induced European manufacturers to build plants in Rhode Island; following the tariff act of 1900, French manufacturers built plants in Rhode Island at Greystone and Woonsocket. Wool manufacturing has faced fewer crises than cotton, and has thrived in periods during which cotton manufacturing has been unprofitable. With reference to staple production affecting the large volume of each product the two industries have not been and are not competitors. The tariff acts of 1846 and 1857 reduced duties on wool, woollens and worsteds, yet the wool manufacturing industry progressed

steadily, and suffered little in the panic of 1857, which was disastrous to cotton. Again, whereas the Civil War, and the accompanying blockade of Southern ports and shortage of cotton, closed cotton mills, wool mills experienced no shortage of supply of raw material, and worked overtime on contracts for manufacturing cloth for uniforms. The number of establishments increased from forty-five in 1850 to fifty-seven in 1860, and to seventy-six in 1870. Employes increased from 1758 in 1850, to 4229 in 1860, and to 7894 in 1870. The product was valued at \$2,381,825 in 1850, at \$6,915,205 in 1860, and at \$15,394,067 in 1870. The mills were small and built before the Civil War, the average number of employes being forty. The rise of the woolen and worsted industry in Providence belongs to the Civil War period. The first unit of the Riverside Mill was constructed in 1861. Three years later the Wanskuck Mills and the Weybosset Mills were opened. The former manufactured beavers, kerseys, elysians, ladies cloakings and fine overcoatings. The Wanskuck Mills were developed as worsted mills producing fabrics that were known everywhere by the name of the mills. The Weybosset Mills achieved distinction by designing original patterns, instead of copying imported fabrics. Other Providence mills were built: The Atlantic, 1879; the National and Providence Worsted Mills, 1879; the Geneva Worsted Mills in 1880; the Lymansville Mills in 1884. By 1890 Providence, next to Philadelphia, was the second woolen city in America, and Rhode Island led all the states in the production of worsteds. Rhode Island mills produced large quantities of delaines, and printed even more in the print works. The Dunnell Manufacturing Company of Pawtucket was engaged principally in printing. Darius Goff of Pawtucket, in 1887, invented and perfected machinery for making pile fabrics, including wool plush. The ninety-one establishments, excluding knitting mills, in 1930 employ 26,000 persons, or an average of nearly 300.

Wool manufactories were classified in the census of 1870 as producing woolens or worsteds; at that time sixty-five of seventy-six establishments manufactured woolens, the value of which was more than eighty-one per cent. of the total product. Ten years later the number of worsted mills was the same as in 1870, but the number of employes and the value of product both had more than doubled, the latter in spite of a change of fifteen per cent. in the purchasing power of the standard dollar. The number of woolen mills was smaller in 1880 than in 1870, but the number of employes and the value of product both had increased. A third division in the wool manufacturing industry appeared in the census statistics for 1890, which showed forty woolen mills, sixteen hosiery and knitting mills, and twenty-eight worsted mills. The industry employed 19,323 persons and the product was valued at \$34,721,270. In 1900, ninety-two establishments employed 19,200 persons and produced goods valued at \$41,385,729. The wool manufacturing industry in 1930 is widespread in Rhode Island with over 100 mills located as follows: Woonsocket twenty-four, Providence eighteen, Central Falls three, Pawtucket three; in Providence County other than in the cities, thirty, at Allendale, Bridgeton, Centredale, Forestdale, Glendale, Greenville, Greystone, Harrisville, Lymansville, Manton, Mapleville, Nasonville, North Smithfield, Oakland, Pascoag, Stillwater, Thornton, West Glocester; in Bristol County, three, at Bristol and Warren; in Kent County, three, at East Greenwich and Washington; in Washington County, twelve, at Ashaway, Belleville, Carolina, Hope Valley, Lafayette, Peacedale, Wakefield, Westerly, and Wyoming. The twenty-four Woonsocket mills operate 262,484 spindles and 676 looms, and employ 7672 persons. The eighteen Providence mills operate 168,964 spindles and 2640 looms, and employ 9071 persons. Providence maintains leadership as the state wool manufacturing centre by its production of cloth on four times as many looms as are operated in Woonsocket. Of the 100 factories in 1930 fifty were cloth mills, of which twenty-six produced no yarn; and forty-one produced yarn or other supplies for cloth mills but no cloth. The largest establishments were the three mills of the American Woolen Company, at Manton, Providence and Warren, oper-

ating 24,600 spindles and 701 looms; the Atlantic Mills of Rhode Island, at Providence, with 61,120 spindles and 1550 looms; the Wanskuck Company, with four mills, operating 47,324 spindles and 574 looms. The Lorraine Manufacturing Company, converters, employed the largest number of workers. Of yarn producing organizations the largest were the Centredale Worsted Company, with mills at Providence, Allendale, Centredale, and Stillwater, operating 25,900 spindles; the Jules Desurmont Worsted Company of Woonsocket, 38,400 spindles; the Falls Yarn Mills, Woonsocket, 10,000 spindles; French Worsted Company, Woonsocket, 28,000 spindles; Guerin Mills, Woonsocket, operating three factories with 36,000 spindles; Lafayette Worsted Company, Woonsocket, 32,500 spindles; Masurel Worsted Mills, Woonsocket, 17,000 spindles; Peacedale Mills, Peacedale, 20,000 spindles; Pocasset Worsted Company, Thornton, 20,160 spindles; Rochambeau Worsted Company, Providence, 13,440 spindles; Samoset Worsted Mills, Woonsocket, 26,800 spindles; Stillwater Worsted Mills, operating factories at Harrisville, Greenville, Ashaway, and Mapleville, 16,000 spindles; Sydney Worsted Company, Woonsocket, 10,000 spindles; Woonsocket Worsted Mill, 19,174 spindles. Sixty-six factories in 1930 were producing worsted yarns or cloth.

OTHER TEXTILES—Other textile manufacturing in Rhode Island includes knit goods, braiding, webbing and narrow fabrics, lace, thread, silk and rayon. Thirteen knit goods establishments employ 1250 persons, operate 1675 machines, and manufacture bathing suits, elastic braids, hosiery, jersey cloth, knitted neckwear, knitted underwear, linings, narrow woven fabrics, sweaters and knitted dressgoods. Thirty-two braiding mills employ 3574 persons, and operate 39,556 braiding machines, 262 looms and 53,500 spindles. The products include auto and radio cables and harnesses, beaded tip shoe laces, braided elastic fabrics, braided narrow fabrics, braided novelties, braids, corset laces, elastic and non-elastic braids, elastic cords, electrical cords, narrow fabrics, ribbons, rick-rack braid, shoe-laces, tapes, underwear braids, and wicks. The larger establishments are: East Providence Mills, 8000 braiders and forty-eight looms; International Braid Company, Providence, 30,000 spindles, 1000 braiders and 150 looms; Joslin Manufacturing Company, Providence, 12,500 spindles, and 4800 braiders; Shoe Lace Company, Providence, 10,000 spindles and 5000 braiders. Fifteen webbing factories employed 3084 persons, and operated 8696 spindles and 4524 looms. Eleven of the fifteen factories were located in Pawtucket, the others at Shannock, Westerly, Wickford and Woonsocket. The products included narrow fabrics of cotton and silk, elastic and non-elastic braids, elastic webbing, fancy braids, and tapes. The Hope Webbing Company, 1200 looms, and the Rhode Island Textile Company, 1500 looms, both of Pawtucket were the largest establishments.

The largest thread mill in Rhode Island is the Conant plant of the J. & P. Coats Company at Pawtucket, which employs 3380 persons and manufactures spool cotton, and spool and skein silk. Other thread mills are the Ballou of Providence, Consolidated of Warren, Premier of Pawtucket, and York of Providence, the latter manufacturing shoe thread. Lace making is practically a twentieth century innovation in Rhode Island, with nine establishments operating in 1930 and employing over 1000 persons. The products include silk and cotton laces, including narrow and wide laces, lace dress goods and trimmings. The factories are located at Alton, Central Falls, Pawtucket, Riverpoint and West Barrington. Rhode Island has two fishline factories, at Ashaway and Rockville.

Rhode Island has also a new and rapidly growing silk and silk goods industry, which in 1930 included thirty factories, employing 8800 persons and operated 14,000 looms. The silk industry is centered in Central Falls, Pawtucket and Valley Falls; with a few factories in the Pawtuxet Valley, Providence and Woonsocket. The products include broad silks, broad and dress silks, cotton and silk fabrics, draperies, novelty fabrics, rayon and cotton yarns and

cloth, silk nets and laces. The factories produce both yarn and cloth, and provide facilities for dyeing. The largest establishments are the Royal Weaving Company, 2500 looms; Hamlet Textile Company, 2000 looms, and Salembor & Clay, operating two factories, with 6000 looms. The combined textile industries in Rhode Island provide employment for 60,000 persons, and pay wages amounting to \$55,000,000 annually. The expenditure for raw material is approximately \$100,000,000, and the finished products sell for \$170,000,000 annually.

**IRON AND STEEL**—The manufacture of iron and steel is still a leading industry in Rhode Island, in spite of the tremendous development of the basic industry west of the Allegheny Mountains. Rhode Island holds a distinctive position because of the quality of production, and four Rhode Island establishments—the American Screw Company, Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company, General Fire Extinguisher Company, and Nicholson File Company—lead in their respective lines. The American Screw Company resulted from the consolidation of earlier companies. The first American patent for a screw machine was issued to David Wilkinson of Rhode Island in 1798. Three screw companies were chartered in Rhode Island before 1850—the Providence and the Eagle, both in 1838, and the New England in 1840. The Providence company lost its factory by fire in 1840 and retired from business. The Eagle Company was almost crippled by an adverse judgment in a patent infringement case, but continued operations. The New England Company made a pointed screw in 1849, which promised to be successful, but at almost the same time bought the patent rights for a new screw made by Thomas J. Sloan, and began to manufacture the latter. The Eagle and New England companies united as the American Screw Company in 1860, and by purchase and consolidation of other properties, and salesmanship unsurpassed by modern high-pressure methods, acquired a position of leadership which for a long while amounted practically to a monopoly and which the company maintains at present as the largest producer in the field. The process of manufacture first perfected by the American company consisted of three principal operations, automatic heading blanks cut from a coil of wire, automatic nicking and shaving the heads, and automatic threading of the shanks. With the invention of Bessemer steel the American company introduced a cold-forging process, using a heading machine to impress the blank with thread and gimlet point.

David Brown and his son, Joseph R. Brown, formed a partnership in 1833, and opened a store at 60 South Main Street, Providence, where they manufactured and repaired watches, clocks, and surveying and mathematical instruments. Four years later the plant was destroyed by fire, but the Browns reestablished their shop, and Joseph R. Brown continued to conduct it after David Brown retired in 1841. Lucian Sharpe, who had served an apprenticeship, was admitted as a partner in a new firm organized under the name of J. R. Brown & Sharpe. The shop was removed from time to time to assure ample quarters, eventually occupying the ground floor of the premises at 115 South Main Street. While there, in 1858, the firm contracted to build the Wilcox and Gibbs sewing machine, of which over half a million were sold. From an establishment occupying one floor and employing fourteen men, the enterprise expanded until with 300 workmen it overflowed the three-story building at 115 South Main Street. Land for the first of the group of buildings on Promenade Street was purchased in 1870. The firm was incorporated as the Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company in 1868. The venture with sewing machines led the Brown & Sharpe Company to introduce mass production methods, consisting in the first instance in manufacturing large numbers of the same part and setting up special and accurate machines for standardizing the parts, thus to assure perfect fitting and accurate operation when assembled. This was exactly the type of work that was needed to lead Brown to develop his genius for making accurate mechanical devices, already forecasted by his invention in 1852 of the linear dividing engine for graduated divi-

sions in scales of measurement, and the invention of the Vernier Caliper in 1853. Other machines invented and patented by Brown included screw slotting, tapping, universal milling, revolving screw head, and universal grinding devices, friction clutch pulleys, cutters that could be sharpened without changing form, gear-cutting attachment for milling machine, gauges and other exact measuring instruments. Samuel Darling was associated with the company, 1866 to 1896, and patented fifty devices in connection with the improvement of rules and scales. Lucian Sharpe's contribution to the firm consisted principally in developing sound business methods, whereby to market the product of Brown's inventive genius, and the combination was as successful as it was unusual. Brown & Sharpe measuring devices, tools and machines were sold all over the world through the organization developed by Sharpe, and achieved a worldwide reputation for excellence and accuracy. Joseph R. Brown died in 1876, not long after the company removed from South Main Street to Promenade Street; and the later development was largely by Sharpe. The buildings in 1896 afforded 278,764 square feet, or six and one-half acres of floor space, and the firm employed 1300 men. Lucian Sharpe died in 1899, at sea, on a return voyage from Europe. The Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company has been conducted by his sons, Lucian and Henry Dexter Sharpe. Under their management the establishment has been expanded, and additional buildings have been constructed to meet the needs of the growing business. The company's plant in 1930 afforded 1,409,000 square feet of floor space and employed 6000 men. During the World War, the Brown & Sharpe Company was listed as one of the indispensable industries of the United States and was engaged in the production of standard and standardizing devices for the United States government, and other of the allies. Lucian Sharpe's apprenticeship to Joseph R. Brown no doubt suggested the former's interest in the training of apprentices for the establishment, which never has been neglected. The company maintains a system of shop and related training, purposing to prepare young men for service in the establishment as foremen and as superintendents.

Frederick Grinnell, in 1874, introduced the Parmelee automatic water joint sprinkler to replace the perforated pipe sprinkler systems which the Providence Steam and Gas Pipe Company had been installing in factories as devices for reducing fire losses. The latter were controlled by valves opened by hand; the Parmelee sprinkler went into action when water standing in a pipe reached a temperature high enough to melt a metal disk. After making several improvements on the Parmelee, Grinnell invented a new type of sprinkler in 1882, which combined (1) a device for releasing a valve when solder holding a lever melted in air at a temperature of 155 degrees Fahrenheit, and (2) a device for transforming the opened sprinkler into a spraying machine throwing water in all directions. Within five years the Grinnell sprinkler had been installed in more than 1000 establishments. The company was reorganized in 1892 as the General Fire Extinguisher Company. While protected by basic patents the Grinnell sprinkler was installed almost universally; it is in 1930 one of the most popular types.

William T. Nicholson, a journeyman machinist who was employed by Joseph R. Brown in 1852, rose to be general manager of the Brown shop in 1856. Two years later he established a machine shop, and during the Civil War manufactured parts for 150,000 Springfield rifles, using machines designed by him for the purpose. He organized the Nicholson File Company in 1864, to manufacture files by machinery, and achieved success where others had failed. His files cut, forged and ground by machinery, were superior to hand-made files; he designed and perfected filemaking machines, and obtained more than forty patents. The output in 1867 was 3600 files per day, and was increased until, when he died in 1893, Nicholson had developed the largest and most complete filemaking plant in the world, with a product reaching 36,000 files per day. Other plants have been acquired and the business has been



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extended under the direction of Samuel M. Nicholson, son of William. The Nicholson File Company in 1930, besides its factories in Providence, operated others at Paterson, New Jersey; Anderson, Indiana; Philadelphia, and Port Hope, Ontario. The company manufactures files and rasps of all kinds and sizes from the largest and heaviest to the finest and lightest, besides Swiss pattern files, file handles, file cards, file brushes and file holders—a file for every purpose.

**STEAM ENGINES**—George T. Corliss came to Rhode Island in 1844 to perfect a harness sewing machine, but became interested in steam engines, and in 1848 built an engine for the Providence Dyeing, Bleaching and Calendering Company, on which he obtained a patent in 1849. This upright beam engine of 200 horse-power was successful both in economy of fuel and perfection of regulation, thus to assure steady, harmonious motion. Other larger engines of the same design were built by Corliss for mills in Boston, New Bedford and Utica. A new plant to construct steam engines was erected, and the Corliss Steam Engine Company was incorporated in 1856. Corliss continued improving his steam engines and won extraordinary recognition. He was awarded the Rumford medal by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1870, with citation, in which the President of the Academy said: "In the opinion of those who have officially investigated the matter, no invention since Watt's time has so enhanced the efficiency of the steam engine as this for which the Rumford medal is now presented to you." Corliss won the highest prize at the Paris Exhibition, 1867, and was awarded a diploma of honor at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. He built the steam engine that operated the machinery exhibited at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. The King of the Belgians made him an officer of the Order of Leopold in 1886; and he received the Montyon prize from the Institute of France in 1879. George T. Corliss died in 1888.

Noble T. Greene, of Thurston, Greene & Company, patented in 1855 an improvement for steam engines known as the "Greene drop cut-off." The engine was successful, but its manufacture was enjoined until 1869 as an infringement of the Corliss patent. When production was resumed, the Greene engine was built by the Providence Steam Engine Company, incorporated in 1863. The company made also marine engines and boilers, and from 1864 to 1881 had contracts with the United States government. The huge wooden shears at the east water front below Point Street bridge in Providence, which were used by the company in hoisting boilers and engines from government vessels, were for many years a prominent landmark.

William A. Harris, who was employed by the Corliss Steam Engine Company from 1856 to 1864, manufactured an improved Corliss engine, known as the Harris-Corliss, beginning in 1868 at a factory located at Park and Promenade streets, Providence. George M. Cruickshank built a vertical stationary engine that had an extensive sale. Another Rhode Island steam engine, the Armington & Sims, was manufactured by a company organized in 1883 by Pardon Armington and Gardner C. Sims. This engine was compact, furnished steady power, and was used extensively in producing electricity for lighting. Thomas A. Edison once said of the Armington & Sims engine: "I fail to see what improvement in its mechanism can be suggested. The Edison Company have about 300 of these double-disk engines in daily use—those at the central lighting station in New York giving a regular duty of over 150 horse-power at a speed of 350 revolutions per minute without heating, and this for many days together without slackening speed." The Armington & Sims engines were sold by thousands, and were noted for economy of fuel, workmanship, simplicity of construction, durability and low price. The engine earned awards at the Cincinnati Exposition, 1883, for quick action; at the Toronto Exposition, 1883, for high speed; at the Southern Exposition, 1883, as the best quick-action steam engine for electric lights; and at London, 1885, a gold medal.

The era of the stationary steam engine was nearing conclusion, however, when Edison, Brush and other pioneers in electric engineering were installing Rhode Island built steam

engines in electric generating plants. Within a few years electric motors, deriving power from central public service stations, replaced factory steam power plants for most purposes, and what had been a most prosperous industry, employing thousands of skilled metal workers, declined. The Franklin Machine Company, established in 1798 and incorporated in 1885, absorbed other companies; it occupies the Corliss plant erected by George H. Corliss when his engine had achieved international reputation; and builds steam engines as one product of a general foundry and machine business. It advertises the old Rhode Island engines, which are still standard where steam engines are used.

SAFES, HORSESHOES, WINDLASSES, SEWING MACHINES—William Corliss, brother of George T. Corliss, came to Rhode Island in 1857, and was employed at the Corliss Steam Engine Company until 1871, when he was appointed one of the commissioners to build the Providence water works. After a study of safes had convinced Corliss that none was burglar-proof, he invented a chilled iron spherical safe, which was received so enthusiastically that one commentator declared: "We can say that here in Providence has been sounded the death-knell of the professional bank burglar—we may believe that his race is to be ended in our day." Corliss made his first burglar-proof safe at the Rhode Island Locomotive Works in 1875. Difficulty was experienced in building moulds, but the project was successful, although one mould weighed forty tons. The safe consisted of a chilled iron spherical chamber, which rotated within a spherical shell. When the safe was closed the door of the chamber was wholly within the outer shell, and the safe exposed to a burglar a spherical wall of chilled iron four to eight inches thick. The Corliss Safe Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1877, and built a factory in Auburn. The Corliss Safe and Vault-Door Company was organized in 1889, and in 1895 the Corliss companies were absorbed by the Mosler Safe Company. Safes of the Corliss pattern were sold in all parts of the United States. They are still manufactured, but not in Rhode Island, safemaking being one of the Rhode Island industries that has "gone west," in the process of consolidating enterprises.

Horseshoes, from time immemorial, had been hand forged until Charles H. Perkins invented a machine for making horseshoes in 1857. Less than ten years later he invented another process, and the Rhode Island Horseshoe Company was incorporated in 1867. The enterprise was promoted by the A. & W. Sprague Company, which was interested in horseshoes because of ownership of the Providence street railway company, and also because a member of the Sprague family had invented an improved type of machine used in making horseshoes. The horseshoe company rode out the panic of 1873, and, when its factory was destroyed by fire in 1887, rebuilt. The plant at Valley Falls was complete in all the details for manufacture, from the making of iron and steel bars from scrap iron, and a department for manufacturing and repairing its own machines, to a cooper shop, which made kegs and boxes for shipping the product. The company manufactured heavy and light horseshoes, the Goodenough shoe used by horse railroads, burro or jack shoes, snow shoes, and the Perkins chisel-pointed, prong-toe calk. The horseshoe factory was prosperous until the electric trolley car replaced the horse-car, and the automobile banished horses from streets and roads. The Rhode Island Horseshoe Company was purchased by the Rhode Island Perkins Horseshoe Company, a New Jersey corporation, in 1891; operations at Valley Falls were continued until there was no longer a profitable market for horseshoes.

Joseph P. Manton of Rhode Island invented a ship windlass in 1857, which was manufactured for years thereafter by the American Ship Windlass Company. Besides the basic patent, Manton procured others on improved types of windlasses, and the company made steam windlasses, steam capstans, improved hand windlasses and hand capstans. The Rhode Island windlasses were standard and were adopted by the United States Navy. In one period of ten

years, it is related, every steel and iron ship built on the Atlantic coast or on the Great Lakes was equipped with the Manton windlass, and that at the time seven-eighths of all vessels of American registry were similarly equipped. The American Ship Windlass Company owned and operated a large plant near the Red Bridge in Providence, which was devoted exclusively to making capstans and windlasses. For years Frank S. Manton was the active manager and agent. Eventually the American Ship Windlass Company went the way of other consolidated enterprises, the equipment was removed and the Providence plant was closed.

The Household Machine Company, incorporated 1882, made the Household sewing machine, at one time employing 400 persons in two factories. The Household sewing machine was made at an earlier date by the Rhode Island Tool Company, which had manufactured muskets and other weapons during the Civil War, and in 1877 made Peabody Martini rifles for Turkey, which were used in the war with Russia. Other Rhode Island establishments once prominent in a thriving iron and steel industry, but no longer operating, include the Providence Machine Company, mill machinery; the Granger Foundry and Machine Company, calico printers' machinery; the Phenix Iron Foundry, machinery for bleaching and dyeing; the Providence Steam Engine Company. In more than one instance the company's prosperity was promoted by the genius of a master mechanic, and stopped shortly after the man died. In others the industry ceased to be profitable because of competition, consolidation with organizations centred in midwestern states, or because with changing conditions, the major product, like the steam engine and the horseshoe, was relegated to its association with a departed era.

A VIGOROUS METAL INDUSTRY—The losses recorded in the preceding paragraph were principally the products of changes involving the discarding of old for new devices. The iron and steel industry is not decadent in Rhode Island. In 1900 144 establishments employed 8800 persons; in 1930 150 establishments employed 19,000 persons. The products of Rhode Island iron and steel factories in 1930 include almost everything made of ferric metal, from wire, screws, bolts and nuts, through a long line of fine tools and measuring devices, to every type of finished machinery and accessories for completely outfitting textile and jewelry plants, besides world-famous printing presses and other types of specialized machinery for constructive manufacturing, and even mighty cannon of the largest calibre for war or guaranteeing peace. The twentieth century metal factories include old as well as new establishments. The old include the four world leaders—American Screw, Brown & Sharpe, General Fire and Nicholson File—and some others even older. Builders Iron Foundry in Providence, formerly High Street Foundry, has been operated since 1820; it is the largest foundry in Rhode Island, employing over 500 persons, and making, besides a line of standard castings, others on order. The Builders' Iron Foundry, has a war record; it cast hundreds of mortars and cannon for the Union army and navy during the Civil War. It built seacoast howitzers during the Spanish-American War, besides casting shot and shell. It constructed other large cannon on government contracts, including long-range heavy rifles with massive carriages. The Builders' Iron Foundry was still active during the World War, though nearly a century old then. The beginning of the William H. Haskell Manufacturing Company of Pawtucket was also in 1820; in 1930 it employs more than 200 persons, and manufactures a complete line of nuts, bolts, screws, etc. One hundred years ago the first plant of the combined Fales & Jenks Machine Company of Pawtucket, Easton & Burnham Machine Company of Pawtucket, and Woonsocket Machine and Press Company was occupied; the companies manufacture a complete line of cotton mill equipment, and maintain a southern office in South Carolina as well as a selling office in Pawtucket. The three establishments employ over 500 persons. The Rhode Island Tool Company of Providence established in 1834, manufactures nuts, bolts, screws and drop forgings, and employs nearly 300 persons. The J. A. Gowdey

Reed and Harness Manufacturing Company, of Providence, the "pioneer reed works of America," established in 1834, makes loom reeds for silk, cotton, wool and wire weaving. The James H. Tower Iron Works of Providence, established in 1835, makes iron stairways, fire escapes, steel tanks, flues, ornamental iron, and structural steel for buildings and bridges; and employs 150 persons. Fuller Iron Works of Providence, 1840, makes standard castings. The New England Butt Company of Providence was established in 1842 to manufacture butted hinges; in 1930 it employs 200 persons and makes braiding machinery, sash cord machinery, wire insulating, stranding and cabling machinery for steel, copper, bronze or aluminum cables or ropes; rubber insulating machinery, weather-proof wire polishers, rubber spreading machinery for the manufacture of hospital sheeting, raincoat materials, etc.; foundry work and cast iron mouldings. The Butt company has weathered the changes of ninety years by taking on new lines of business for old, and by the diversity of its production.

John Hope and Sons Engraving Company was established in 1847. John Hope invented a pantograph engraving machine for transferring designs to copper rolls for calico printing. The machine etched the design through a coating of varnish, and the pattern was set by rotating the roll in nitric acid, which ate away the copper exposed by the scratching. The company at one time supplied the machines used by calico printers throughout the United States; it is still active, engraving and building engraving machinery. The Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, established in 1851, manufacture weaving machinery for all fabrics; the Providence plant employs 400 persons. C. B. Cottrell & Sons Company of Westerly, established in 1855, manufacture rotary and other printing presses and accessories. The Cottrell presses achieved a reputation for fineness, and were adopted by the periodical press. The Cottrell presses have been improved with the constant advance in printing processes, and are employed by leading magazines and periodicals in the production of multiple-color printing at the rapid rate required in modern publishing. Other large establishments of more recent origin include: Rhode Island Malleable Iron Works, Hillsgrove, 1867, foundry, employing 165 persons; Pawtucket Manufacturing, 1881, bolts, nuts, and machinery for making nuts and bolts, employing 250 persons; Imperial Knife Company, Providence, 1927, manufacturing a varied line of cutlery and employing 400 persons; Hemphill Company, Central Falls, 1906, "Banner" automatic knitting machines employing 360 persons; Standard Machinery Company, Cranston, 1903, "world's largest builders of jewelers' machinery," manufacturing power presses, drop hammers, rolling mills, swaging machines, draw benches, miscellaneous wire and sheet metal machinery, ball and roller bearings, and employing 100 persons; Universal Winding Company, Cranston, manufacturing textile and coil winding machines, and employing 1050 persons; Textile-Finishing Machinery Company, Providence, 1902, employing 275 persons; Taft Pierce Manufacturing Company, Woonsocket, employing 300 persons; Narragansett Machine Company, Pawtucket, 1868, manufacturing steel filing cabinets and gymnastic machinery and apparatus, employing 250 persons; Potter & Johnson Machine Company, Pawtucket, tools, employing 480 persons; H. & B. American Machine Company, Pawtucket, mill machinery.

Allied with the machine factories are eighteen wire making establishments, the largest of which are United Wire and Supply Company, Cranston, employing 200 persons; American Electrical Works, Phillipsdale, employing 500 persons; Washburn Wire Company, Phillipsdale, employing 240 persons; Anaconda Wire and Cable Company, Pawtucket, employing 225 persons; Collyer Insulated Wire Company, Pawtucket, employing 260 persons; Phillips Wire Company, Pawtucket, employing 400 persons. The oldest organization is the American Electrical Works, which started in Providence in 1870. The product includes wires for telephone, electric railways, electric lights, etc.

**JEWELRY AND SILVERSMITHING**—Jewelry manufacturing is Rhode Island's fourth industry in 1930, with 400 establishments employing 20,000 persons. This classification includes,

besides "manufacturing jewelers," hub and die cutters, enamellers, platers, refiners and silversmiths, makers of jewelers' cards, jewelers' cases and displays, jewelers' supplies, and emblems and badges, and dealers in precious and imitation stones. Until 1890 the average establishment employed less than twenty-five persons; since then there has been a general tendency toward larger numbers, although the characteristic organization in jewelry manufacturing is still a small shop. A large factory building housing one jewelry establishment is a rarity; in Rhode Island factory buildings devoted to jewelry manufacturing provide accommodations for several shops, usually with heat, light and power provided. The contrast appears in the group of buildings housing the Gorham Manufacturing Company, the large factories of the Brier Manufacturing Company, Theodore W. Foster & Brother Company, and Ostby & Barton Company, and the number of smaller shops in the Manufacturers Building on Sabin Street, the Fitzgerald Building on Eddy Street, the Lederer Building on Stewart Street, the buildings at 144 and 158 Pine Street, and other similar buildings in Providence.

The largest silversmithing factory in Rhode Island bears the name of Gorham and is the successor of a small shop in Providence in which Jabez Gorham manufactured silver spoons. Jabez Gorham was born in Providence in 1792, and by 1830 had established a reputation as a silversmith that extended throughout New England. After extending the business to include additional styles of silver articles, Jabez Gorham retired in 1842. His successor was his son, John Gorham. By 1850 the company was manufacturing both solid and plated silverware, and the new hollow silverware. The plant was extended, and in 1885 occupied all the buildings in the square in Providence bounded by North Main, Steeple, Canal and Friend streets. Toward the end of the century removal was made to a new plant in Elmwood, which had been designed and constructed for the Gorham Manufacturing Company. The factory buildings covered six acres of a tract of thirteen acres and the establishment was complete, even to the details of having an independent water supply drawn from an artesian well, an independent electric lighting plant, an independent fire department, a machine shop and blacksmith shop, a photographic outfit, and shops for making the boxes and cases in which the product was packed. The Gorham Manufacturing Company makes sterling silverware, gold, electro plate, bronze, ecclesiastical ware and silver polish. Its facilities extend from stamped silverware to casting the largest statuary. For the World's Fair at Chicago the Gorham Manufacturing Company cast and displayed a life-size silver statue of Columbus, a replica of which in bronze stands in Providence at the junction of Elmwood and Reservoir avenues. The Gorham Company, a selling corporation, markets the products of the Gorham Manufacturing Company, the Gorham-Whiting division in Providence, and establishments at Concord and Newark. The Providence factory employs 1400 persons. The plant includes a recreation building for employes; the latter maintain a coöperative savings bank.

The earliest jewelry shops in Rhode Island were located on North Main Street in Providence, northerly from the retail shopping district at Cheapside, close to Market Square. Until Nehemiah Dodge invented his process for plating gold on copper, the product was of solid gold or silver usually. The Dodge process was copied and improved upon (or was it debased?) by others, who succeeded in producing gold-plated jewelry at even lower prices than Dodge; thus the foundation was laid for low-grade jewelry manufacturing in the Attleboros. From small enterprises in shops with few workers except the proprietor and his apprentice, the industry was extended gradually. The value of the product was reported as \$100,000 in 1810, \$300,000 in 1815, and \$600,000 in 1820.\* There had been a period of depression between 1815 and 1820, during which the industry had ceased almost. A list of jewelers in 1825 included the pioneers, Nehemiah Dodge and Jabez Gorham, Davis & Babbitt, Whittaker & Greene, and Joseph Veazie, all on North Main Street; Arnold Whipple, Stampers Street;

\*Bishop's "History of Manufactures."

Sackett & Willard, North Court Street; Frost & Mumford, Cady's Lane; G. & A. Richmond, Exchange Street (then Hydraulion Street); William Green & Co., George Street; Bassett Nichols, Clemence Street. All the Rhode Island shops were in Providence. Though the industry was even then centred east of the Moshassuck River, the movement westward had begun; fifty years later, except the large silversmithing plant of the Gorhams, most of the jewelry factories were west of the Providence River, with Pine, Friendship, Eddy and Page streets the approximate centre. The shopping district also had shifted westward and centred in lower Westminster Street, east of Dorrance Street. The two movements were not related, however; the jewelry manufacturers of the period did not cater to a local retail trade so much as to a wholesale trade, reached by salesmen who sold the product of Rhode Island jewelry factories by samples shown in the large cities. Therein the early practice of the enterprising Jabez Gorham was followed; he sold at retail in his Providence shop, but the bulk of his product was disposed of to retailers in Boston, who met at his hotel to witness the opening of the box in which he carried his wares.

While statistics relating to the jewelry industry before 1850 are doubtful in the essential detail of accuracy, reports indicate steady growth and extension. Census returns for 1850 placed Rhode Island third in the list of states in the number of persons employed in manufacturing jewelry, only New York and Pennsylvania leading. The depression following the panic of 1857 and the Civil War both retarded the jewelry industry in Rhode Island. Nevertheless, and in spite of the Sprague failure and its demoralizing effects upon the leading cotton textile industry, Rhode Island by 1880 attained first place among the states in the manufacture of jewelry, measured by (1) the number of persons employed; (2) the amount of wages and salaries paid; and (3) the value of the product. The city of Providence, in which 142 of the 148 establishments were located, was the undisputed leading jewelry centre, the value of production in Providence, \$5,444,092, being greater than for any state except Rhode Island. Twenty years later, 1899, a survey of the jewelry industry by the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics disclosed 249 establishments with a capital investment of \$10,655,227. The 8767 persons employed earned \$4,612,889 annually, and produced jewelry valued at \$19,445,327. The invention by Levi Burdon of a process for making seamless plated wire had helped the industry, particularly the makers of chains. George W. Ladd, after fifteen years of experiment, perfected in 1867 a stiffened watch case, in which a layer of nickel between two thin sheets of gold replaced a corresponding amount of the precious metal, and added strength to the case. The new watch case was accepted immediately as an improvement over cases made of solid gold; 3000 were sold within a year, and thousands yearly thereafter. Collar buttons, sleeve buttons, and studs for men's shirts had been an important product of jewelry factories. Rhode Island inventions in button making included an almost endless number of devices for punching and shaping buttons and studs from sheets and strips of solid or plated metal, lever and other mechanical adjustable parts for tipping the head of button or stud for inserting it easily into buttonhole, separable shank and telescopic shank buttons and studs, with spring locking devices, and pearl-backed buttons and studs to avoid contact of metal with the epidermis of the wearer.

In making brooches and other ornamental pins attention was paid to developing hinges and locks for pins, and patent after patent rewarded the ingenuity of Rhode Island jewelers. Beauty of design was maintained; machinery for chasing was invented. The influence of Rhode Island School of Design could be detected shortly after 1877 in an improvement of design in all types of jewelry, and an emphasis upon beauty as exemplified in simplicity and unity, harmony and proportion. New patterns were sought and introduced by enterprising jewelers as measures for stimulating trade. Shell pearl was used for inlaying first, and later as the beauty of the material was recognized, a line of pearl novelties mounted in gold or

gold-plate was introduced and sold in large quantities. Not all of the media for expression would satisfy the canons of modern art; one manufacturer produced a line of jewelry consisting principally of wire-mounted sea shells. The sea shell jewelry had an immense sale at almost the same period in which a company then occupying the old Slater Mill in Pawtucket discontinued the making of sheet metal trimmings for coffins, in order to manufacture a new wire easel invented by E. B. Crocker. Crocker obtained a second patent on the design of the easel, which was copied from the lowly bullrush or cattail.\* Wire stems of artificial cattails made the frame of the easel—grouping of the heads constituted the novelty in the design. The easel, holding a life-size crayon portrait or other picture draped with a scarf, relieved the stern severity of horsehair upholstery and marble-topped black walnut stand or table, the latter depository of the family Bible, family photograph album, family scrapbook, and, perhaps, an unabridged dictionary. At almost the same time the Pawtucket Hair Cloth Manufacturing Company was nearing the age of golden prosperity in which it would make the crinoline foundations for women's dresses requiring twenty to twenty-five yards of cloth, as contrasted with the little more than two yards needed for a modern frock. In those days the reasonably well-dressed woman might wear no less than forty to fifty yards of cloth in a complete costuming of garments, some of which were visible and others unmentionable; and all the textile mills were prosperous, while some were working overtime to produce the cloth demanded for balloon sleeves and widening skirt draperies.

In jewelry the general business depression of 1893-1897 was offset somewhat, particularly in silversmithing, by the new low market price for silver bullion, which made the white metal popular for uses which the higher rates of yesteryears had prohibited. When it was settled definitely and conclusively in the political campaign and election of 1896 that the United States government neither would restore its silver purchasing policy nor would undertake, by opening the mint to free coinage of silver, to maintain the market price for silver at parity with gold in the ratio of sixteen to one, silver bullion sank to price levels that unlocked a market for silver for use in the arts. The large production of new mines, vastly exceeding needs for currency or other monetary uses, turned away from the mint and treasury, flowed into jewelry factories and silver foundries. Silversmiths realized an opportunity almost immediately to increase their sales by producing new lines of solid silver and silver-plated novelties at popular prices, and the industry, which theretofore had been limited principally to tableware, was expanded and exploited. Besides solid silver and silver-plated toilet articles and toilet articles of other materials inlaid or ornamented with silver, silver jewelry was produced in great variety. New processes of finishing silver, tending to prevent tarnishing, were introduced; oxidized silver, in variegated patterns of dull gray satin to ebon black, was popular. Jewelers who theretofore had manufactured principally solid gold or gold-plated articles, reproduced old patterns in the white metal, and introduced new patterns. The older classification of jeweler and silversmith, based principally on metal, was discarded in practice; in modern usage the silversmith and jeweler are distinguished rather by the type and size of article produced than by the metal used in the manufacture. The popularity of silver was not determined exclusively by price, however; a fondness for the white color, in preference to red or yellow gold, is proved by the modern vogue of white gold and platinum, particularly as a setting for diamonds.

Among other factors affecting the jewelry industry in Rhode Island in the twentieth century most significantly have been (1) increase in the volume used and type of jewelers' findings; (2) introduction of new types of machines and mechanical devices that diminish hand labor; (3) changes in styles and fashions; and (4) effective competition by other jew-

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\*Sometimes called cat-o-nine tails.

elry centres. The use of jewelers' findings in a few lines was introduced early in the history of the industry; it meant only that a manufacturer had specialized his work and limited himself to producing "stock" in quantities, to be sold to other jewelers for conversion into the ultimate or finished product. The relations are the same as those between the wool manufacturer who produces yarn to sell, and the weaver who buys yarn to be woven into cloth. The modern jeweler buys little ingot or bar metal; instead, he buys wire or sheets of standard material to be fed into his presses, forges or other machines. The division of labor implied in the specialization thus far has interposed a middleman or jobber between the two jewelers; that is to say, a merchant who buys from the producer of standard material and carries the material as stock in trade, and who sells it to the converter. In consequence, the converter who has a new design or a new order buys stock, and turns the design over to a hub and die cutter or to a toolmaker.

The older type of equipment in a jewelry shop included a few machines, each of which performed a single operation; the machines were fed by hand, and the product was fed to successive machines until the machine processes had been exhausted and the article was ready for assembling or other finishing. The new equipment includes automatic-feeding, multiple-operation machines, accepting wire or other stock at one end and delivering a finished product at the other. Most notable advances have been made in chainmaking; whereas little of chainmaking was otherwise than by hand in 1900, most chainmaking is entirely by machine in 1930.

Styles and fashions affect jewelry as well as other articles of dress or adornment. Men in the twentieth century wear little jewelry; the cravat pin, watch chain, rings, and, perhaps, earrings of yesteryear for the most part are no more. The watch chain was replaced first by a fob; and then disappeared almost altogether with the introduction of the popular wrist watch. Fashions in women's jewelry are as variable as the styles in dress. The jewelers have replaced old with new lines, however; and are quickly in the market with novelties to satisfy even transient fads. The sale of millions of pocket cigar and cigarette lighters in recent years is only one example of the adaptability of the jewelry industry to any fresh demand for small metal articles. In some instances the jeweler's problem consists in marketing his own product before his competitors are in the field with rival designs. Competition is keen, not only between jewelers in Rhode Island, but also between Rhode Island jewelers and jewelers elsewhere. In recent years rivals have risen, particularly in the field of low-priced jewelry, in middle western cities, and there has been effective competition by jewelry produced in European countries. Rhode Island still leads the United States in the volume of production, which is valued at \$45,000,000 annually.

Besides the Gorham Manufacturing Company, which is the largest silversmithing establishment in the world, other large jewelry factories in Rhode Island include Ostby & Barton Company, "largest manufacturers of rings in the world"; Brier Manufacturing Company, Progressive Ring Company, jewelry for syndicate trade; American Standard Watch Case Company; George F. Berkander, enamel and celluloid goods; T. W. Foster & Brother Company, solid gold, gold-plated and silver jewelry; Ambrust Chain Company, Automatic Gold Chain Company, A & Z Chain Company, General Chain Company, Hamilton & Hamilton, Jr., Martin-Copeland Company, Spredel Chain Company, chains; B. A. Ballou & Co., James C. Doran & Sons, Jewelers' Supply Company, T. W. Lind Company, D. W. Watkins Company, jewelers' findings; the Hadley Company, wrist watch bracelets; Irons & Russell Company, Williams & Anderson, badges and emblems; Blacher Brothers, Cohn & Rosenberg, Park Brothers & Rogers, Silverman Brothers, Uncas Manufacturing Company, operating largest factory devoted to rings exclusively in America; George W. Cahoon, gold jewelry; Rex Manufacturing Company, rings and bracelets; Fray Ring Company.

**RUBBER GOODS**—The rubber industry in Rhode Island employs 6500 persons in 1930. It is an old industry, originating before the middle of the nineteenth century. "The business" of making rubber shoes "was carried on more exclusively in Providence than in any other place" before 1848, Albert C. Eddy testified in a suit brought to test the validity of patents. Early Rhode Island manufacturers included John Haskins, Isaac Hartshorn, Daniel Hayward, George O. Bourn and Edwin M. Chaffee, the last of whom built the first calendering machine. The Providence shoe was manufactured so early as 1843 in quantities of 250 to 300 pairs per day, and later by thousands. The Providence Rubber Company manufactured rubber blankets during the Civil War, and lost a patent infringement suit involving \$200,000 as damages; it became the National Rubber Company, and was succeeded in 1888 by the National India Rubber Company of Bristol, which was organized by Colonel Samuel P. Colt, receiver for the National Rubber Company. Colonel Colt was energetic and ambitious, and in ten years had developed a plant at Bristol which produced 24,000 pairs of shoes daily, \$150,000 worth of insulated wire per year, besides rubber clothing and other rubber goods. The plant at Bristol is the largest unit operating in Rhode Island in 1930, employing nearly 2500 persons.

The Davol Rubber Company was organized in Providence in 1875 under the name of the Perkins Manufacturing Company. Joseph Davol, the proprietor, assumed direction in 1878. The company undertook the manufacture of rubber goods for druggists, surgeons, dentists, stationers, and other grades, including a complete line of hard and soft syringes, toilet articles, hot and cold bottles and bags. The trade extended to all parts of the United States and Canada, and Davol products were exported to Central and South America, Europe, China and Japan, and Australia. The Davol Company introduced new machinery and devices, many of which were manufactured in their own machine shop on the premises. The enterprise is still vigorous, employing nearly 700 persons in 1930.

Joseph Banigan came to Woonsocket in 1864, without money capital, but with business acumen, ambitious enthusiasm, and knowledge of rubber, which proved to be worth millions of dollars within a few years. Banigan succeeded in convincing Lyman A. Cook and Simeon S. Cook that he had a mission to perform in Rhode Island, with their assistance borrowed \$10,000, and began making rubber blankets and rubber rolls for clothes wringers in an old planing mill. Banigan bought the machinery, supervised the installation, superintended the plant and sold the product. He seemed to have a Midas touch, and the enterprise was successful immediately; it was incorporated as the Woonsocket Rubber Company with capital of \$100,000. From blankets and wringer rolls, the company changed to manufacturing rubber boots and shoes. Under Banigan's direction, profits beyond an annual dividend of eight per cent. were issued as stock and reinvested in expansion of the business. The Woonsocket Rubber Company built a new mill at Millville in 1882 at a cost of \$750,000, and paid for it out of accumulated profits. Seven years later the Alice Mill, then the largest rubber factory in the world, was constructed and paid for in the same way. In that year the nominal capital of the Woonsocket Rubber Company was \$2,000,000, consisting principally of stock issued as dividends. The actual value of the enterprise was indicated by the offer of purchase made four years later by the United States Rubber Company, to pay \$300 cash or to issue \$540 stock in exchange for each share of Woonsocket Rubber Company at \$100 par; that is to say, the \$100,000 of original capital had become \$6,000,000, and had paid eight per cent. annual dividends additional for thirty years. The average annual earnings had been twenty-eight per cent.; in one year the company paid forty-eight per cent., forty stock and eight cash. Joseph Banigan became President and general manager of the United States Rubber Company, 1893-1896. The United States Rubber Company was a holding corporation, planned to control the rubber shoe industry in the United States, and in this purpose was successful with reference to all but the Boston Rubber Shoe Company. Joseph Banigan resigned from both

the Woonsocket Rubber Company and the holding company in 1896. Colonel Samuel P. Colt, who had organized the National India Rubber Company at Bristol, was his successor as President of the United States Rubber Company. Joseph Banigan in thirty years had become a multi-millionaire as captain of a great industry; he was not through in 1896, although he had sold his holdings in the Woonsocket Rubber Company. He had organized, in 1891, the American Wringer Company, to control the manufacture of rubber rolls for wringers; the company established a factory in Rhode Island at Woonsocket. In 1896 the Joseph Banigan Rubber Company was incorporated with capital of \$1,000,000, and built a factory on Valley Street in Providence. Banigan died in 1898. Two of the largest rubber organizations in Rhode Island operating in 1930 and together employing nearly 2300 persons—the Woonsocket Rubber Company and the Providence plant of the United States Rubber Company—were developed by him. The American Wringer Company, Woonsocket, employing 250, was also a Banigan corporation. The Banigan wealth was invested in a great variety of Rhode Island and other manufacturing enterprises. Joseph Banigan built one of the first tall office buildings in Providence; the name was changed later from Banigan building to Grosvenor building, when the property was sold by the Banigan estate.

The Mechanical Fabric Company of Providence was incorporated in 1890, and the next year began to manufacture bicycle tires, the American Dunlop or double-tube type. In the factory of the Mechanical Fabric Company, P. W. Tillinghast, American inventor of a successful type of single tube bicycle tire, made his experiments. Tillinghast obtained a patent on a tire which was built up unvulcanized, and vulcanized after completion; it was the first successful single-tube pneumatic tire, and 50,000 pairs were sold in two years. The Tillinghast patents were sold to a corporation organized with \$20,000,000 capital and controlling ninety-five per cent, of factories manufacturing single tube tires. The Mechanical Fabric Company is still in existence, manufacturing India rubber thread and cord cloth, and employing 175 persons. Rhode Island had a bicycle factory, as well as a tire factory. W. W. Whitten began to sell bicycles in 1886, to import and sell bicycles and parts of bicycles in 1887, and to manufacture the once-popular Whitten in 1893. The company was incorporated in 1896 and was prosperous until the automobile replaced the bicycle as a popular vehicle.

Augustus O. Bourn, Governor of Rhode Island, 1883-1885, and Consul-General of the United States in Italy, returned to Rhode Island in 1893. He was a son of George Bourn, who had been one of the pioneer manufacturers of rubber in Rhode Island, and had been associated with rubber enterprises from 1859 to 1899. He organized the Bourn Rubber Company in 1894, making two grades of rubber shoes, and employing 300 operators. The Bourn Rubber Company has been succeeded by the Phillips-Baker Rubber Company of Providence, which manufactures rubber boots and shoes and employs 700 operatives. Most of the wire companies make rubber-insulated electric wires; the Atlantic Tubing Company of Cranston manufactures rubber tubing.

**OTHER INDUSTRIES**—Other Rhode Island industries exist in large numbers, but none employ so many people as textiles in wool, cotton, silk and rayon; iron and steel and machinery; jewelry and rubber. Westerly is seat of a granite industry, including eight quarries and employing over 350 persons. Westerly granite is awarded "first place for a material which is well adapted to work of the finest description and intricacy of detail. Fine grained, hard and tough, it responds to the labor of the carver and sculptor with results unattainable in any other granite, and will hold an arris firm and durable. The statue of Alexander Hamilton in Central Park, New York, was wrought from this material, and has won unqualified praise from the best judges both at home and abroad. This material is difficult to quarry in large dimensions and is too expensive for commercial buildings." The excessive cost of material was assigned as a reason for constructing the State House of limestone instead of granite from Westerly.

The buildings at Rhode Island State College were constructed of granite quarried on the college estate. The columns in the interior of the State House at Hartford, Connecticut, are from Westerly bluish-gray granite, of the type which was awarded first prize at the Paris Exposition in 1867. The statue of the American soldier on the battlefield at Antietam, twenty-two feet high, is of Westerly granite. Westerly granite is used principally for monuments. The massive pillars on both fronts of the Arcade in Providence, among the largest monoliths in the world, were quarried in Cranston, and hauled to Providence on ox teams.

John Coleman began to manufacture tackle blocks in Providence in 1778. The business was continued and extended by his heirs, and for more than a century and a quarter the Coleman business sign, a large wooden representation of a block, was a familiar landmark in front of the factory on South Water Street. One day it was taken in, never to reappear; the making of tackle blocks in Providence had ended with the decline of shipping in wooden sailing vessels.

Henry L. Kendall came to Rhode Island in 1827 and began to manufacture soap and "soapine," the latter one of the first soap powders sold. For many years thereafter, almost a full century, the soapine trade mark, a stranded black whale with a white spot on the side, marked "Soapine did it," was familiar on packages and boxes, and on billboards throughout New England. Soapine was made in Providence and achieved a countrywide sale and reputation. The Kendall Manufacturing Company is still in existence and a soap powder is sold under the familiar name, but the Kendall Manufacturing Company is merely a selling agency, and Soapine is no longer a Rhode Island product.

Perry Davis came to Rhode Island in 1843, having in his pocket the formula for making a medicine. He established a factory and manufactured the medicine, which was sold under the name of "Perry Davis' Pain Killer" and advertised under the slogan "Pain Killer Kills Pain." The venture, once the medicine had established a reputation as a remedy for acute abdominal pains, was successful, and "Pain Killer" was sold in every part of the world. Perry Davis made a fortune within twenty years; before he died in 1862 he built at his own expense the brick church still standing at Pond and Stewart Streets. The business was continued in Providence until the end of the century, and then removed to New York. For many years a branch factory was conducted in Canada because of the heavy tariff levied there on imported medicinal preparations. Eventually sales of "Pain Killer" diminished as medical practice was directed to curing disease rather than relieving the symptoms, and as statutory regulation imposed stringent restriction upon the alcoholic and narcotic contents of proprietary medicines. Other proprietary and patent medicines were made in Rhode Island and sold nationally and internationally, including a well-known "Sarsaparilla," and a long list of "tonics," "herb and root" concoctions, emulsions, salves and health and beauty restorers. Conflicting proprietary interests in the manufacture of "Yellow Dock" led to a famous lawsuit, in which legal protection against unfair competition by imitating labels, packages, containers, wrappers and advertising matter was discussed thoroughly.\*

Lyman Klapp, returning to Rhode Island after a voyage to the coast of Africa with an expedition for the relief of Livingstone, the explorer, invented machinery for hulling cotton seed and a process for extracting and refining vegetable oils. Cotton seed theretofore had been a waste product of the ginning sheds on Southern plantations; Klapp had found a way to utilize it, and incidentally the key to the extraction of oils from other vegetables. He incorporated the Union Oil Company in 1855, and established a factory in Providence. Thirty years later, when the Klapp machinery and processes had been introduced into over 100 mills, Klapp became a trustee of the American Cotton Oil Trust, a holding company with \$35,000,000 capital, controlling the entire industry. The combined production in 1885 was 22,000,000 gallons

\*Alexander vs. Morse, 14 R. I. 152.

of oil, and 450,000,000 pounds of cake and meal. The cake and meal, waste products of the oil factories, were fed to cattle as fatteners, and were used also as fertilizers. The oil was refined and sold principally for food. One product of the Providence factory was "Providence Salad Oil," which was sold as a perfect food substitute for olive oil, and at one time was said to defy distinction from olive oil by chemical analysis. The business in Providence was wound up after more than fifty years of successful manufacturing.

Fitz James Rice and George W. Hayward established a bakery in Providence in 1849, and by 1861 had achieved so much success that they made a second venture, the "Rhode Island Bakery," in Washington to supply bread and other baked flour foods for the Union Army. The Washington project was not profitable as the seat of warfare was moved from the capital city, but the Providence bakery was continued and extended. The company at one time manufactured "crackers" or biscuits, as well as bread, pies and cake, using 125 barrels of flour daily in one of the largest baking factories in New England. The company succumbed to competition, after an existence of half a century.

David Heaton invented a button fastener on which he obtained six patents. The Heaton Button Fastener Company was incorporated in 1875, and a company was organized. The fastener was a small brass wire, bent and clinched, and was intended to replace the use of thread for sewing buttons on shoes. The original patents covered the fastener, machines for making it, and punches for attaching buttons on shoes. As processes were improved, other patents were obtained. The punches were sold to shoe factories, to retail shoe stores, and eventually to families, thus helping to solve the perpetual problem of replacing shoe buttons. In the heyday of success the Heaton Button Fastener Company used tons of sheet brass daily in making the fasteners, and sold their product wherever buttoned shoes were worn. And then—men stopped wearing buttoned shoes, and styles for women changed suddenly from fifteen-button shoes (thirty to a pair) to sandals without buttons. There were no buttons to be fastened, and there was no need for a fastener.

Among other industrial ventures that were inaugurated, developed, prospered and then were discontinued because there was no longer place for them in a changing economy, were factories for making leather and other belts and belting for turning machinery, discarded along with steel shafting, belts and shafting hangers, steel pulleys, and other related devices, when individual electric motors, attached directly to machinery, replaced altogether the elaborate mechanical power transmission systems previously in use. Electric power was more convenient, the installation was cheaper, and the use of motors made it possible to operate any machine while others were idle; in factory administration it solved many problems, including the serious one related to waste of power when an entire plant must be operated if one department only was really busy.

Rhode Island at one time had an extensive manufactory of artificial butter, butterine and oleomargarine, with several establishments, the products of which were sold extensively in other states as well as in Rhode Island. This industry was undermined by federal excises, levied principally to protect dairy butter from competition, imposed on "colored" butter substitutes. When an ingenious Rhode Islander found a method of making a butter substitute from vegetable oils, without using coloring matter other than vegetable oils in their original purity, the sale of the "uncolored" yellow margarine without paying the excise was construed as a violation of the federal statute. The larger factories were closed, and only a remnant of the once prosperous artificial butter business is continued.

Not all of the old industries have passed, however. The Barstow Stove Company, founded in 1836, and eventually absorbing its rival, the Spicer & Peckham Stove Company, is still manufacturing and selling coal and gas ranges, the latter of the most modern patterns and equipped with the most approved appliances for regulating heat and fuel consumption. John Mason began manufacturing and selling dyes and chemicals for use in textile factories so

early as 1815. The Mason enterprise is continued in 1930 under the name and style of Arnold, Hoffman & Company, which was one of the earliest to utilize the electric power generated at Niagara Falls in the manufacture of chemicals. Arnold, Hoffman & Company maintain a selling agency in Rhode Island; its principal factories are beyond the borders. The Holbrook Raw Hide Company, established 1822, makes leather loom picks, leather faced hammers, raw-hide mallets, and other leather devices, including several that were originated by the company. The Akerman-Standard Company, bookbinders, in six years more will pass the century mark. Philip L. Voelker is the present proprietor of a brush manufacturing factory that was established in 1858; the brushes include all types used in factory processes. L. Vaughn Company has been manufacturing sash and blinds, doors, and other factory made accessories of house construction since 1847. F. O. Draper Company of Pawtucket, established in 1860, manufactures scouring soaps and other soaps for factory use, besides a general line of soaps and soap powders. L. F. Pease Company was established in 1866, to manufacture sails principally; it continues in 1930, although its principal lines are awnings and tents rather than sails.

The Rumford Chemical Company was established in 1854, with its principal factory in the northern part of what is now the town of East Providence. The company was named for Count Rumford, an eminent chemist, and gave his name to the village surrounding the factory. The Rumford Chemical Company was founded by George F. Wilson and Eben N. Horsford, the latter of whom had been Rumford professor of chemistry at Harvard University. The new establishment planned to manufacture Horsford's acid phosphate of lime as a substitute for cream of tartar, a bread preparation, baking powder, yeast powder, and Horsford's acid phosphate. It was claimed for the baking powder that it effected the purposes of yeast without decomposing flour, and increased rather than decreased the food value. Baron Liebig, the distinguished chemist who invented the first extract of beef, said of the Horsford preparation: "I consider this invention as one of the most useful gifts which science has made to mankind. It is certain that the nutritive value of flour will be increased ten per cent. by your phosphate preparation." Besides the cream of tartar, baking powder, yeast powder and other similar dry preparations, the Rumford company produced acid phosphate in liquid form, and it had and still has a nation-wide sale as a medicine prescribed for indigestion in some forms and for slight nervous disorders. The company also introduced a carbonated water, tintured with acid phosphate, and sweetened with fruit juices and syrups, which was bottled and sold as a beverage under the name of "Phosa." The bottle container was distinctive, as it was closed by an interior glass ball held by the pressure of the carbonating gas against a rubber ring bearing. To open the bottle, the glass ball was pushed downward into the neck of the bottle, where it was held against further descent and against interference with the flow of the liquid by glass shoulders produced by convolutions in the glass. In later years an unusually large industry in the production of carbonated beverages, sold as tonic or soda water, was developed in Rhode Island; many of the pioneers in this industry learned the essential principles of manufacturing and bottling carbonated waters while working for the Rumford Chemical Company in the "Phosa" department. "Phosa" was higher priced than most carbonated beverages, and the production was discontinued, after a short period of sale in a simpler form of container. Liquid acid phosphate was also sold for use at soda fountains in making phosphated beverages, and is still sold in large quantities for this purpose, and is used wherever phosphated beverages are sold; it gives a tart acid tang to beverages compounded of carbonated water and fruit juices. Baking powder has been the largest product of the Rumford Chemical Company, and the Rumford Baking Powder is sold wherever baking powder is used. In its Providence plant the Rumford Chemical Company maintain one of the largest and most completely equipped printing plants in New England. The product includes labels and printed wrappers for the company's chemical preparations, besides advertising matter and the Rumford cook book. In the printing department advantage is taken of the most

modern types of automatic feeding, high-speed printing presses. The printing is not only in English, but in all other modern languages, because the company's products are sold in all the continents and remote islands.

The Miles Alarm Till Company, established in 1859, manufactured an automatic locking money drawer; the drawer was opened by a selected combination of finger pulls beneath, and rang a bell; the modern cash register has replaced the alarm till almost universally. Stillman White established a foundry in 1856, and manufactured an alloyed metal for bearings, which resisted heating and was useful on high-speed machines; the metal was sold under the name of S. White metal, and is still manufactured. W. H. Durfee began to make clocks with tubular chimes in Providence in 1874; the chimes were made and sold in various combinations, striking hours, half hours, and quarter hours; the company continues in 1930. Oliver Johnson & Son began manufacturing and selling paint in Providence in 1833, and have continued nearly a century. Their old line of What Cheer paints has been discontinued; the company's products are sold under the trade names of Ojaco and Decocote.

Joseph W. Rice moved from Coventry to Providence, and in 1861 engaged in the selling of paints. In 1886 he organized the United States Gutta Percha Paint Company; its factories in 1930 are the largest in Rhode Island devoted to the manufacture of paint, and the product is sold all over the country, particularly in large quantities to great corporations which use the Rice paint exclusively. The business is continued by Herbert W. Rice. A distinctive product is "Barrelled Sunlight," a white enamel paint, manufactured by a process invented by Rice. "Barrelled Sunlight" was used first in factories, because of its enduring whiteness, to conserve light. The paint is sold for domestic use also, and an outside paint of the same name is made and sold by the company. The Rhode Island factory gives employment to 200 persons.

The American Multiple Fabric Company was established in 1873, one of its distinctive products being a heavy fabric fire hose with a continuous rubber lining. Another, since discontinued, was an "evaporating horse blanket." The organization continues in 1930. Other establishments, most of more recent origin, which engage in distinctive lines or employ large numbers of persons, include: Atlantic Biscuit Company, General Baking Company, and Ward Baking Company; Combination Ladder Company; Gibsons, Incorporated, candy; General Electric Company; American Enamel Company; L. B. Darling Fertilizer Company; Rhode Island Cardboard Company; Standard Oil Company, oil refining plant, in East Providence. The Herreshoff Company of Bristol, maintains an international reputation for the construction of fine yachts, including America's cup defenders. New corporations, established to exploit entirely new lines of manufacturing, include the C. E. Manufacturing Company, one of the largest organizations for making radio tubes; Leonard Rooke Company, manufacturing valves and other devices for regulating the temperature of water.

The history of manufacturing in Rhode Island shows how definitely successful production is related to constantly changing environment, and how industries may rise to meet a fresh demand and decline when the need has passed. Even in staple lines styles and fashions change, and the alert manufacturer must respond to the variations and adapt his product accordingly. Rhode Island's dominating position in great industries—such as wool, cotton and silk textiles; iron, steel and machinery; jewelry and rubber—is tribute to sound foundations and a remarkable number of unusual captains of industry. The state has survived periods of industrial depression in certain lines, because of the diversity and versatility of its manufactures. The manufacturing interests have been alert, and successful because of their zeal. A very large part of Rhode Island reputation as a manufacturing state has rested upon the integrity and business honor of the men who have directed industry. The name of a Rhode Island product is an assurance, usually, of merit.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### RHODE ISLAND FARMING AND FISHING.



WHEN William Blackstone left the home in Boston which had become uncomfortable because Puritan neighbors had already begun to exercise the habit of having "a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors," which was later enjoined upon them by the snooper statute,\* in order that he might enjoy the pleasant solitude of Study Hill in a valley which was as fair in the seventeenth century because of a natural profusion of trees as it is famed in the twentieth century because of an unending confusion of factories, he drove a few cattle, among which probably was the white bull (or its sire) on which occasionally he rode into Providence to preach. With him he carried also scions of fruit trees for the orchard on Study Hill, from which he gathered the Sweeting apples for the bag from which he rewarded good boys and girls who attended his Sunday classes. Whereas Roger Williams himself carried no cattle in his hurried winter flight from Massachusetts to the lodges of friendly Indians, the companions who joined him later at Providence had livestock, pasture and forage for which were considered in the laying out of long town lots with narrow fronts, the Common close to the Seekonk, and the grassy fields in the Woonasquatucket valley. The fine, rich grass land in the valley of the Pawtuxet was the prize at stake in early litigation with which the name of William Harris has been associated. No doubt the vessel chartered by the Portsmouth and Newport settlers for their pilgrimage from Massachusetts carried livestock as well as furniture and other property; the assignments of land at Pocasset included pasturage. Samuel Gorton drove cattle on his several migrations, from Massachusetts to Plymouth, from Plymouth to Portsmouth, from Portsmouth to Providence, and from Providence to Warwick. Animal husbandry was an important part of the agricultural economic life in Rhode Island in the seventeenth century, yielding, besides beef, pork, mutton, poultry, eggs, milk, butter and cheese, hides, wool and leather. Horses were raised for export to the West Indies, and tobacco for shipment north. Secondary products of animal husbandry, butter, cheese, hides, leather, salted provisions and wool, also were available in quantity for export. Besides raising European vegetables from seeds, sets and cuttings brought from England, the colonists learned the Indian methods of cultivating the indigenous potato, corn, beans and tobacco. They imported scions for orchards, and began to improve the wild berries of America by cultivation. The waters of the Bay yielded shellfish in plentiful quantities—so vast that the temptation to dredge for shells to be manufactured into lime was curbed by legislation; while Bay and rivers teemed with other fish. Life in Rhode Island was never so primitive as on some frontiers, because open waterways made communication with older civilization convenient, and trade and commerce flourished. By producing a surplus for export, agriculture furnished the wealth that made trade and commerce bilateral and profitable.

Rhode Island was not planned to be an agricultural paradise. So much of the land is adapted to forestry that Rhode Island, even in the twentieth century, is outstanding among the states in the proportion of its area still devoted to fine stands of trees. The ice of the latest glacial period, besides scraping clear and leaving exposed bedrock ledges, strewn many a plain or open hillside with boulders, or left a deposit of boulders scarcely buried in a loose dressing of silt. The stone walls characteristic of old Rhode Island farms were neither feudal tribute to baronial magnificence nor permanent memorials of broad estates, so much as convenient

\*Ordinance of 1642.

depositories for rocks pried from the soil to make the latter arable. Truth there is also in the tradition that sheep were raised in colonial days in Rhode Island as in Scotland, because their sharp faces made it easier for them than for other livestock to reach the grass between the rocks in favored pasture land. Much of Rhode Island forest land was too rocky to tempt clearing for planting. While the best Rhode Island soil lies in a broad zone that extends from Tiverton and Little Compton westward across Rhode Island and Conanicut and Washington County to Connecticut, the light, sandy soil in parts of other counties may be cultivated with reasonable profit, and most of the state is suitable for orcharding, poultry and dairy farming. With other New England states, Rhode Island has "abandoned" farms and other farms that are not profitable as conducted.

Farming and the life of the farmer both suffered in competition with industry and the life of the wage-earner in factory occupations. The movement from the farm to the commercial centre first, and to the factory centre in later development, is almost as old as the colony. Perhaps it was forecasted in that early migration which depleted the purely agricultural settlement at Pocasset, when Coddington, Clarke, Easton and others, having discovered the remarkable harbor at Newport, withdrew from the farming end of Rhode Island to what was destined to be the metropolitan town of colonial days. Newport fathers encouraged their sons to take to the sea; the diversity of town and country interests was sufficient to bring about the partition of Newport into a compact commercial town retaining the historic name, and a rural settlement to which, because of its location, the name of Middletown was given. When factories were established the lure of steady wages paid in money; of short hours of labor, relatively; of long hours of freedom for pursuit of happiness in leisure, recreation or pleasure; of relief from the responsibility that rests upon the farmer as an entrepreneur; of the comforts of village life approaching urban conditions, was far too strong to be resisted. Moreover, out of the development of railroads, the centre of food production tended to move steadily westward, and Rhode Island farmers faced competition in staple lines that was overwhelming. Agriculture has yielded to industry, and in Rhode Island enrolls not quite five per cent. of the working population.

**EARLY WEALTH FROM SOIL**—In spite of all that followed later, this fact remains: The earliest wealth in Rhode Island was wrested from the soil. The farmers of Rhode Island produced the surplus of butter, cheese, salted provisions, hides and leather, and also the horses that filled the holds and covered the decks of the earliest vessels that fared south from Narragansett Bay to the West Indies, opening the first profitable trade route. The farmers also produced the wool that bulked large in cargoes for shipment to England in exchange for the goods imported from the mother country. Enterprising farmers, developing large estates and using intensive methods in cultivating the virgin soil, became the grandees who dominated the social and political life of Newport and old Narragansett. With the introduction of slave labor estates became larger, and crops also increased in volume, piling the wharves and docks with cargoes for export. Before the Revolution South County planters had developed the Narragansett pacer, a famous breed of horses, very popular in the West Indies.

The Narragansett pacer was distinguished for his gait; "his backbone moved through the air in a straight line, without inclining the rider from side to side as the common rackers or pacers of the present day." Like the mustang pony, the Narragansett pacer was powerful and remarkable for endurance, though small in size. The pacer could travel 100 miles per day if properly cared for. The commercial life which developed in the colonial period could not have been, had Rhode Island produced nothing to sell, for there was not in America at the time a population which would have supported a new world Venice, trading almost exclusively in the goods produced by other people and profiting from the sales. The Rhode Island farmer also raised the food for teeming towns and for provisioning trading vessels. The

actual dependence of the compact towns upon the farming population was demonstrated effectively in the period following the Revolution and preceding ratification of the Constitution, when the farmers by withholding regular supplies of food reduced Providence to the verge of starvation. The northern town had outgrown many years before the possibility of support through food produced within its boundaries; it needed the constant flow of food from farms over an area extending as the town population grew. It was realization of this that induced John Brown to plan the Blackstone Canal as a means whereby to tap the agricultural resources of central western Massachusetts, and with vision remarkable for the time but characteristic of the man, to look beyond the valley of the Blackstone to the upper valley of the Connecticut as a source for food supply for the Rhode Island town. The interior waterway projected by John Brown would have made it possible to transport by water barges from the Connecticut River above Springfield to tidewater at Providence the wealth of agricultural produce that would be needed were the Rhode Island town to become the commercial and manufacturing metropolis anticipated. Then came the railroad, the opening up of lands further west, the flood of meat and grain from trans-Appalachian farms, and less and less of dependence by the town of Providence upon the rest of the state for food. The wealth that must have attended farming, had Rhode Island's manufacturing towns grown and the introduction of the steam railway been delayed even half a century, had vanished. The nature of Rhode Island farming was completely changed, when the Golden West began to deluge the East with grain and forage crops.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS—Tested by the dominating factors in economic life, Rhode Island has been successively (1) a farming and fishing commonwealth; (2) a commercial centre for the North Atlantic seaboard, and (3) perhaps the most intensively manufacturing community in the world. The wealth of fishery which the Charter emphasized never was realized, although fishing has continued to be a very important and profitable industry through three centuries. The Charter expressly provided that the grants therein "shall not in any manner hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever from using and exercising the trade of fishing upon the coast of New England in America; but that they . . . shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use the trade of fishing . . . and to build . . . such wharves, stages and workhouses as shall be necessary for the salting, drying and keeping of their fish; . . . and further . . . it shall be lawful for them, or any of them, having struck whale, dubertus, or other great fish, it or them to pursue. . . . If any of the inhabitants . . . do set upon the planting of vineyards (the soil and climate both seeming naturally to concur to the production of wines), or be industrious in the discovery of fishing banks . . . we will, from time to time, give and allow all due and fitting encouragement therein. . . ." The picture would fit the coast of northern New England, particularly Maine, in which fishing settlements antedated the Pilgrim landing at Plymouth. The effects of ocean currents on climate, agriculture, fishery and forestry were not well understood in 1663. The long, projecting arm of Cape Cod marks a general boundary between northern and southern waters, protecting Rhode Island from Arctic currents. Narragansett Bay faces waters warmed by contact with the Gulf Stream, over which blow southerly winds impregnated with the breath of the tropics. The general effects (1) on climate appear in milder winters as compared with northern New England; (2) on forestry, in the variety of Rhode Island trees and shrubs, which include those indigenous to New England, as well as others which attain their most northern habitat in Rhode Island; (3) on agriculture, in conditions of temperature and rainfall that favor certain crops, and (4) on fishery, in habitat of fish and accessibility of fishing grounds. Cape Cod and the dangerous coastal waters between it and the Seaconnet River tended to exclude Rhode Island fishermen from the cod, haddock, halibut and pollock fishery which has been so attractive to Gloucester. Fish there was in plenty in Rhode Island

territorial waters, and both salted and smoked fish were exported to the West Indies; but the latter wished other things that Rhode Island produced, mostly on farms, besides lumber from the woodlands. The consequence was that agriculture took precedence over fishing, as trade developed; and fishermen tended to become carriers of trade and commerce while peace prevailed, and sea fighters on armed public vessels or privateers during colonial wars. The manufacture of wine in quantity for export did not follow the prediction in the Charter; the exigencies of trade with the West Indies led to the building of distilleries for the production of rum from molasses. Likewise the West Indian trade determined the early emphasis in Rhode Island on animal husbandry.

The successive eras of farming, commerce and manufacturing in Rhode Island were not distinct and separate; the preceding projected itself into the following era, and the following was developing in and out of the preceding. Thus the commercial era was forecasted as the West Indian trade modified the nature of Rhode Island agriculture, and the manufacturing of rum in the commercial era presaged the intensive development of factories in the nineteenth century. The West Indian trade was undertaken in the first instance in the search for markets for a surplus of farm produce; once the economic wants of the West Indies were found to correspond reasonably with Rhode Island's ability to produce a surplus, the direction of production was determined. The trade proved to be so profitable that it was developed further, not so much as a market for surplus production, as because of and for itself and the profit thereof. Production was then directed to supplying what was wanted in the West Indies. Rhode Island found that the West Indies had a surplus product, and a venturesome trader brought home a cargo of molasses and realized a handsome profit after he had distilled it and manufactured rum for sale at home and abroad. The agricultural needs of the West Indies pointed to animal husbandry as the most profitable type of agriculture for Rhode Island. Animal husbandry necessitates forage crops or the importation of forage. Rhode Island for a time raised the hay and grain required for feeding horses, dairy and beef cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry, additional to the food to support an increasing population and to provision ships. The soil and climate were favorable to forage crops, and Rhode Island farmers were prosperous, particularly because they were not far removed from markets. Eventually, even in the colonial period, Rhode Island depended for part of its food and forage supplies on nearby sections of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and Long Island.

The export trade in food scarcely had ceased, as Rhode Island lost access to West Indian markets, when the factory population furnished a home market for all that and more than Rhode Island farms could produce. The grain brought in from the Middle West *via* the Erie Canal, and later by railroad, arrived at first in quantities no more than sufficient to meet increasing necessity, as factories were built and Rhode Island had thousands to feed who did not participate in the production of food. Even when the volume of grain from the West had reached the proportions of a flood, and Western hay and grain were formidable competitors in the market, Rhode Island still retained its interest in animal husbandry. The Western grain was bought by Rhode Island farmers and fed to Rhode Island stock. Instead of horses for export, draught horses for factory wagons, and roadsters for stagecoaches were needed. Beef, mutton, pork, poultry, milk, butter, cheese, neat oil, tallow, lard, wool, hair, hides and leather, all were marketable in Rhode Island. Almost half a century elapsed after the West shipped hay and grain in quantities to supply Eastern markets before the practice of refrigerating dressed beef and other meat had been perfected, and carloads of beef, mutton and pork arrived from Western slaughterhouses. The West had discovered that it was more economical to condense and concentrate grain before shipment than to pay freight rates for bulk; and meat animals, particularly hogs and steers, were found to have no superiors as converters. Corn fed to hogs or steers, besides improving the quality of the meat, increases the weight and value of the animal when marketed as food so much as to assure a profit larger

than may be earned by shipping and selling corn. Thus the West found a way to dispose of its most abundant crop, and Rhode Island farmers met a new competition which promised to deprive them of a market for animals raised for slaughtering. Rhode Island farmers could not compete on the basis of corn-fattening steers and hogs at home, because the West had advantage in producing forage corn, although it never has raised corn to equal the white flint Rhode Island corn that made the Johnnycake Trail famous. Thus the production of beef and pork was gradually abandoned.

Out of the West also came horses, and another Rhode Island market was threatened even before electric tramway and automobile had begun to banish horses from streets and roads, and gasoline-driven tractors had begun to replace horses and oxen as farm draught animals. Rhode Island farmers survived; there were still markets for eggs and poultry, milk and dairy products, fresh vegetables, fruits and berries in season, and the population was increasing at a rate that demanded increased production in all lines. Besides that, the state was prosperous, and living conditions had improved. Among other things that changed were foods. The old monotony of salted and smoked provisions, meal and winter vegetables had given away to recognition of variety as desirable, and increasing emphasis on fresh, green vegetables and fresh meat as preferable for health to salted, smoked or dried meat. The Rhode Island farmer's opportunity lay in truck gardening, fresh eggs and poultry, and a herd maintained for dairy purposes. Because of the new demand for fruits and berries, orchards and shrubbery were cultivated.

**RHODE ISLAND'S AGRICULTURAL FAME**—Rhode Island's reputation for wealth, number and variety of manufactured products scarcely exceeds, even if it equals, the widespread publicity given to the name of the state by distinctive agricultural products—notably, among others, Rhode Island cornmeal, Rhode Island Greening apples, and Rhode Island Reds. To these might be added, for seasonal local excellence nowhere else equalled, Rhode Island asparagus, Rhode Island strawberries, and Rhode Island sweet corn. Rhode Island corn meal means only and exclusively the white, hard flint corn produced in the broad belt of rich alluvial soil in the southern counties, dried and ground by waterpower between slowly moving heavy grindstones in almost the most primitive fashion known short of mortar-and-pestle stamping or hand grinding between stones in the Indian method. In the latter respect the white man's grindstones moved ponderously by waterpower reproduce mechanically the slow grinding process learned from Narragansett Indian squaws. The secret involved in slow grinding is avoidance of heat. The raw material is Rhode sweet corn dewed and occasionally watered as it grows by the humid breath of the Gulf Stream cooled to precipitation by steady gales sweeping in from the North Atlantic Ocean. This Rhode Island corn is neither hybrid nor alien; it luxuriates in the native habitat in which it was cultivated by Indians for centuries before Miguel Cortereal came to the Narragansett Bay country. Corn and beans, dried for preserving and ground before cooking, were the staple vegetable foods of the Indians through long months of winter. The white settlers learned from Indian teachers not only the methods of preserving and cooking corn, but also how to plant and fertilize it. Even in the nineteenth century the Indian practice of burying menhaden between cornhills was followed by Rhode Island farmers. After overland travel developed in the colonial period the road across the South County from Westerly through Usquepaugh and South Kingstown was known as the Johnnycake Trail, because of the reputation attained by innkeepers and housewives for cooking Rhode Island cornmeal in such delectable fashion that travelers told the tale abroad. Done in traditional Rhode Island style, according to any one of several recipes that have withstood the ravages of time, Rhode Island Johnnycakes have been acclaimed ambrosial food for the Olympian train.

Of Rhode Island apples a Rhode Island poet has sung :

“Just beyond the fodder cornfield, where the brook winds slowly through,  
 Stands an ancient apple orchard, with its fruit of varied hue.  
 There's the juicy early Sapson, with its brilliant scarlet skin,  
 And the yellow, mellow Porter, which you want to taste again.  
 Next the Pippin, variegated, turns to sun a crimson cheek,  
 And the brown and ruddy Russet, fit for winter cold and bleak.  
 There's the pound Sweet, large and honeyed, weighing down the branches low,  
 And the hardy winter Baldwin, 'mid the green leaves all aglow.  
 There the luscious, swelling Greening spreads its limbs to form a bower ;  
 No Rhode Island orchard ever is without a Gilliflower.  
 Some for summer, some for autumn, more are for the winter night  
 When the children gather gaily round the cheerful glowing light ;  
 Some for eating as you pluck them, ripe and sweet, from leaving trees,  
 More for storage for the winter, when the snow drifts on the lees.  
 Crowned with untold range of color, rainbow hues and shades between,  
 Flaming scarlet, blushing crimson, yellow gold and tones of green,  
 Stands the bounteous bowl of apples, always full and always sure  
 Hungry boys and girls and grown-ups to its pleasures to allure.  
 Apple charms were made by nature to attract man's roving eyes  
 And he finds them most delicious, eaten ripe or cooked in pies,  
 Stewed as sauce, or spread as butter. Of what sweeter can you dream  
 Than a baked Rhode Island Greening swimming in a dish of cream?”

Rhode Island Greening apples, mellow solace of the quiet of winter evening by the roaring hearth fire, snappy skin over luscious white flesh yielding acid sweetness to crunching teeth, fruit fit for princes royal of the self-governing republic rounding out three centuries of democracy, it is almost sacrilege to submit you to culinary arts or to suggest the possibility of improvement. Yet there is no baking apple that approaches Rhode Island Greening in perfection ; no applesauce with flavor so piquant as that made with Rhode Island Greening apples ; and no other pie apple that yields to perfect cooking at the exact moment in which the pastry cover streaks with golden glow. God could create an apple superior to Rhode Island Greening, no doubt ; but He was satisfied with the Rhode Island Greening apple and never tried to improve upon it.

Rhode Island Red poultry is another distinctive Rhode Island agricultural product, the origin of which goes back to days in which Rhode Island sailormen went down to the deep seas in ships and on long voyages to remote countries and to strange lands, from which they brought back curios as souvenirs. Vessels in those days, long before the era of refrigeration and cold storage, carried live animals, including poultry, for slaughter as fresh meat was wanted. Occasionally an unusual bird escaped the merciless martinet in charge of the galley, and completed the voyage. Thus there came to Rhode Island fowl from distant places, some of which were crossed with descendants of earlier immigrants, European fowl imported by the pioneer farmers of Rhode Island. The origin of Rhode Island Reds is credited principally to Captain William Tripp of Little Compton, who was assisted in the early stages of experiment by John Macomber of Westport, a small strip of territory that never will be satisfied until it achieves its ambition to become part of Rhode Island. Captain Tripp and Mr. Macomber undertook, in 1854, by selective breeding to produce fowl that were better layers and that would dress for the poultry market with attractive yellow flesh. They crossed Chiteong (Malay or Java) cocks with Cochin China hens. Later crossing with Light Brahmas produced chicks with pea combs ; with Plymouth Rocks, mixed plumage ; and with Brown Leghorns, a smaller bird with enamel on the ear lobes. Captain Tripp carried forward the project after Mr. Macomber had died ; the Captain was a thorough poultry breeder, and the project was successful almost from the beginning. He discarded ill-shaped and poorly colored birds, and bred carefully selected stock to develop standard types and fix characters that were considered desirable. The pea comb fowl was discarded at first, but developed subsequently as a

separate breed known as Buckeyes. Captain Tripp's flocks achieved reputation, and his eggs were sought by other farmers, not only in Little Compton, but widely over a continually expanding area. The world had found out that he had produced a general purpose fowl—a prolific egg producer in the laying period, and a fleshy bird unexcelled as poultry for marketing. As egg producers Rhode Island Reds have won many laying contests against other breeds. The eggs are large and uniform in color and shape, qualities which are important in assuring ready sale. The meat of the Rhode Island Reds as poultry is rich in color, an attraction that gives it preference over other fowl; and excellent both in flavor and abundance. The Rhode Island Red is a profitable fowl, because of all the qualities of egg and meat production, and also because of quick maturity, providing good-sized broilers and heavy roasting fowl in time shorter than any other breed. Isaac C. Wilbur of Little Compton, is credited with naming the new breed "Rhode Island Reds." Dr. N. D. Aldrich exhibited Rhode Island Reds as "miscellaneous fowl not otherwise classified" at New York in 1892, and won several prizes. Rhode Island Reds were entered as a recognized breed in the Providence poultry show of 1895. The Rhode Island Red Club of America had been organized in 1893 and established a standard for the breed; the club is the largest poultry specialist club in the world, and the Rhode Island Red has become a favorite fowl with egg and poultry producers in all parts of the earth. Single Comb Rhode Island Reds were recognized as standard in 1904; in 1905 Rose Comb Rhode Island Reds were admitted under the name "American Reds" at a meeting of the American Poultry Association held at Minneapolis. Objection to the name was pronounced and effective; at a special meeting the name "Rhode Island" was restored. Another attempt to drop "Rhode Island" as part of the name was frustrated in 1915. Rhode Island Reds were too excellent to remain local to Rhode Island; it is asserted by enthusiastic breeders that the habitat of Rhode Island Reds extends from the Arctic Circle to the Antarctic Circle, and that a flock of Rhode Island Reds will thrive anywhere, if only food and water are plentiful and a place to roost has been provided. A monument to the Rhode Island Red at Little Compton commemorates the origin of the breed in one of Rhode Island's most distinctly agricultural towns.

The Rhode Island White—another Rhode Island breed not yet so well known—is not a relative of the Rhode Island Red with color variation similar to that by which Luther Burbank produced a white blackberry; it is a distinctive variety established by crossing White Wyandottes and Partridge Cochins. It is newer than Rhode Island Red and has yet to achieve a world-wide reputation. Rhode Island asparagus is distinctive in the method of marketing fresh stalks cut before the green-flowering stage has been reached; the fineness of texture and flavor are unexcelled. Rhode Island strawberries in size and flavor are not surpassed; few are shipped from Rhode Island because the product is too precious to be shared with others, and no strawberry maintains excellence in long shipment. Rhode Island sweet corn—a table rather than a forage corn—in succulent sweetness has no rival. And these are only a few of the fine things produced in Rhode Island gardens and on Rhode Island farms.

CHANGING MARKETS—The history of Rhode Island manufacturing industries, while noteworthy because of the extraordinary and long-continued prosperity in woolen and worsted textiles, in cotton textiles, in iron and steel machinery and tools, in jewelry and silversmithing, and in rubber goods, and because of the rising importance of silk and rayon, lace, pile fabrics, knitted goods and miscellaneous textiles, emphasizes the effects of changing fashions and epoch-making inventions upon particular establishments. The latter have been subject to vicissitudes of favoring and unfavoring fortune even while the course of the industry has been consistent and relatively steady. Thus the electric motor replaced the steam engine and destroyed so much of the iron and steel industry in Rhode Island as was related to the building of stationary engines, the construction of mechanical shafting and gears as parts of power transmission systems, and the manufacture of pulleys and hanging devices for carrying belts; but the iron

and steel industry persisted in other lines and is larger in the twentieth century than ever before in the history of Rhode Island. Trolley car and gasoline-driven automobile displaced horses, and destroyed a prosperous horseshoe industry. Changes in fashion sounded the death knell one by one of crinoline and haircloth, and shoe button fasteners; a new style in jewelry may precipitate a race to produce for a new market, or a scramble to dispose of old stock at almost any sacrifice. The manufacturing entrepreneur must watch vigilantly, and be prepared to select his line or change it with reference to the conditions of markets.

Although changes in agriculture are less precipitate usually, they are no less certain in progress and effect, and the same general formula that applies to manufacturing—the vigilant watching of markets—is relevant to agriculture and is of primary importance in determining success or failure. The farmer who produces without regard for the market is worse than a gambler; he is a wilful waster destined to fail if no market for his product exists. In its general aspects, broadly considered, the record of the past in Rhode Island with reference to agriculture shows (1) the development of trade with the West Indies with the purpose of finding a market for surplus products of Rhode Island farms; (2) stimulation of production in favorable lines as these were disclosed through the agency of trade; (3) substitution of home markets for foreign markets for agricultural produce, as the introduction of manufacturing by the factory plan replaced emphasis on trade beyond the borders; (4) with a large increase in population detached from the soil, in the sense of being domiciled in compact towns and cities and factory villages, search for new sources of food supply for people exceeding the number who could be fed from the products of Rhode Island farms; (5) for a time utilization of western forage crops and grain by Rhode Island farmers to feed home livestock raised to supply home markets with milk and meat; (6) loss of the market for horses because of western competition and the substitution of mechanical and electrical devices for horses; (7) loss of the home market for livestock when the West perfected the process of refrigerating beef, pork and mutton; (8) western competition established in eggs and poultry, and western control (to the practical elimination of Rhode Island production) in secondary dairy products, that is, butter and cheese.

While the ruins of Pompeii have revealed proof that the process of preserving food by excluding air was known and practiced thousands of years ago on a factual if not a scientific basis, some who are living in 1930 recall that scarcely half a century has elapsed since the perfection of American canning. Their memory antedates the invention of the can-opener and revives the period in which the introduction of canned food made slow progress because of the inconvenience of melting solder on inset caps by heated iron or by piling hot coals on top of the can. Then came the can-opener and the beginning of a revolution in American food and cooking. Cold storage in completely equipped warehouses is even more recent; it followed a long time after ice refrigeration on a limited scale. The ready market which the Rhode Island farmer found close to his farm for practically all the produce that he could raise, a condition favored by the continued extension of manufacturing and the segregation of population, tended to inhibit the development of a canning industry in Rhode Island; canneries rise only where the production of a surplus suggests methods of preserving for disposition over a longer period of time or of preserving for shipment to remote markets. Eventually both canning and cold storage tended to affect Rhode Island farming adversely, particularly as progress in canning tended to improve the quality of tinned food and to increase the variety of partly or completely cooked meats and of vegetables wanting only heating to be made available for table use. The essential elements in the equipment of a modern kitchen are a can-opener and a gas or electric range; the can-opener is to be chosen in preference to the range as almost the *sine qua non*.

The regimen of housekeeping has been almost completely changed by the introduction of canned foods, delicatessen and public bakeries, all tending to eliminate domestic culinary

accomplishment, to say nothing more than merely to mention mechanical and electrical devices that reduce drudgery, vacuum cleaners, public laundries and other modern services that transfer from the list of housewife's duties one after another of time-honored types of domestic activities. The Rhode Island farmer has witnessed, with the introduction of new devices and modern methods, the disappearance of many sources of income with the departure of markets for one or another of the staple products of his farm. The range of canned goods, excluding preserved meats, but including peas, beans of all sorts and conditions, corn, succotash, tomatoes, squash, spinach, mushrooms, asparagus, mixed vegetables, and soups of every conceivable flavor and consistency, indicates changes that have taken place, since the contents are foods brought from distant places to supply those who would continue to be his customers—could the hands of the clock be turned back. The varied array of package cereals marks the displacement of cornmeal mush, and home-ground oatmeal as breakfast foods. Canned fruits and glassed jams, jellies and preserves have usurped the market for his fruits and berries, and almost terminated home preserving. The Rhode Island farmer contributes little to the twentieth century Rhode Island breakfast, dinner and supper. The Rhode Islander who thrived on mush and milk for breakfast; on milk and mush for supper; on salt pork and Johnnycake or clam chowder, or succotash for dinner, with baked beans for Saturday and a boiled dinner for Sunday, has been extinct for many years. The golden age of Rhode Island truck farming waxed with the elimination of the primitive and simple diet of food produced on neighboring farms, and waned as the change progressed with the introduction of foods made convenient and cheap also, by canning and cold storage.

The twentieth century witnesses yet another invasion of a market once belonging exclusively to the Rhode Island farmer. The South and Southwest are making startling inroads in the production and marketing of fresh vegetables, which threaten to destroy market gardening in Rhode Island—once a most profitable source of income. The new competition rests upon a combination of (1) thoroughly organized, fast, direct express and freight service between southern farms and northern markets, and (2) the 900-mile projection of Florida and the long extension of Texas toward the tropics. The southern and southwestern farmers have organized coöperative shipping and marketing agencies. The long growing season in both Florida and Texas, and, in some instances, the use of northern short-season seed, permits repeated cropping, while the mildness of winters favors production under glass of vegetables "out of season." Florida and Texas farmers are well on the way toward farming all the year around. Produce merchants supplying markets, restaurants and hotels with vegetables prefer the relatively uninterrupted consignments from Southern gardens to the short season glutting of markets that is characteristic of northern farming. As one enterprising produce merchant summarized "the situation": (1) he felt reasonably certain of being able to fill almost any order for vegetables in any season so long as he maintained a commission agency for disposing of consignments of Southern produce, and (2) while Rhode Island vegetables in season could not be surpassed for quality or flavor, the fineness of the taste of good customers usually had been spoiled long before Rhode Island truck was ready for market, by reason of the consumption of early shipments from the South. There is a vast difference in the zest of eating fresh garden peas after a long winter without peas or with only canned peas, and the indifference with which Rhode Island garden peas may be approached after an uninterrupted supply of fresh peas through most of the winter and all of the spring.

The array of vegetables, both in season and out of season, in modern markets tells the story plainly; not only are potatoes, onions, turnips, carrots, cabbages and others of hardy winter storage vegetables available at all times, but one may have at any time, if he can afford to and will pay, fresh tomatoes, lettuce, peas, beans, mushrooms, radishes, spinach, rhubarb and other vegetables, as well as strawberries. Of fruits, besides the citrus varieties from Florida and California, and tropical pinapples, bananas and plantains, are peaches, pears,

plums, apricots, grapes and melons continuously through all the seasons as shipments are received, in some instances, from the south temperate zone, which is bathed in summer heat while Rhode Islanders are shoveling winter snow. What is to become of the Rhode Island farmer? The answer to this question is the same as the similar question related to the manufacturer; the latter has continued to prosper so long as he has been able to find something to make which he can make better and cheaper than any competitor, or something that can be made in Rhode Island better than anywhere else in the world. The salvation of agriculture lies in adaptation to the changing environment, selection of production with reference to advantages of soil, climate and markets, and intensive specialization, as in industry, along with alertness to perceive and understand the significance of changes.

**IMPORTANCE OF MARKETING**—Marketing is one of the most essential factors in successful agriculture; the principle involved may be stated positively in the form, "production should be selected with reference to the market," and negatively in the form, "no production should be undertaken unless the farmer knows with reasonable certainty what disposition can be made of the result of his investment and labor." The general principle affects farming everywhere; it is universal and not peculiar to Rhode Island. Wisely applied, the principle contemplates coöperation by farmers almost unbelievable in staunchly individualistic New England. Yet to assure unfailing returns the farmer must have information so complete as to be almost beyond collection by one farmer. The coöperation in final form suggests coöperative buying of fertilizers, tools, machinery, seed, feed for cattle, etc.; expert study of markets; and selling through a coöperative agency. Rhode Island farmers, through the extension service of Rhode Island State College, have been finding the value of coöperation. There are certain lines of farming that promise reasonable returns upon the basis of normal experience.

The population of the state exceeds the possibility of milk production within the borders; while a large part of the milk supply must be brought in from outside, there is a steady demand for standard milk produced so close to the consumer as to assure delivery within a few hours of milking. Successful dairy farming, however, involves selection of farm land with reference to water supply and ample grazing, with the possibility of raising corn for ensilage, alfalfa and other forage crops; careful attention to pure breeding of the herd; milk testing and records of production to establish the identity of earning and non-earning cows; and facilities for cooling milk, eliminating animal heat, and cleaning, sterilizing and storing containers; and, of course, well-ventilated, clean barns. In Bristol County study of dairying problems and convincing demonstrations in 1925 led the farmers to undertake the elimination of all but pure bred herds, the keeping of records of production, and testing, the result being that the county achieved a reputation for the fineness of its herds. In a second series of improvement meetings, directed by the vocational division of the State Department of Education and the extension service of Rhode Island State College, dairy farmers were advised to supplement their milk-producing ventures by limited but carefully selected additional lines, such as intensive cultivation of a small strawberry lot, asparagus, or some other garden crop for which a ready market could be found for even a short season, thus to balance the vicissitudes of a single line. In egg production and poultry raising the superiority of pure breeding in both lines has been demonstrated; the State College experts and agricultural teachers in high schools have stressed the importance of records to determine exactly which hens are earners and which are boarding at the farmer's expense. A few demonstrations are convincing of the importance of early culling of flocks for the selection of hens that will be layers, and the quick fattening for market as broilers or light roasting chickens of birds that have no future as egg producers. The experts and teachers demonstrate also the importance of good construction and cleanliness of hen houses, the principles of dieting, and the diagnosis and treatment of poultry diseases. One of the most successful poultrymen, by application of the wealth of information about fowl made available by scientific studies, guarantees egg produc-

tion on a steady schedule throughout the year, whereby he stabilizes his own market, and besides conducts a profitable trade in hatching and selling small chicks, in marketing broilers to a steady clientele, and in disposing of other poultry. His houses are lighted by electricity, and maintained at steady temperature; in the winter the lights are turned on for an hour each evening, during which the birds leave their roosts and are fed. His records show increased egg production and additional weight and quickened maturity.

As with milk, there is a steady demand in Rhode Island for strictly fresh, nearby eggs that may not be satisfied by even "fresh-gathered" eggs brought to markets from remote places. Likewise for poultry, neatly packed, there is an unfailing market. State College experiments have dealt with feeding mixtures affecting egg production by number and weight, climatic and temperature conditions, the identification and treatment of diseases. An important service of the State College has been the discovery of the cause and a method of preventing black head in turkeys; the consequence is a revival of turkey raising on a profitable basis, and the restoration of a reputation for its turkeys which for many years gave a Rhode Island turkey annually the place of honor on Thanksgiving Day on the President's table at the White House. With both lines of animal husbandry—dairying and poultry—the farmer may plan crop planting with reference to feeding, but will need also guidance and study of the actual cost of production relative to market prices; he may find it cheaper eventually to buy than to raise food for stock or poultry, or that a selection of production for forage may be profitable. In the same way he will be guided in buying or producing food for his own table, or in carrying on gardening supplementary to his main line by the prospect of a good and unfailing market.

Orcharding, apples and peaches principally, may be made profitable in Rhode Island, and is a reviving occupation, particularly in the northern section. Rhode Island farmers needed no long period of instruction to learn that the invasion of eastern fruit markets by western apples had been achieved principally, not because of merit so much as because of better attention to the details of marketing, and particularly sorting and careful packing. For a while western selling associations were able to market a crop selected for exterior beauty, but dry and pithy within when compared with the luscious, juicy tang of Rhode Island apples. The fundamentals of successful orcharding are related to (1) soil and drainage; (2) renewal by fresh planting of new to replace old trees; (3) skillful pruning; (4) selection of sturdy stock and true varieties, and elimination of others; (5) careful spraying at intervals definitely established by entomology; (6) harvesting and packing of only perfect fruit in attractive containers; (7) disposition of "seconds" and others than first quality fruit to cider mills or in other ways that prevent the demoralizing of markets by the unloading of unsatisfactory stock at ridiculous prices. Successful orcharding is aided by bee culture, and the bees contribute honey as a by-product.

The statute law encourages the development of woodlots and forestry by exemption from taxation; and there are possibilities in Rhode Island for forestry on a profitable basis, while constant demand for evergreens, shrubs and trees for ornamental purposes makes nursery culture attractive. In staple lines of vegetables, including both winter storage types and light garden truck for immediate consumption, the farmer must be guided by market study.\* The success of farmers recruited from immigrants in lines not previously undertaken by Rhode Island farmers is suggestive; farmers from southern Europe have made the old name of Vinland and the Charter reference to vineyarding and the production of wine both ring true. The largest cranberry bog in the world is in Rhode Island. One of the most successful market gardeners has developed a steady market for roses that requires daily express shipments in large quantities, thus replacing a line that was becoming doubtful with one assuring profit. Others have found the market for flowers of other types so steady as to warrant investment in

\*State College investigation suggests a steady in-season market.

greenhouses for floriculture, as well as planting seeds for sale of flowering plants. Agriculture, in all its varied lines of direct and secondary and related production from the soil or through animal husbandry, may still be profitable in Rhode Island. The elements of success may be found in science and selection. Rhode Island State College, the Experiment Station and the extension department, and the vocational classes in agriculture in high schools, have been most important agencies in improving the prospects of farming in Rhode Island.

EDUCATION FOR FARMERS—Rhode Island State College enrolls in the department of agriculture more students in proportion to the farming population of Rhode Island than any other federal-state college, without excluding any of the great granger states of the Middle West. The vocational classes in agriculture conducted in Rhode Island high schools attain similar distinction, in the sense of attracting students in excess of the number that might be expected in view of the predominance of manufacturing. Thus agricultural education is provided more than amply; even if a large number of the young men and women trained in college or in agricultural class do not become "dirt farmers," they are familiar with farming problems and sympathetic in their attitude because of understanding. Through the extension department the service of the college is carried to farmers in the field; under a coöperative arrangement betwixt the college and the state vocational division, classes of farmers are recruited at centers convenient for the farmers, and the heads of college departments are sent out as lecturers and demonstrators. No place in the state where a few may be gathered for systematic instruction is too remote, and no effort is spared to make the evening extension classes for farmers attractive in the sense of offering what is wanted, and convenient with reference to travel by farmers. These classes sometimes are itinerant, to equalize opportunity and advantage, and also to afford opportunity for practical demonstrations. Farmers learn quickly the difference between haphazard farming, and farming as a business, the latter carefully planned. The extension division also advises in various ways, and has been particularly helpful in demonstrating the reasonable assurance of profit following effective methods.

The college experiment station has conducted long series of systematic experiments, seeking helpful knowledge concerning the adaptation of crops, the nature of the soil and the most desirable type of fertilizers, favorable systems of crop rotation, plant diseases and methods of combatting them, all in the field of agronomy. In animal husbandry, dairying and poultry have received most attention, with emphasis upon breeds and breeding in the former, and extensive research in every conceivable phase of poultry culture, because poultry is one of the most important types of Rhode Island farming. The college has a splendid herd, fine flocks of poultry, an extensive orchard for study of pomology, and greenhouses both for floriculture and the study of market gardening under conditions essential for careful experiment. The department of entomology has carried on exhaustive studies of insect life with special attention to the insect life of Rhode Island. The college publishes from time to time reports of studies made and results as determined, for distribution to Rhode Island farmers. The college also makes chemical examinations of commercial fertilizers. Rhode Island State College is one of a national system of similar institutions, and there is scarcely an economic activity which has been subject to so much scientific study as agriculture. Every federal-state college carries on in many ways on lines similar to those pursued at Kingston, and the results of studies are exchanged freely and gratuitously. The Rhode Island farmer may have, usually only for asking, bulletins published by any of the federal-state colleges, besides the large number published annually by the United States Department of Agriculture. There is no division of human knowledge concerning which so much in the form of bulletins and books may be had without expense to the farmer; very much of the bulletin material is circulated without a charge for postage, so generous is the United States government in extending franking privileges.

STATE PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE—The State Board of Agriculture, one of the earliest special boards, was replaced in 1927 by a state department of agriculture with a Commissioner of Agriculture as executive officer. The commissioner presides over an advisory council, the membership of which includes representatives of (1) dairy husbandry, (2) poultry husbandry, (3) orcharding, (4) market gardening, appointed by the Governor upon nominations by the Rhode Island Agricultural Conference; and also representatives of (1) the Newport Agricultural Society, (2) Pawtuxet Valley Fair Association, (3) Providence County Agricultural Society; besides one member of the Board of Managers of Rhode Island State College. Except the four members appointed by the Governor, other members are designated by the societies or organizations which they represent. The service undertaken by the department of agriculture is indicated by the designations of bureaus and officers, thus: Bureaus of (1) animal husbandry industry; (2) markets; (3) milk inspection; (4) forestry; (5) entomology, and plant pest control; (6) inspector and superintendent of field work; (7) foreman; (8) federal blister rust agent; (9) inspector of apiaries; (10) deputy bee inspector. Cattle commissioners are appointed for each county except Newport; for Newport County there are two commissioners, one each of whom serves the islands and the mainland towns.

Farmers are also organized in various ways, besides in the societies already mentioned. The Rhode Island League of Agricultural Associations, organized in 1920, includes the Rhode Island Agricultural Conference, the Rhode Island Horticultural Society, the Rhode Island Poultry Association, the Rhode Island Corn Growers' Association, the Rhode Island Forestry Association, the Rhode Island Fruit Growers' Association, the Rhode Island Department of Agriculture, the Providence Market Gardeners' Association, the Rhode Island Bee Keepers' Association, the Rhode Island Farm Bureau Federation, the Rhode Island State Grange, the Rhode Island Ayrshire Club, the Rhode Island Holstein-Friesian Breeders' Association and the Providence Chamber of Commerce. The Rhode Island Agricultural Conference was organized in 1923, with the purpose of securing greater coördination between agricultural, commercial and educational groups in Rhode Island. Other organizations and their purposes include: Rhode Island Horticultural Society, founded in 1854, to promote commercial horticulture, as well as encourage all of the people to take an interest in beautifying their homes and cultivating small flower, vegetable and fruit gardens; Rhode Island Poultry Association, founded in 1886, to conduct poultry shows, the first of which was held in 1887; Rhode Island Fruit Growers' Association, to promote the fruit growing interest of the state, to disseminate a knowledge of fruit growing and marketing, and to assist fruit growers to effect economies in buying supplies and the marketing of their products; Rhode Island Bee Keepers' Association, founded in 1917, to raise the standard of bee keeping, to bring into closer relation all persons interested therein, and to stimulate as far as possible any activity pertaining to the industry; Rhode Island Forestry Association, founded 1926, to encourage and develop an interest in forestry by stimulating action toward better forest fire prevention and control, by study and demonstration of better woodland management, by the planting and care of shade trees, and by the afforestation of suitable unproductive land; Providence Market Gardeners' Association, to promote the interest of the market gardeners in Rhode Island and nearby territory. The dairy interest has three associations, thus: Rhode Island Ayrshire Club, the Rhode Island Holstein-Friesian Club, and the Grade A Raw Milk Producers' Association of Rhode Island. The last was organized in 1925 with the purpose of setting for its members a standard for raw milk stricter than that imposed by statute. Rhode Island State Grange includes thirty-nine subordinate and four Pomona granges, and has a total membership of 7000.

The General Assembly appropriates annually approximately \$15,000 "for the purpose of promoting and encouraging agricultural, horticultural and mechanical industry and of raising the standards of agricultural and horticultural products of the farm, mill, workshop and

household throughout the state, by means of payments of awards and premiums to such citizens of this state as may become entitled to the same as exhibitors of agricultural, horticultural or mechanical products at public fairs or exhibitions." Societies participating in the apportionment of the appropriation by the Commissioner of Agriculture included in 1930: Washington County Agricultural Society; Woonsocket Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society; Rhode Island Horticultural Society; Rhode Island Poultry Association; Newport County Agricultural Society; Newport Horticultural Society; Woonsocket Poultry Association; North Kingstown Poultry Association; South County Poultry Association; Bristol Poultry Association; Pawtucket Poultry Association; North Providence Poultry Association; South Kingstown and Narragansett Poultry Association; Rhode Island Fruit Growers' Association; Providence County Agricultural Association; Pawtuxet Valley Agricultural Society; Cranston Poultry Association; Pawtuxet Valley Poultry Association. The General Assembly also appropriates \$1000 annually to be expended by the Commissioner of Agriculture "for the purpose of carrying on educational work through the state for the promotion of agricultural and horticultural development."

**THE PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE**—A very optimistic view of Rhode Island agriculture is taken by Professor George E. Adams of Rhode Island State College, who wrote recently: "Agriculture in Rhode Island shows a very wide diversification due to the occurrence of widely differing types of soil, some of which are particularly fitted for general farming, others for orcharding, and still others for the production of high grade vegetable products. Because of this range of soil types, the rolling character of the land in the northern section of the state, and the influence of the large bodies of salt water in the southern sections, especially upon the islands of Rhode Island and Conanicut, there are found conditions suitable to the development of practically every type of agriculture which has proved profitable in the eastern portion of the United States. Dairying is the most important single farm enterprise . . . Fine herds representing the principal dairy breeds, Ayrshire, Guernsey, Holstein, and Jersey, varying in numbers from small herds to herds containing more than 100 individuals, are to be found, the product from which find a ready market in the nearby cities and towns. Dairying will continue to be one of our most important types of farming on those farms where proper attention is being given to the use of lime and acid phosphate as a supplement to the home product animal manures. This enables the dairyman to grow alfalfa and the clovers as a source of high protein hay to supplement the excellent crops of silage corn which are grown, thus materially reducing the expenditures for purchased feeds. Fruits of a wide variety and high quality are being produced with profit. Apples thrive on the higher elevations and heavier soil types of northern Rhode Island, while peaches are very successfully grown upon some of the lighter soils adjoining the shores of Narragansett Bay. Small fruits, strawberries and raspberries are successfully grown, while the area being used for grape culture is constantly increasing. When proper attention is given to the selection of varieties, cultural methods and preparation for market, the growing of the different kinds of fruits is an interesting and profitable industry. The orchards are from less than one acre to 250 acres in area. As a very specialized phase of the fruit industry in the state, the growing of figs on the island of Rhode Island should be mentioned. The cranberry grows luxuriantly in many areas and as a farm crop offers excellent opportunities for development. Floriculture, both under glass and in the field, affords a means of livelihood to many. The principal crops grown are carnations, roses, chrysanthemums and snapdragons for cut flowers, with a wide range of potted plants which are sold for home decoration and bedding out in the spring. Pansies are grown extensively as a field crop, millions of plants being sold each spring. A development of great commercial importance, and one capable of still further expansion, is the growing of ornamental trees and shrubs. While the largest development is found on the island of Rhode Island, where soil

conditions are particularly favorable to the development of an excellent root system, there are important nurseries in every section of the state. For many years much attention has been paid to the poultry industry, which was an early development as a specialty in the town of Little Compton, the home of the Rhode Island Red breed of poultry. Many specialized poultry farms are found, but the business has its largest development as one of the enterprises in connection with the general farm. Those who have paid attention to the development of a special trade for selected products are finding the industry very profitable. The turkey industry which a few years ago seemed doomed to extinction is being revived, turkeys being grown on many farms in increasing numbers with much success. Poultry flocks are found on the specialized farms which contain several thousand birds. Vegetable growing, the type of agriculture first to be developed as a specialized industry, is more highly developed upon the lighter soils of Providence and Kent counties, where a large supply for the local villages and the city of Providence is produced. Newport County, as a whole, has a longer growing season than any other section of the state, with a constantly increasing tendency to grow vegetables to be marketed late in the season, after frosts have killed the crops in practically all other sections of the state. With a large number of nearby markets that are eager to obtain high quality products, the Rhode Island farms offer opportunities for agricultural development excelled by no other State in the Union."

**WEALTH OF FISHERIES**—Rhode Island waters, salt and fresh, teemed with food fish when the first white settlers came. Although the Indians were resourceful and successful fishermen, their methods were far too primitive to exhaust a naturally rich fishery. Thus Rhode Island fishing in the seventeenth century was almost primæval in plenteousness. The Indians objected less to white fishermen with traps and seines than to the white men's hogs, because the latter wallowed between high and low water mark and by persistent digging threatened to exhaust favorite clam beds. Otherwise, the Indians learned new methods of fishing from the white men, and rejoiced at obtaining by barter superior hooks and lines, nets and seines. The possibility of economic conflict between Indians and white men, with control of the fishery as one of the major issues, was averted by the elimination of the Indians as a determining factor in Rhode Island life because of the misfortunes that befell them in King Philip's War. Aside from the emphasis upon fisheries in the Charter, the earliest legal regulation of fishing dealt with the protection, in the eighteenth century, of inland fisheries by restrictions upon the building of mill dams without provision for opening water gates at least during the season of the spring return of migratory fish to favorite spawning pools, or for fish ladders to assist fish in climbing over dams. An ambitious program for stocking the Blackstone River with migratory fish included a project for a fishway around Pawtucket Falls. It was realized that fisheries of salmon, shad, herring, alewives and other fish which as adults return to the streams in which they were hatched must be exhausted unless the waterways to upland streams were kept unobstructed.

The fishing legislation of the period indicated a purpose to adjust the rights of farmers as occasional fishermen and the rights of millers utilizing waterpower in the rivers and streams. Most of the eighteenth century water rights were related to gristmills or sawmills. With the development of the Greene foundry near Potowomut, and the acquisition of a water right, the fishery was protected. The general policy of colony and state continued thus until the rapid rise of the cotton textile industry transformed almost completely the economic life of the state. In the period following 1790, in which, because of realization of the profits that could be obtained through manufacturing, mill sites and water rights were sought eagerly by enterprising promoters, less emphasis was placed upon the protection of fisheries, and streams were dammed to suit the purposes of factories principally. The result was, inevitably, that the wealth of migratory fisheries in rivers was diminished, and upland fishing was restricted to the pursuit of denizens of fresh waters exclusively. Yet so abundant was fish in rivers and

bay, and so plentiful the supply for home markets, and so low the prices for fish fresh from the waters, that half a century passed before there was thought of conservation in view of possibly diminishing supply, and three-quarters of a century before the General Assembly found reason for an investigation of fisheries by a special committee.

Rhode Island deep sea fishermen did not resort to the Banks as did the Gloucester and Salem men. While New Bedford and New London were both distinctively whaling ports, in the sense that whaling was almost the dominant industry in each, their combined interests were not larger than those of Bristol, Newport, Providence and Warren. The industry had been expanded from the pursuit of whales in small boats in the ocean waters adjacent to Rhode Island and in Narragansett Bay, to the fitting out of vessels for voyages to the more remote seas. The General Assembly offered bounties on whale oil and whale bone in 1731 as measures to promote the fishery. Before the Revolutionary War the industry developed until a fleet of fifty vessels in 1775 had succeeded Benjamin Thurston's sloop "Pelican" of 1733, the earliest Rhode Island whaler of which there is a record. Whaling practically ceased during the period of the war, and revived slowly thereafter for two reasons principally, first, that the Hebrew merchants who had been promoters and owners of vessels in Newport had departed, and, second, that foreign trade and commerce with the Far East for the time promised much larger profits. A fresh interest in whaling appeared in 1820, when new vessels were fitted out for long voyages to the Pacific Ocean, and for a quarter of a century whaling was a most important part of the maritime life of Bristol, Providence and Warren. By 1840, the Rhode Island whaling fleet comprised over fifty vessels, most of them ships averaging 300 tons, completely equipped for three-year voyages. Within ten years whaling had begun to decline, vessels lost were not replaced and others were sold. The ship "Lion," lost at sea November 10, 1856, was the last Providence whaler. The whaling industry lingered at New Bedford after it had been abandoned in Rhode Island. The promoters of New Bedford whaling included Rhode Islanders. The redoubtable Brown family of Providence established, before 1800, one of the earliest American monopolies through their control of the products of the whale fishery wanted for their spermacetti factories. For two centuries from 1636 fish were so abundant in Rhode Island that large numbers of citizens earned comfortable livelihood through fishing as an occupation, and the colony and state regarded the fisheries as natural resources so unfailling in plenteousness as to warrant little serious doubt as to perpetuity. As farming and fishing yielded, first, to commerce, and, later, to manufacturing, little attention was given to conservation of fisheries, particularly during the earlier years of the factory era.

OYSTERS—The purpose of protecting oysters from extermination appeared in legislation forbidding dredging principally for the purpose of burning the shells in the process of making lime. The evil lay not in the utilization of shells after oysters had been taken for food, which would not be objectionable, so much as in wanton disregard of food values and the destruction of fish and shells as both were burned indiscriminately. In later legislation dredging on open beds was forbidden, and free fishermen were limited to the use of tongs in water less than fifteen feet deep at mean low tide, and in the amount of daily catches. So early as 1822 a closed season during the months of May, June, July and August was established, to protect oysters during the spawning and setting periods; the closed season was adjusted later from time to time with reference to particular areas. Laws protecting the oyster fishery had been practically perfected in most details by 1844, later developments emphasizing only the stringency of restriction and enforcement. The beginning of the cultivation of oysters, by putting down shell to catch the spat and by replanting seed oysters for maturing and fattening, was indicated in 1799 by a legislative grant of an exclusive right to take shellfish from a prescribed area within the waters of the bay. In this grant was forecasted the development of a flourishing industry employing hundreds of men, the product of which, as "Narragansett Bay oysters," achieved a national reputation when the building of railroads made broadcast shipments pos-

sible. Narragansett Bay oysters are smaller in size than Chesapeake Bay or Louisiana oysters, and are eaten raw usually or stewed in milk and butter, whereas the larger oysters are fried. The distinctive flavor of Narragansett Bay oysters won them favor. At the apex of popularity oysters from other waters were shipped to Narragansett Bay to be replanted, thus to acquire the Rhode Island tang. With the exception of deep channels and shallow places close to shore, most of the tidal waters in Rhode Island are suitable for oyster culture, the range including Narragansett Bay and Providence and Seekonk Rivers, Little Narragansett Bay and the mouth of the Pawcatuck River, the salt ponds with unobstructed breachways along the south shore of Washington County, and the salt pond or inner harbor at Block Island. Early leases of oyster grounds\* were at nominal rentals so low as one dollar per acre, and the purpose at the beginning was less the production of revenue for the state than promotion of the industry, because the assured control of particular areas made replanting of oysters feasible and profitable. Commissioners were elected to lease oyster grounds and enforce the law in 1844, and a new office of Commissioner of Shell Fisheries was created in 1864; later five commissioners, one for each county, were appointed.

Whether because the end of the Civil War had terminated a distraction or because of the efficiency of the new officer, receipts from oyster leases rose in the year from \$61 to \$737.72. At ten-year intervals thereafter oyster rentals yielded \$1527.65 in 1870, \$8190 in 1880, \$5616.20 in 1890, \$20,793.08 in 1900. Receipts were \$47,373.20 in 1905, and the apex was attained in 1909, when \$106,839.48 was paid into the treasury as income derived from the taxation of the shell fisheries. After 1909 there was a steady decline to \$84,089.97 in 1919, and \$51,302.07 in 1929. The receipts from rentals are not an accurate index of the area leased, inasmuch as rates varied. Thus, in 1905, 3338.6 acres were leased at ten dollars per acre, 2767.7 acres at five dollars, and 148.75 acres at one dollar, leases of the last to be renewed in the following year at the new legal minimum rate of five dollars per acre. The rentals afford, nevertheless, a reasonably accurate measure of the status of the industry, as indicated by its prosperity and its ability to yield tax revenue.

The decline in revenue in the past twenty years has accompanied the abandonment of oyster grounds in the upper reaches of Narragansett Bay, because of deleterious effects upon shellfish of the pollution of waters. Oyster growers have in some years suffered losses because of the depredations of starfish and other pests that prey upon shellfish and prefer oysters because oysters do not dig into the bottom sand as do clams and quahaugs. Increasing foulness of waters has affected the market for shellfish because of common dread of bacterial diseases, and has reduced the productivity of oyster grounds. Particularly, the spawn or spat of the oyster, which in the cycle preceding the set rises to the surface of the water before descending to attach itself to shell or rock on the bottom, may be destroyed by oil or other noxious substances which interfere with its life processes or prevent access to the atmosphere in the period during which the oyster is a surface-floating animal. Oil or other petroleum products coating the surface of water smother the spawn of oysters as certainly as they do the larvae of mosquitoes. In consequence of pollution near the head waters of Narragansett Bay oyster culture has been restricted to the lower reaches, involving a lessening of the acreage of oyster grounds available and withdrawal from the industry of many who have been discouraged by diminishing returns. Oyster grounds forty years ago included the Providence River up to Fox Point, and the Seekonk River, besides the upper part of Narragansett Bay; in 1930 no oyster grounds were rented north of Nayatt and Conimicut Point. The possibility of rehabilitating the industry rests principally upon the success that may attend the effort of the Board of Purification of Waters in enforcing laws requiring treatment of sewage before its discharge into public waters and in suppressing other pollution nuisances.

\*Held constitutional as not an invasion of the free fishery reserved for the whole people. *State vs. Cozens*, 2 R. I. 561.

Concern as to the effect of pollution of waters upon the oyster fishery was reflected in a statute enacted in 1860, which forbade the discharge of coal tar or spent lime into the waters of Rhode Island. Bays, rivers and ponds suitable for oyster culture were surveyed and platted in 1879 with reference to triangulation base lines established on shore with bronze and granite markers, thus to assure accuracy in the location of rented areas and in marking them by poles and buoys. A steady decrease in the yield of oyster beds in Point Judith Pond having been noted, Professor G. W. Field of Rhode Island State College, investigated. His report in 1900 suggested that the clogging of the breachway, by decreasing the flow of water through the pond, had permitted a deposit of detritus and silt by river drainage, which had covered and smothered the oysters. To dredging of channels, filling of flats, scow dumping and other disturbances of the bottoms of rivers and bay have been attributed similar changes of conditions in oyster grounds unfavorable to oyster culture. More serious, because more certain, has been the condition arising from pollution of waters by the discharge into them of raw sewage and other deleterious substances.

The Commissioners of Shell Fisheries in 1904 entertained and heard a complaint "that shellfish in the upper part of the bay were being impregnated with a strong flavor of gas, which rendered them worthless. . . . Oysters and quahaugs" were exhibited to the Commissioners "which were materially affected by some gassy substance which could easily be discovered by both the taste and smell. Letters were produced from those having purchased shellfish obtained from the upper part of the bay, complaining strongly of those fish as being worthless. Many complaints came also from the free fishermen as affecting their industry." The commissioners referred the complaints to a committee, which was assisted by a chemist. Investigations were conducted, and the committee gathered evidence which tended to establish the source of pollution as the discharge from gas works into the rivers of an oily substance rejected in the process of manufacturing gas. The nuisance was abated. Since the development of Providence River as the largest New England petroleum port, recognition of the effects of oily drainage through the tank leakage and bilge discharge from tankers has led to stringent regulation, but the area of the bay devoted to oyster culture has tended to recede steadily southward, nevertheless.

**OTHER SHELLFISH**—To the Commissioners of Shell Fisheries is committed also the regulation of clam, quahaug and scallop fisheries. The Rhode Island clam is soft-shelled with a protruding snout, and thrives luxuriantly in most tidal waters between high and low water marks. This clam, baked in Indian fashion with seaweed on hot stones, brought fame to Rhode Island shore resorts for excellence of "shore dinners." Experimental investigation of the life of the clam conducted at the state hatchery reveals the possibility of increase in production by culture; in practical experience it has been found that an occasional closed season is sufficient to enable the clam of itself to renew its reproductivity and plenteousness. The clam, as other fish, suffers from pollution of waters, and many beds, once prolific producers, no longer are fertile because impregnated with substances which are poisonous to clams. In earlier years almost any tide-flowed shore between high and low water marks would yield clams in abundance; with foulness of waters the habitat of the clam recedes and tends to become limited. The unrelenting pursuit of the clam by commercial fishermen and by occasional vacationists gives the clam little opportunity to multiply. The clam fishing has been a free fishery throughout the three centuries of Rhode Island.

The quahaug is a hard-shelled clam which prefers to live in clean sand below low water mark; it is taken by treading and raking in shallow water, and by tongs or dredges in deeper water. A quahaug of small size, called also "little neck" or "cherry stone," is eaten raw as an appetizer. Larger quahaugs are used for chowder, pies or fritters. Because of its stronger flavor, the quahaug is preferred by some for "clam" chowder; in some chowder recipes clams and quahaugs both are used. Rhode Island quahaugs are the base for a canned chowder, made



A VIEW OF OLD PROVIDENCE

The open space in front is Market Square. The horsecar shows that the picture was taken about 1890, after the removal of the street car station, which stood on spiles over the river. On the same site now stands the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company Building. The horses, which show at both ends of the car, were moved during the long exposure of the camera plate.



in Rhode Island, which has a national sale and reputation. Quahaug fishing from boats is under license issued by the Commissioners of Shell Fisheries, and daily catches are limited. As in the instance of the clam, a productive quahaug bed threatened with exhaustion, may be renewed by a closed season or transplanting.

The scallop is most uncertain in its entrances and exits, being plentiful in some seasons and practically not to be found in others. The Rhode Island scallop has an attractive crinkled shell, and is sought only for the strong white muscle with which it flaps its way through the water by alternately opening and closing the shells. The muscle is a delectable morsel when fried to golden brown. Scientific studies of the scallop reveal no reason for the irregularity of seasons other than the uncertainty of the "set." The effect of pollution of waters appears in the southern limit of the scallop fishery in the twentieth century to waters below Nayatt Point, whereas a half-century ago scallops were taken in the Seekonk River. The four major shell-fisheries—oyster, quahaug, clam and scallop—promise continuance and plenteous supplies for the future, provided that the waters of Rhode Island are redeemed from pollution, and that reasonable restrictions upon catches are imposed, with protection during spawn and setting periods and occasional closed seasons to permit restocking. In the instance of two, the oyster and quahaug, markets beyond the state afford opportunity for ready sale at satisfactory prices. Rhode Island oysters, packed in sanitary containers, are distributed over the United States and Canada.

INLAND FISHERIES—Commissioners of Inland Fisheries were appointed in 1871 to "introduce, protect and cultivate fish in the inland waters of the state." The jurisdiction of the commissioners extends to all fisheries save those of mollusks, which are under the supervision of the Commissioners of Shell Fisheries, but the Commissioners of Inland Fisheries have directed valuable studies of the life of mollusks under statutory authority to "make experiments in planting, cultivating, propagating and developing any and all kinds of shell fish." In one of their earliest reports the Commissioners of Inland Fisheries recommended the building of fishways for salmon, shad and alewives where rivers had been dammed, thus to permit return of these fish, with the fry of which the commissioners had begun to restock Rhode Island streams. The commissioners had undertaken also to restock Rhode Island fresh water brooks and ponds by liberating fry purchased from fish hatcheries outside of Rhode Island. Within a short time, however, the commissioners established a fish hatchery at Ponegansett, and there hatched fry of salmon, shad, black bass and trout for release in inland waters. The commissioners expressed regret at the practical extermination in Rhode Island of herring, once swarming in such quantity that the supply seemed inexhaustible, and suggested a threat to the cod fishery with the disappearance of the herring. Except with salmon, which prefer colder waters than those of Rhode Island, the commissioners have been successful generally. Alewives and shad have returned to certain rivers, and fresh water ponds and brooks reward amply with good catches fishermen who visit them. The Goose Neck Spring hatchery, near Wickford, replacing the Ponegansett hatchery, besides other fish produces annually 200,000 fingerling trout, which are liberated in brooks and ponds to replace those taken by 15,000 licensed fresh water fishermen.

An alleged scarcity of good fish in Rhode Island markets, and much higher prices than had prevailed in yesteryears, precipitated, in 1887, a legislative investigation of salt water trap, fyke and pound fishing. The committee of the General Assembly in charge of the inquiry returned majority and minority reports, and no action to restrict commercial fishing was taken. The committee had disagreed as to the fundamental proposition—the actual decrease of fish in upper Narragansett Bay because of the large numbers of fish traps of various kinds that had been placed in the Seaconnet River. There was no doubt that the trap fishers were catching fish in large quantities, and that most of the catches were sold in New York or in other markets outside Rhode Island. The majority of the committee of three favored regulation or restric-

tion of trap fishing; the minority, sturdy Captain George N. Bliss, who as a cavalry trooper in the Civil War had charged a Rebel regiment alone, himself a fisherman as well as a jurist, believed that a fish belongs to the first fisherman who catches it, and opposed interference. The fish involved in the controversy were part of the migratory hordes which pass in and out of the waters of Narragansett Bay from and to the Atlantic Ocean, as their ancestors did for centuries; the trap fishers had found effective methods of capturing them, and established a new source of wealth. The remedy for possible interference with fishing further up the bay and with the access of fish returning to Rhode Island waters to spawn was found in legislation establishing closed seasons for trap fishing, and forbidding fishing in certain localities.

The Commissioners of Inland Fisheries at the time condemned the methods of menhaden fishermen, particularly for alleged neglect to throw back into the water food fish caught in seines with menhaden. Menhaden, sometimes called "bony fish," resembling herring and alewives, are edible if cooked within a short time after capture, but spoil very quickly. They were used as fertilizer by Indian farmers before white men came to Rhode Island, and by white farmers who learned the Indian methods of planting corn and potatoes. Menhaden are sought for oil, which is obtained by pressing, and for commercial fertilizers obtained by rendering. Menhaden travel in large schools near the surface usually, pursuing fish on which they prey, or fleeing from large fish which prey upon them. Modern menhaden fishing is in power trawlers, which surround the fish with seines. The volume of a prolific menhaden fishery in Narragansett Bay is revealed by statistics of catches for five years, thus: 1886, 232,471 barrels; 1887, 175,667 barrels; 1888, 377,607 barrels; 1889, 508,482 barrels; 1890, 560,086 barrels. In connection with the menhaden fishery, a fish rendering industry was established in Little Compton. In recent years menhaden seldom visit Narragansett Bay and the menhaden fleet is seen only occasionally. Squeteague and Block Island or snapper bluefish, the latter of which follow and feed upon menhaden, have been much less plentiful. The reasons for the disappearance of menhaden, aside from the activities of the menhaden fleet in Long Island Sound and other waters adjacent to Rhode Island, are not known; they are related to phases in the lives of migratory fishes which have not been revealed to man.

VOLUME OF FISHERIES—Of the actual volume of Rhode Island fisheries little is known beyond the general facts related to abundance, and the large numbers of vessels engaged and of men who have earned their livings by fishing. Estimates of the amount of fish shipped from Newport by regular transportation lines in the years from 1887 to 1904 reveal generally a consistent and steady acceleration over the period, from 16,657 barrels to 62,160 barrels. The figures are valuable only relatively. They included probably the greater part of the Block Island catch, which was marketed through Newport, though some reached its destination through Providence, New London, or Montauk Point and the Long Island Railroad. They did not include the product of the oyster fishery, marketed and shipped principally through northern towns and cities; nor did they include large catches of menhaden converted into fertilizer at Little Compton, nor tons of non-edible and unmarketable fish used for baiting lobster traps. Besides the shipments listed, 1508 swordfish and 415 tuna fish were shipped from Newport in the years from 1896 to 1904. Similar statistics for recent years are not available, although the increase in the number of traps of various kinds placed in favorable fishing waters indicates that prosperity continues, and that the amount of fish taken has not diminished. The development of New England fisheries to supply metropolitan markets has been such that fast express trains are operated by railway companies to assure delivery in good condition. The General Assembly in 1928 enacted legislation requiring the licensing of fish traps by the Harbor Commission, with the purpose of regulating the fishery, and adjusting disputes as to rival claims for favored locations. Enforcement of the law in 1930 precipitated what promised to be a "fish war"; belligerency ended with a show of force by officers, but

fishermen are reported as "organizing" and an appeal to the General Assembly for revision of the statutes will be made in 1931.

**LOBSTER FISHERY**—The reports of fish shipments referred to above did not include lobsters, records of which were kept separately. These showed, with the exception of 1887, 1888 and 1898, when catches were far below normal, and the exception also of bumper years from 1899 to 1902, a general average annually of 2000 barrels or 400,000 pounds. In each of 1888 and 1898 shipments were less than 1200 barrels; from 1899 to 1902 they were, respectively, 4143, 4793 and 4342 barrels. The Commissioners of Inland Fisheries had already undertaken projects for restocking Rhode Island waters with lobsters brought from other places, and for research study of the life and culture of lobsters at the salt water hatchery established at Wickford in 1900. The first lobsters liberated by the commissioners were brought from Nova Scotia; as the work at the Wickford hatchery was developed the commissioners were able to place in Rhode Island waters 1,000,000 small lobsters annually, which had been grown from eggs at Wickford. The Wickford hatchery has the distinction of being the only institution which has been successful in raising lobsters from eggs through the swimming stages, until the lobster has become a bottom-crawling creature after the fashion of the adult. The lobster by that time is a formidable crustacean and no longer prey for fishes which find small swimming lobsters very delicious food. Other factors contributing to the increasing catch of lobsters have been statutes penalizing the capture or possession of lobsters less than nine inches in length, and the purchase by the state of egg-bearing lobsters for supplying the hatchery or return to the waters of Narragansett Bay. In five years from 1904 the lobster catch reported increased nearly 1,000,000 pounds, or 5000 barrels, from 376,994 pounds to 1,342,983 pounds. In the same period the number of lobster pots in use were increased from 8000 to 23,000. The catch in 1925 was reported as 1,740,277 pounds, and the income of lobster fishermen for the year reached \$750,000. In 1930 probably 35,000 pots were in use, and the catch reached 1,750,000 pounds, although the figures reported officially were smaller. Legislation in 1929 included provision for purchase by the state of egg-bearing lobsters at market prices, and also for records of lobster catches, the latter "for the purpose of determining whether the number of lobsters caught in the waters of this state are increasing or decreasing during any period."

In 1909 the licensing of lobster fishermen had been limited to citizens of Rhode Island, thus to prevent what appeared to be a definite trend toward the elimination of Rhode Island fishermen by alien rivals. The large number of lobster pots, 35,000 in round numbers, in navigable waters near the entrances to Narragansett Bay, have occasioned legislation and regulation of location, and in recent years controversies have arisen with commanders of naval vessels who have ignored sometimes the rights of fishermen by running heedlessly through the buoys marking lobster pots, cutting many of them away, thus occasioning loss of buoys, pots and catches. An adjustment with the navy has been attained by the designation of lanes, in which no lobster pots are located, to be used by vessels during peace times.

**RESEARCH STUDIES OF FISH**—The research and experimental studies of fish conducted at or as part of the work of the hatcheries maintained by the Commissioners of Inland Fisheries, have been exhaustive in detail and most complete as biological investigations. All have been related definitely to distinctly Rhode Island fishing problems. Of mollusks, the clam and scallop were studied through complete life cycles; the work with the former included the identification of favorable breeding grounds, and experiments as to the possibility of restocking depleted clam beds by transplanting seed clams. The experiments proved that artificial propagation is feasible, and that Rhode Island clam beds can be renewed by transplanting and closed seasons to permit reproduction and growth. With reference to lobsters, the importance of the work of the hatchery attaches not only to the accurate biological studies of lobster

culture, but also to the expansion of an industry which in the twentieth century yields a product worth three-quarters of a million dollars annually and which gives Narragansett Bay the distinction of being the richest area producing lobsters. Much of the investigation and experimentation at the Wickford hatchery was conducted in coöperation with the department of biology at Brown University. The published reports include exhaustive studies of clams, lobsters and crabs, and lists of Rhode Island fishes, including nearly two hundred species, of which only twenty-four were fresh water denizens. Thus the wealth of Rhode Island fisheries is principally in salt water fishes, and the explanation lies in the proximity of the Gulf Stream and the kindly protection against Arctic currents afforded by Cape Cod. In recent years the stocking of inland fresh water has been restricted to trout; in 1929 fifty brooks and ponds were stocked in Barrington, Charlestown, Coventry, Cranston, Cumberland, Exeter, Foster, Glocester, Hopkinton, Little Compton, Narragansett, North Kingstown, North Smithfield, South Kingstown, Tiverton, Warwick, Westerly, West Greenwich, West Warwick and Woonsocket.

Rhode Island fisheries in 1930 are in a prosperous condition, furnish employment to large numbers of citizens, and yield a product which is sold under highly remunerative conditions. The upland fishery in fresh water is principally for sport, and is maintained under conditions that satisfy the 15,000 licensed fishermen, by annual stocking of streams and ponds, and by stringent enforcement of statutes limiting the period of fishing. Commercial fresh water fishing is not licensed or countenanced. The shell fishery of mollusks includes oysters, clams, quahaugs, and scallops, all licensed except the clam fishery. While statistics are not collected which would warrant positive statements as to the volume of the mollusk fishery, the annual production of quahaugs is as large probably as at any time in the past. The scallop fishery is uncertain for reasons that are not known. Both clam and oyster fisheries have been restricted by the pollution of waters, but neither is in danger of extinction. The shell fishery generally is prosperous. The largest catch of salt water fish north of the great fishing grounds along the southern shores of Narragansett Bay and among the islands near the entrance is of eels, large quantities of which are captured in traps, and are sold at satisfactory market prices. Other deep water fish, including tautog, sole and scup, are caught in the spring and early summer, usually with hook and line. A prolific fishery of squeteague has abated within twenty years, although there is occasionally a good season for squeteague in the area between Nayatt and Conimicut Points and Prudence Island. In the Seaconnet River, in the West Passage, in the passages to Newport Harbor and between the lower islands, along the shore of Narragansett, and in the waters around Block Island trap fishing on a commercial basis yields rich returns. The fishery includes mackerel, scup, sole, squeteague, striped sea bass, sea bass, sea robins, kingfish, butterfish, of common varieties, besides cod and haddock. In the same waters is also a prolific lobster fishery, yielding a rich annual catch. Off Block Island swordfishing is a summer occupation; the fish are sold in eastern markets at excellent prices. Tuna fishing, first promoted for sport, tends to become an important commercial fishery. The statute books include voluminous legislation intended to protect, promote and regulate Rhode Island fisheries of all sorts, and the fisheries are not only almost the richest natural resource of the state, but also the resource to which in the past fifty years most attention has been given with the purpose of conservation. The legislation for the most part has been progressive, and the fisheries have thrived consequently. Rhode Island not only supplies its own population with an abundance of fine, fresh sea food, but the supply is ample for shipment to other states, the far-flung markets reaching across the continent.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### RHODE ISLAND TRADE AND COMMERCE.



UNFRIENDLINESS of Massachusetts toward Rhode Island in the seventeenth century precludes the probability that Rhode Island depended upon the former as a source of supply for articles of European production which were badly needed in the wilderness in which the pioneer settlers found themselves. Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson and Samuel Gorton were interdicted exiles who had not the liberty to return to Massachusetts had they wished to do so. When Roger Williams went to England to seek a charter he traveled *via* New Amsterdam, because Massachusetts would not permit him to cross her territory for departure from Boston, and he returned with a warrant from the English government authorizing his landing at Boston, and a safe conduct for a peaceful, unmolested journey across Massachusetts to the headwaters of Narragansett Bay. Such were the amenities of the times in New England. That Rhode Island, under the circumstances, as her enemies in Massachusetts, no doubt, in a metaphorical sense, devoutly wished, should in practice "go to the Dutch" was only to be expected. The latter were established in trading posts at Dutch Island and along the south shore, and, although their purpose had been barter with the Indians, they were far too keen as merchants to neglect opportunity for other trade. Through the Dutch Rhode Island obtained merchandise that could not be produced on the plantations at Providence and on the island of Rhode Island. The market was convenient, inasmuch as it could be reached by water from any and all of the Narragansett Bay settlements. The mutual advantage in the commerce which was developed between Rhode Islanders and Dutch traders is proved by its continuance on a friendly basis even while England and Holland were engaged in war in Europe and on the seas. The Dutch trade ceased when England seized the Dutch possessions in North America, but the inclination of Rhode Island toward New York that has continued through three centuries had been established, and Boston had lost with reference to southern New England both the "central position" and the ascendancy which the ancient city of the Puritans maintained for northern New England, which gravitates toward Boston. In the eighteenth century Newport became a greater seaport than Boston, maintaining its own transatlantic lines. In the development of coastwise trade the route to the mouth of the Hudson, for the most part through the sheltered waters of Long Island Sound, was preferable to the long water journey to Massachusetts Bay, exposed to both the wild storms of the North Atlantic Ocean and the treacherous coast from the Seaconnet River to Nantasket.

That other Rhode Islanders than Roger Williams and Richard Smith, though these are mentioned in history, maintained trading posts for barter with Indians may not be questioned. The former's place in history was not established forever by achievements during the few years that he was a storekeeper at Wickford; the store is remembered only because of the keeper and his deeds in other years. Nor would the name of Richard Smith be recited in the annals of Rhode Island were it not that his blockhouse was the meeting place associated with events which were momentous in the history of the colony, and that he became an opponent of Rhode Island in the controversy with Connecticut arising from the latter's ill-founded claim to the King's Province, which included most of Washington County. Trading on town market days, appointed to promote trade, preceded the establishment of shops. Governor Sanford reported in 1680, in reply to inquiries from England: ". . . As for foreigners and Indians we have no commerce with, but as for our neighboring English, we have and shall

endeavor to keep a good correspondency with them. . . . We have several men that deal in buying and selling, although they cannot properly be called merchants. . . . As for merchants we have none, but the most of our colony live comfortably by improving the wilderness. We have no shipping belonging to our colony, but only a few sloops. The great obstruction concerning trade is the want of merchants and men of considerable estate among us. . . .” In the lexicon of Governor Sanford the word “merchant” connoted wealth as well as the occupation of buying and selling. If there were no “merchants” in Rhode Island in 1680, there were “traders,” and commerce was rising, with the first wharf and warehouse already under construction in Providence. Permission to construct nine other wharves and warehouses was granted in Providence within three years following, and the northern town was even then far behind Newport in importance as a commercial center and as a seaport.

The first shops in both Newport and Providence were opened probably by ship owners or ship chandlers, who catered to vessels fitting out and taking on food and other supplies, and who sold also to the general public the goods offered to the latter including the cargoes of vessels returning from voyages. Gideon Crawford was admitted as a resident in Providence in 1687 and permitted “to follow his way of dealing in goods.” Both he and his son, John Crawford, engaged in foreign trade, importing and selling, among other commodities, “Holland muslin, calico, Bangall tape, cambric kenting, cherry derry, silk stockings, edging laces, silk fereting, combs, gloves, swanskin, alamode remaul silk, romaul moheaire, cantaloons, crape, calaminco, checks, drugget, camblet, baize, broadcloth, poplin, silk crepe and shalloons.” The stock in trade in the Crawford store in 1719 included “indigo, glassware, tobacco, boxes, axes, brushes, pewter, knives, bolts, treacle manna, beeswax, ginger, alum, nails, powder, gun flints, sugar and halters.”

SHOPPING CENTRES—The trading centre for Newport rested on the intersection of Thames Street with Long Wharf, extending westward into the harbor, and the Parade, afterward called Washington Square, leading easterly to the Colony House. At the southwest corner the Newport market house was erected.\* Along Thames Street, fronting water and wharves or tying places for vessels smaller than those which docked at Long Wharf, were warehouses and shops. Thames Street and the Parade were paved at Colony expense early in the eighteenth century in a manner befitting the principal streets of the “Metropolitan” of the colony. Newport before the Revolution attained its zenith as the leading American town. Its streets were thronged with well-dressed gentlemen and ladies, and its shops in their offering of wares and merchandise reflected the prevailing fashions, which were so resplendent in color and in trimming and accessories that the present seems a sombre age in contrast. There was nothing, probably, which was sold in the smart shops of London and Paris that could not be bought in Newport.

Town Street in Providence, now North and South Main streets, was the first shopping centre. A town market building was erected in Market Square in 1773, the money being obtained through a lottery. A third story was added to the Market building in 1797 by St. John’s Lodge of Masons, the addition to serve as a hall for the fraternity until the town paid for the improvement and took possession. The building served afterward as a city hall, and in 1930 is occupied by the Chamber of Commerce. A public fish market was built in 1819 north of Weybosset Bridge, extending over the river and facing Canal Street, which was called Water Street at that time; it was removed farther north in 1828. A market was incorporated in 1826, and located at the junction of North Main and Mill streets. In the following year a third market was incorporated and built on the West Side at the junction of Broad and High streets, now Weybosset Street. North and south of Market Square, front-

\*Restored in 1930 to colonial appearance inside and out.

ing on the west side of the Town Street were warehouses and wharves. The town had been laid out originally in narrow lots fronting westerly on Town Street and extending easterly up and over the East Side hill, back toward the common land in the Seekonk Valley. The earliest houses faced the Town Street, and the life of the town centred in the street, the river operating to check the normal westward movement until the Weybosset bridge was constructed. North of the Market Square the favored retail shopping district developed, and the section nearest the Market was known as Cheapside. South was the commercial centre of the increasing shipping trade, coastwise and foreign, and it continued to be there until John Brown in 1787 began to develop India Point. The south water front, on the Seekonk River, from India Point to Fox Point, with railroad connections in subsequent years, became centre of the largest sea trade.

Brown had grasped the possibility of developing foreign trade, particularly with the East Indies and Asia. The "General Washington," ship, owned by Brown & Francis, in which John Brown was the senior partner, sailed from Providence on December 24, 1787, with a cargo of cannon shot, anchors, bar iron, tar, ginseng, Madeira wine, brandy and spirits, Jamaica spirits and New England rum, for a voyage including stops at Madeira, Madras, Pondicherry, Canton, St. Helena, St. Ascension and St. Eustasia. She brought back tea, silks, china, cotton goods, lacquered ware, gloves and flannels. The "Warren," ship, owned by Brown & Francis, from Calcutta, brought "printed calicoes and chintzes of every kind; muslins and muslin handkerchiefs of all sorts; long cloths of different qualities and many other cotton cloths, which from their durability have been found very profitable for family use, either as shirting or sheetings; also Bandano and Pulicat silk handkerchiefs, Persians, taffetas, ginghams, dorcas, bastas, East and West Indian cottons, excellent saltpetre, a few chests of the best Bohea, Hyson and Souchong teas; window glass, an assortment of Manchester cotton goods and many other new goods which would not be generally known by their names therefore we have omitted the particulars; all which will be sold and in such lots and quantities as may best suit the purchasers." So read the advertisement of sale in the "Providence Gazette." Only a few years later the same firm, which carried on what was a profitable foreign trade, closed out its investments in ships and shipping, and was engaged in manufacturing cotton fabrics equalling, if not surpassing, in quality the finest cloths brought from abroad.

Providence was settled on the east side of the Moshassuck and Providence rivers, and the expansion was first north and south from the centre along the Town Street. Later the movement was westward, although in 1732, twenty-two years after the building of the first bridge, seventy-two of eighty-four houses in the compact part of the town were east of the river. Weybosset Street, across the bridge, was practically an island not connected with the mainland further west until 1739, when a bridge connected Weybosset with Broad Street. The West Side grew rapidly in population, having 911 inhabitants and 102 houses in 1768. A proposition to create a new town of Westminster west of the river by partition from Providence failed in the General Assembly in 1768. Beginning in 1772 water was piped to the lowland section west of the river in hollow wooden logs. By 1820 the population of the town was nearly equally divided by the river, with 5118 of 11,767 residents on the West Side. Westminster Street, extending westward from Market Street, the old name for the street from the bridge to the junction of Weybosset and Westminster streets, rivalled Cheapside as a shopping district. "A number of shops have lately been fitted up in superb style for the retail drygoods trade," said the "Providence Journal" of April 8, 1823, referring to Westminster Street, and "the pleasant promenade on the north side of the street will probably be more frequented than ever by our belles and beaux." The centre of retail shopping had not yet crossed the river, as it soon would in the course of the march westward that progressed through the nineteenth century. Cheapside was still favored and Market Square was centre

of a flourishing retail trade in fruit and produce; thither the citizens repaired with baskets to buy fresh vegetables from the farmers.

The Arcade, still standing and fronting on Weybosset and Westminster streets, was erected in 1827-1828 by the Arcade Corporation and Cyrus Butler, each owning one-half. The building is of granite, 216 feet long between the streets, and 74 feet wide on each street. Broad granite steps rise to the level of the first floor between huge blocks of granite at either end, which in earlier days supported lamps. Each approach resembles the front of a Greek temple; massive granite pillars, six on each front, said to be with only one exception the largest granite monoliths in the world, support a façade, carried gracefully because of fine proportioning, three stories above the level. A broad avenue passes through the centre of the building from street to street, and along the avenue are stores, with glazed fronts for the display of goods. Granite steps at both sides of both ends rise to first and second galleries, along which also are rows of stores. Above the roof is glazed for 188 feet of length and 32 of width, affording daylight lighting, and covering three promenades against the stormiest weather. The Arcade cost \$145,000, was when constructed a marvel of enterprise, and is, in the twentieth century, a unique landmark. In its masterful conception of housing a large number of small stores under a single roof, from one to another of which a shopper might pass without exposure to weather, the Arcade anticipated the modern department store, which, though in its relations to the public operating under a central and single administration, is many times a combination of stores or departments owned and controlled in leased quarters by different individuals or corporations. In well-organized department stores the lessees of concessions rotate in window displays and share space in newspaper advertising under the store name. In the Arcade the stores are separately controlled and managed.

The commercial centre of Providence was still Market Square in 1835. Fronting on the square, besides the city market building occupying the middle ground, were the Blackstone Canal, Eagle and Roger Williams Banks. On South Main Street, north of Crawford Street, were the Providence Bank, the Providence branch of the Bank of the United States, and the Providence Institution for Savings. The Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank was in Cheapside, at 54 North Main Street. On lower Westminster Street, between the river and Dorrance Street, were the American, Commercial, Exchange, Lime Rock, Merchants, Union and Weybosset Banks. The Arcade Bank was on Custom House Street. The City, Globe, Mechanics and Old Banks, and the Bank of North America were on lower Weybosset Street. Only the High Street Bank was located out of the compact financial district, within which were also the insurance companies. The Providence Washington Insurance Company occupied its imposing building fronting the lateral bridge called Washington Row, which the insurance company had built to connect the great bridge and the bridge farther north. Cheapside, the name given to North Main Street south of Steeple Street, was lined with retail shops, including dry goods stores and others in which silverware and jewelry, boots and shoes, hats and other articles, were offered for sale. The centre of the jewelry trade, manufacturing and selling, was Cheapside, and the factories mostly were east of the river. Farther up North Main Street, at the junction with Mill Street, was the north market. Most of the hotels and inns were east of the river, although new hotels constructed after 1835 were west of the river. Across the great bridge, westward from the market building, lay a great Y formed by the junction of Weybosset with Westminster Street. Upper Westminster Street was a residential section, in which a number of fine houses had been erected, and the development promised continuance westward on High Street, which was the name of the street above what is now Jackson Street. Below Dorrance Street Westminster Street was commercial principally. Besides the banks, there were retail shops rivalling the shopping attractions of Cheapside. Across the Y, connecting Westminster and Weybosset Streets, lay the Arcade

with its covered passage lined on either side by three tiers of shops. Weybosset Street was commercial also, but the shops were older than those on Westminster Street and not so attractive. The Arcade occupied a site from which a miscellaneous collection of dilapidated buildings had been removed, these including some of the earliest constructed, while Weybosset Street was practically an island except at extremely low tide. The West Side market stood at the end of the Weybosset Street branch of the Y, at Broad and High streets.

Along the river rows of warehouses lined the approach to the Blackstone Canal. South along the river were warehouses and wharves, some musty with disuse because the sea trade had been declining gradually for a score of years, and in 1835 consisted principally of coastwise shipping. In volume the coastwise trade was probably not less than the older ocean trade, for it included cotton and pig iron incoming as raw materials for factories, and cotton cloth and iron and steel tools and machinery outgoing. The odor of the Far East and the romance of long voyages to distant and strange lands had departed; cotton and iron were commonplace. The town no longer turned out and frequented the water front to greet homecoming relatives and friends and to satisfy its curiosity as to the nature of the cargo brought by a returning ship, which had been away for months. The arrival and departure of coastwise vessels was a matter of ordinary routine, and the cargoes were well known. The coal trade, later to bulk large in coastwise shipping, had barely started in 1835. India Point also had lost the trade with the Far East, which had given it its name, but was in 1835 the terminus of the railroad from Providence to Boston. Across the river was the northern terminus of the railroad to connect Providence with Stonington, which was under construction in 1835.

The developments at Cheapside, at the Arcade and on lower Westminster Street, were significant for the time, and prophetic, because out of them were to emerge some of the largest mercantile establishments of later years. Gladding's in 1930 rounded out 125 years as a drygoods store, having been established under the firm name of Watson & Gladding at Cheapside in 1805; the Gladding store still displays the sign of the bunch of grapes which was familiar to Providence shoppers in Cheapside. The drygoods business conducted for more than a century and known as Taylor, Symonds Company was started by George Taylor in Cheapside in 1811, and remained there until 1861, when it was removed to Weybosset Street. The Gladding and Taylor establishments are almost unique in the fact of continuation of a name for so long a period of years, particularly through the era of partnerships. The more typical case is illustrated by the bookstore, printing office and book bindery started by William Marshall & Company at 29 Westminster Street in 1830. In fifty years the organization had borne successive names as follows: William Marshall & Company, John E. Brown, Isaac H. Cady, Cady & Brown, Gladding & Proud, Gladding Brothers, Gladding Brothers & Tibbitts, Tibbitts & Randall, Tibbitts & Shaw, Tibbitts, Shaw & Company, Shaw & Company, Shaw & Swarts, and W. B. Swarts. In corporation control, although the corporate name in the charter remains unchanged, the changes of personnel may be even more frequent than in the instance of a partnership. The characteristic of mercantile enterprises is consistent change. Under partnership administration a firm name was quite likely to be altered with the retirement of an old member or the admission of a new member; in a corporation "men may come and men may go," but the company continues—not in perpetuum, however, for corporations are as mortal as the men who create them.

In the instance of Providence the naturally westward movement of population was accelerated (1) by the steep hill rising almost abruptly to the east and thus discouraging extension in that direction; and (2) by the inviting plains and plateaus and low hills to the west reached easily by crossing a narrow fordable river, which later was bridged. The movement of the business centre westward was indicated so early as 1835, by the larger number of banks west than east of the river. As new banks were organized after 1835, with the excep-

tion of the Bank of Commerce, on Market Square, locations on lower Westminster Street and Weybosset Street were chosen. The Bank of Commerce moved twice in the twentieth century, first to the Turk's Head Building, and later to new quarters at Westminster and Orange streets. The Providence Bank also left 50 South Main Street, its second location, after being there for more than a century, removing first to the banking house of the Merchants National Bank, which it had absorbed, and then into its new building on lower Westminster Street. Except branch banks located east of the hill by trust companies, and except the Blackstone Canal National Bank, the Providence Institution for Savings and the People's Savings Bank, all banks were west of the river in 1930. The Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company, after establishment east, removed west of the river to an imposing banking house, which later was replaced by the monumental office building fronting on Washington Row. Even the Providence Institution for Savings had built a modern banking building between Aborn and Empire streets, and maintained a branch bank in Olneyville.

Lawyers lingered in the upper stories of banking houses and mercantile establishments east of the river, near the courthouse, until new office buildings rose to the westward; the legal profession generally scarcely ventures west of Dorrance Street in the modern city. The Gladding store was removed from Cheapside in 1878 to the Brownell building, opposite the Arcade on Westminster Street, and again after the turn of the new century to the corner of Westminster and Mathewson streets. J. B. Barnaby opened a retail ready-made men's clothing store at 15 South Main Street in 1852, removed to the corner of South Main and College streets in 1869, and again to the Dorrance building, at Westminster and Dorrance streets within another twenty years. Tilden & Thurber, Providence retail selling agents for the Gorham Company, located first on lower Westminster Street west of Exchange Street, and removed later to a new building at Westminster and Mathewson streets. Callender, McAuslan & Troup, canny Scotchmen, located their dry goods store, a small establishment out of which grew a vast department store, on Westminster Street east of Union Street in 1866, selecting what was to be for years the heart and centre of the retail shopping district. After 1850 there was little doubt that the business district lay west of the river with the majority of the population, the retail shopping section being east of Dorrance Street, with the Arcade central.

The jewelry factories were moving westward by that time; most of the iron and steel establishments also were west, although the warehouses along South Main and South Water streets had, in some instances, been converted into manufacturing buildings, and new structures were erected there because of convenient access to wharves for supplies of coal and ore, and for the shipment of the product. New types of buildings were rising, mostly semi-fire-proof structures with brick walls, averaging five stories in height. The interior construction was principally of wood, with heavy hard pine and massive oak beams and pillars carrying the weight of floors and roof. The early buildings were constructed usually with the first floor several feet above street level and reached by flights of steps. In the instance of the Dorrance Building, when the lower floor was brought to street level, thus to invite customers in directly from the street, and also to permit the construction of show windows for the display of goods, an interior cellar wall was built, paralleling the outer wall, for the purpose of carrying the weight of the new floor. The building was gutted by fire in 1890, the flames starting in the basement and spreading until only part of the walls remained standing, while at the height of the conflagration the picture resembled that of a foundry chimney with fire rising fifty feet above the cornice. A mystery as to the failure of the water poured into the cellar to reach and extinguish the flames was solved by the discovery of the inner wall of masonry, which held the water between itself and the outer wall. The first iron front building, marking

the introduction of structural steel, was the Barnaby Building at Westminster and Union streets.

In 1876 the descendants and successors of Cyrus Butler, who had achieved the Arcade a half-century earlier, built the Butler Exchange on the site now occupied by the Industrial Trust. The four fronts of the Butler Exchange and the interior framework were principally of iron and steel, and the building was rated as fireproof. It was six stories in height, thoroughly "modern" for the period, and, like the Arcade incorporated a covered passageway from Westminster Street to Exchange Place. At the end of the century the Union Trust Company reached the then farthest west for banks\* by placing its counting room facing Dorrance Street. The knell of lower Westminster Street as the city's central retail shopping district had been tolled when the street railway company, by rerouting its car lines, made Dorrance Street, instead of Market Square, the centre of the municipal transportation system. The larger dry goods establishments were already by that time west of Dorrance Street, and lower Westminster Street was settling down to the quiet respectability and dignity of a financial and commercial district, with the shopping crowds further west and Westminster and Union streets the exact centre.

Other factors contributing to the transformation were the removal of the Post Office from lower Weybosset Street to the east end of Exchange Place, the building of the City Hall on Dorrance Street facing east on Exchange Place, the Dorrance Street improvement, consisting in the building of a new straight and wider thoroughfare at right angles to Westminster Street, and the building of the modern railway station on a new site farther west. The old railroad station fronted directly on Exchange Place with the most convenient entrance and exit opposite Exchange Street and Washington Row, and thus near to Market Square. When the new station was built, the plans included arrangements for carrying tracks above the city highways, and the site was placed west and north of the old location. From the new station the ramps for passengers and vehicles favored Dorrance Street, and the shopping crowd from towns and villages along the right of way poured through the new highway. Dorrance Street itself became an important business street, the land at the corners of Westminster Street and Dorrance Street carrying the highest tax rate per square foot in the state. It should not be assumed that there were no stores or shops elsewhere in the city; as a matter of fact main thoroughfares, particularly those along which street car routes were constructed, were lined with shops, the number of which increased consistently with the growth of the city and the needs of the people. The discussion here is restricted to the development of the central financial and shopping section.

ADVERTISING METHODS—The number of merchants advertising their wares for sale in early newspapers was almost as large as in the twentieth century. Advertising methods were vastly different, however. Most established houses carried a small "business card" in the local newspapers, much as the same practice prevails in country towns and villages. The card might indicate the merchant's patronage of the newspaper as a desirable community enterprise quite as much as his expectation of attracting customers. The same advertising matter was printed repeatedly, sometimes over periods of years without change; the printer's footnote guide lines, if he used them to check his patrons, frequently carried the letters "tf," which meant "till forbidden," and indicated a contract for advertising that was to continue until the advertiser ordered it stopped. In modern practice the advertisement of yesterday is as stale as the newspaper that carried it. The merchant has new bargains to announce, a fresh appeal for customers, every day.

\*Except the High Street Bank.

The older merchant enumerated usually a list of wares carried as regular merchandise; the type was small, and the tendency was to use type to cover all the space bought. Hence the specification of items tended to be exhaustive. Even the name of the advertiser and his business were in small type usually. Printers carried few fonts of larger sized type, and the art of display by rules and layout was not practiced. Rhode Island newspapers resorted infrequently to the practice of building large letters by combinations of smaller letters, which was the rule of some metropolitan newspapers which carried no display type even so late as the twentieth century. In the development of display advertising venders of proprietary and patent medicines, tonics and sarsaparillas, lotions, salves and ointments, pills and other panaceas were leaders in their efforts to catch the reader's eye and thus gain his attention. Medical advertisers were almost the first to extend their patronage beyond the local field, thus laying the foundation for national advertising in the twentieth century. Occasionally, but infrequently until after 1875, advertisements were illustrated by line drawings; otherwise illumination was limited to the small cuts made and sold by type founders and carried in stock by printers.

The advertiser seldom announced the price at which articles were offered for sale; the rule of uniform prices and the practice of selling by clerks who are not authorized to do more than wrap up and deliver articles to customers who tender the marked price in return are strictly modern innovations in merchandizing. The merchant himself and his few skilled clerks expected to match wits with the shrewdest customers, honors resting with the Yankee who made the best bargain. "Fire sales" were few, because most fires involved total losses; and the "anniversary," "birthday," "consolidation," "reorganization," "closing out," "alteration," "must move," "dollar day" and other sales of modern times were not known. Street calling by bell ringers and drummers, and similar devices were in use well into the nineteenth century. The wooden Indian offering a bunch of cigars or leaf tobacco, characteristic sign of the tobacco shop, has departed for the happy hunting ground. Almost the last stood on Westminster Street in Providence, one near Eddy Street, one in front of Butler Exchange, and one below Turk's Head. They had resisted the raids of generations of college youth seeking adornment for dormitories. Gone also are the large glass urns filled with colored water and the wooden mortar and pestle which announced the chemist and apothecary. Even the three balls of the pawnbroker tend to become memories only. Other street signs that indicated occupations and service rather than the name of the owner or proprietor of a store have disappeared from business streets; the striped pole of the barber is now almost alone as the last lingering trade symbol. In Rhode Island a century ago it was otherwise; Henry Cogswell Knight noticed on Main Street, about 1812, "the signs of three leather workers almost contiguous to each other. The first obtrudes upon the eye a saddle, painted upon a swing board; . . . the next soothes the mind with a milk white lambkin, carved and elevated upon a pedestal; . . . the last offers you a couchant reindeer with branching antlers. . . . On the left side an apothecary has perched over his door a purblind owl. . . . Near the market on Cheapside, you espy a purple cluster of grapes suspended over the door of an English goods shop. . . . Across the street and there is nature herself—a lion pounding in a mortar. . . . Cross over the bridge and see what there is upon a pillar near the Post Office: ah! the Turk's Head—as very like the Grand Turk, I am told, as is the statue at India Point bridge like our good old Captain Washington. . . . Cross over into Weybosset Street; . . . when now what think you I see? A neat little carved and gilded rhinoceros, cruelly suspended by his back before the doors of a grocer. You observe near the Post Office . . . a suspended hive of bees . . . above the door of a grocer." The Turk's Head, in stone on the façade of a tall office building, still frowns down upon the traffic policeman at the lower junction of Westminster and Weybosset streets; and the bunch of grapes has marched

up Westminster Street with the steady westward movement of the trading centre from Cheapside to Mathewson Street.

Marked competition in retailing ready-made clothing for men and boys produced ingenious advertising methods in Rhode Island. A firm that opened a large retail clothing store on Westminster Street in Providence, besides entertaining a host of invited guests, including public officers, announced that it would throw from the roof of the building overcoats and suits of clothing for men. On the day appointed the streets in the neighborhood were thronged by men who surged backward and forward in a great mass packing itself tightly into advantageous positions near the walls. Windows and roofs of buildings overlooking the streets were crowded by others, who came to see but not to participate in the scramble. The clothing was thrown as advertised, but little was carried away. As a garment neared the milling crowd it was snatched by outstretched hands, usually several to the garment, which was torn to shreds by rivals for its possession, as each sought to hold what he had and to gain more. A sleeve, the tail of a coat, or one leg of a pair of pantaloons—this was the trophy and the usual reward of diligence. The firm obtained a handsome profit on new business if it sold only the garments necessary to replace those worn by the scimmagers and torn in the struggle, from which many men came away stripped of outer garments or in rags and tatters. The same house later offered a thoroughbred racing horse as a prize for customers, each of whom received a ticket for a drawing. The horse, "Billy D," was shown in one of the store windows, attracting crowds daily. A monster squash was displayed and offered to the customers who guessed the number of seeds. Boy customers were rewarded by most of the Providence clothing merchants, and many boys obtained thus a sled with a winter overcoat, or a bat and baseball with a spring suit of clothes. The sleds were factory made, were painted in bright colors, and were preferred to the clumsy, crude and heavy sleds of home construction. Each boy with his sled became an excellent advertising agent as he displayed the sled to playmates and praised it in the name of the clothier. The bats and balls also were excellent in quality. Besides these staple toys, skates, watches, books, whistles, tops and other things to gladden the heart of youth were given away, and the boy who needed overcoat or suit always knew where he wished Dad to buy it. Eventually boys' clothing could not be sold at all unless the merchant offered a gift; all merchants were giving so that none had advantage, and the practice was stopped by agreement because it was no longer profitable.

The devices in use had demonstrated the value of advertising in building business, and the public newspapers began to reap the reward of recognition of their facilities for carrying the name of a mercantile house far beyond the limit reached by its business signs, and with the name the message which the merchant had for a possible customer. Yet there were some merchants who "believed in signs," as in the instance of a clothing house on Washington Row, which for many years displayed a painted picture of a boy prone in the familiar position for punishment across the parental knee under an upraised slipper, with the legend, "We give the boys fits!" The art of street advertising was in embryo, however, until the introduction of the incandescent electric lamp made night signs possible, and transformed the downtown business section of Providence into a miniature Broadway\* or a reasonably good reproduction of Forty-second Street.\*

Providence was still a one-street city half a century ago, its "main" street called Westminster. It was the night before Christmas, 1885, and a light fall of snow had covered the city with a white blanket. Westminster Street was scarcely lighted; it was dotted with gas street lamps placed at regular intervals. The yellow fish-tail lights cast each a circle of radiance on the snow; beyond was darkness. Shops were open, and their windows giving on the street were lighted by gas, which threw a bright glare on the snow immediately in

\*New York.

front. Late shoppers hastened hither and thither; now and then a horsecar or a sleigh jingled by, the bells making pleasant music. The snow relieved the darkness somewhat which prevailed otherwise in the shadows between the street lamps. The retail district reached along the street from the Great Bridge to the Far West of the Hoppin Homestead building, in which the house of Warren & Wood displayed "a complete line of crockery." All the leading drygoods, clothing, boot and shoe, hat, jewelry, haberdashery, tobacco and other stores faced the main street, except those in the Arcade. Shoppers carried their purchases, large and small, and many resembled Santa Claus with his arms full of bundles; house-to-house delivery was not a part of the standard service rendered by retail merchants; most of the business was done on a cash and carry basis. Good humor prevailed if only because of the holiday with its message of peace and good will. Here and there a group stopped at a street corner to await a horsecar, the latter identified as to line and destination by a colored glass disk placed before an oil lamp. Other prospective passengers walked through cross streets to Weybosset Street, although the lighted Arcade was preferred by most for this purpose, thus to reach horsecars moving from west to east. The car was heated in extremely cold weather by a barrel coal stove at one end, and there was straw on the floor to keep the feet of passengers reasonably warm. This was Providence only forty-five years ago—and Providence, two centuries and a half old, was the second city in New England. Our street corner, and off the horsecar we go into the blackness as we leave the gas or oil lamp at the corner, for the oil lamp with its three string wicks and faint glimmer was still in use on streets not piped for gas. Home at last we gather around the kitchen stove to warm hands and feet. The stockings, awaiting Santa Claus, are hung in front of the old chimney, which has been bricked up since the iron stove replaced the open fireplace. Good children are in bed, and it is time for older children also to nestle deeply in feather beds and draw tightly around them the pile of blankets and comfortables.

DEPARTMENT STORES—The dry goods stores had become department stores by 1885. An announcement relating to the largest in Rhode Island in that year placed "the total area of store and working room" at "nearly two acres." "The business is very extensive and branches wider every year," the account continued. "In its care and maintenance the services of about 300 persons are required. . . . Carpets and upholstery are new departments, comparatively, and are remarkably full and complete." Another store, which had removed to a new location, was described as "fully alive to the changes of fashion and custom that come with the changing years, and . . . prepared to meet the modern demand for all the new productions that are introduced and added to their line of business. The house always carries a full stock of dry goods, in all the regular and staple lines of fabrics, of the best foreign and domestic makes, for the wear of either men or women, together with a select assortment of the best English woolen cloths for gentlemen's garments, cloaks, shawls, fine laces, hosiery, choice upholstery, and a full line of new and popular dry goods in the various departments." Yet another "acquired a wide popularity because it offered a larger variety of fine dress goods, silks and choice prints than that to which the people of Providence had been accustomed." Reconstruction of the front of the building "gave the store the two finest single French plate glass windows in the city. . . . Method is everywhere displayed in the arrangement of the goods, the division of the store into departments, and the management of the force of clerks and messenger boys, so that in the rush of making sales and delivering packages confusion and delay seldom occur." Another announced replacement of "cash boys," or messengers for carrying money to the cashier's desk and returning change, by "the railway system of handling cash." The latter consisted of carrier boxes in the form of hollow wooden balls, which rolled on and between pairs of rails. By an ingenious adjustment of weights the balls, returning,

passed over or tipped gates which permitted them to drop into the home station box, the heaviest ball opening the first gate, and the lightest the last, the others in succession in the descending order of weight. Other systems, introduced later, included boxes forced through tubes by compressed air, and various types of boxes and carriers moved by endless cables. In most stores some form of counter cash register has replaced the cash and change carriers.

The dry goods stores in Providence gradually extended the number of departments, though none ever boasted, as did the proprietor of a metropolitan establishment, that he carried under a single roof every article that a customer might ask for. The following list of sixty-six departments in one of the largest modern stores in Rhode Island is suggestive: Men's clothing, boys' clothing, men's shoes, men's hats, overalls, men's gloves and hosiery, shirts and neckwear, men's underwear and sweaters, trunks and bags, shoe repairs and reglazing, house dresses, women's garments, millinery, ribbons, veiling and corsages, infants' wear, muslin and silk underwear, corsets, umbrellas, women's hosiery, knit underwear, handkerchiefs, floor coverings, furniture and bedding, upholstery and draperies, house furnishings, china and glassware, pianos and player rolls, flannels and washdress goods, linens and bedwear, silks, dress goods, linings, leather goods, patterns, laces and dress trimmings, notions and buttons, toilet articles, pictures, petticoats, stoves and refrigerators, sheet music, boys' furnishings, talking machines, stationery and cameras, women's and children's shoes, optical goods, shoe findings, beauty salon, jewelry and silverware, wall paper, women's neckware, electric washers, sewing machines, bicycles and toys, photograph studio, better dresses, furs, girls' garments, women's sweaters, bathing suits and blouses, art embroidery, auto tires and sundries, radio and accessories, foot service (chiropody), circulating library, lighting fixtures. The house sells almost every article of clothing or ornament worn by men, women, boys, girls and infants; and everything needed to furnish a house and equip it with household machinery. Besides, it carries complete lines of paints and brushes, lawn mowers and garden tools, garden hose, screen doors and window screens, lawn furniture, seeds, evergreen trees and other shrubs, fruit trees and fertilizers. For beautifying those who live in the house it maintains a beauty salon and barber shop (patronized principally by women), and it sells toilet and laundry soaps and powders, razors and shaving soaps and creams, cosmetics, lotions, perfumes, pomades and powders. The salesrooms and offices occupy an entire city block, acquired section by section as the original quarters needed extension; the building is five stories high above the basement. Across one street is another large building used as a warehouse. This store is equipped with an elaborate soda-water fountain; it sells candy in packages and chewing gum, and pipes, but no tobacco. Among departments conducted in rival stores, but omitted in this instance, are restaurant and cafeteria, books and periodicals, boats and canoes and sporting goods. Two grocery stores and meat and produce markets once included in department stores have been separated, and a drug store established in a department store was abandoned after trial.

THE PASSING OF MAIN STREET—Providence continued to be a one-street city, in the sense that the larger mercantile establishments faced Westminster Street, until almost the beginning of the twentieth century. Except the novel advertising devices used by retail clothing merchants in a period in which competition amongst them was keen, business methods were conservative. Department store advertising in Sunday newspapers is comparatively of recent origin, and even "window shopping" on Sundays was not practiced in Rhode Island a few years ago, because shop window curtains were drawn closely from Saturday evening until Monday morning. Merchandising was almost completely different in 1890 in essential practices from merchandising in 1930. The older type of merchant, and the department store in early activity followed the established customs, carried standard lines of goods, and as

stores increased in size beyond the possibility of employing skilled salespeople, introduced the one-price system and seldom changed his prices. A "mark-down" sale was an extraordinary event, to be anticipated by extensive advertising. The merchant depended, as a rule, in offering a complete and varied stock, and a reputation for being able to supply his customers' wants at reasonable prices, as the best methods of attracting buyers and holding their patronage.

A change came about, beginning in the last decade of the nineteenth century, a period during which the United States experienced an almost unprecedented disturbance of economic activities—agricultural, manufacturing, mercantile and financial. Political issues for the time being were almost exclusively economic, acrimonious debating of tariff questions preceding the discussion of bimetallism which culminated in the campaign of 1896. Business failures were unusual in number, and stocks of mercantile establishments and of mills and factories were offered in the market at prices far below standard. The period produced a type of merchant fitted to deal with the situation in a practical way; he was the forerunner of the modern buyer for the department store. His function in the nineties was to purchase bankrupt stocks for cash, or on bank credit, and to dispose of them to the public at price reductions that would stimulate buying. The buyer for the modern department store is always in the market seeking bargains for purchase—the latter to become bargains again when offered for sale. Now he takes the entire stock of a factory at a price concession consistent with the manufacturer's saving of selling costs; occasionally he offers a manufacturer a "dull season" contract, assuring the factory barely an operating profit, and the buyer a stock to be offered to customers at a price so much below standard as to stimulate buying in advance of needs. The buyer must keep his department stocked with standard merchandise for sale at standard prices; he must also provide the stock for advertised "sales." Because the department store is a vast organization, with many employes and large overhead expenses, the buyer must provide salable goods in quantities and of a type so attractive that the process of selling shall be continuous.

The Samuels brothers came to Rhode Island in the nineties, practically unknown and with little of economic resources. They hired a vacant store, and, wanting ordinary store furniture, set up planks on barrels and displayed a stock consisting principally of ready-made clothing for men bought at bankrupt sales. Both were keen merchants and they sold at prices that kept their stock moving rapidly, and gained them a reputation. Their earliest ventures were successful beyond expectation, and they felt encouraged to remain in Rhode Island and to extend their business. They sought permanent quarters and chose a store off Westminster Street, for what they called the Manufacturers' Outlet Company. They advertised in the public press, asserting ability to sell at lower prices because of lower rent. Classes at Brown University at the time discussed this heterodox denial of the teachings of political economy that economic rent cannot affect prices, inasmuch as rent is the money paid for more advantageous location, or, conversely, that low rent measures disadvantage in location. The brothers persisted in business, in spite of the philosophical demonstration that they could not do exactly what they were actually doing. For some reason, which the publishers never disclosed to the general public, newspapers, after a short time, refused to accept for printing the advertising matter offered by the two brothers, even when the price was tendered with the copy. The brothers were constrained to resort to other measures for attracting the attention of customers, and were successful; they even capitalized a question as to why the newspapers refused to sell them space for advertising. They had already demonstrated that the mousetrap philosopher was wiser than John Stuart Mill, by proving that customers will go to a place where a better article for the same price or the same article at a lower price is offered for sale. Their motto was "always more for less." They proved conclusively also that unexplained exclusion from a public advertising medium may be made a most effective type

of advertising. But, for the most part, as alert merchants, the brothers were busy with buying and selling, and building up a patronage and reputation for their store. Curious as it may seem in the telling, Providence people in large numbers went from Westminster Street to Weybosset Street to visit the new store and to make purchases there. This was the beginning of a second important business street in Providence, developed as the two brothers extended their original venture in such manner as to attract thousands daily. Other merchants located on Weybosset Street, the type of store there improved, and shops replaced property that had been used for other purposes. Meanwhile the newspapers had relented, and the brothers became newspaper advertisers on an almost unprecedented scale. They used modern methods of advertising, and of merchandising, and the retail dry goods merchants generally did likewise.

Newspapers increased in the number of pages, as the volume of advertising grew, and the city of Providence awakened to the possibility of extending the business area and its own prosperity by developing new streets. Washington Street, which had been a back street, little frequented by day and less by night because of a not altogether good reputation, was widened and became an important business street. Fountain, Empire and Franklin streets eventually were developed, so that Providence entered the second quarter of the twentieth century with a still compact and convenient business area, which was, however, served by parallel and intersecting streets. The taboo on locating off Westminster Street had been dissipated, and when the selling of automobiles necessitated large salesrooms, extensive floor space for display of models, and broad windows for exhibitions to attract the attention of window shoppers, both Broad Street and Elmwood Avenue became important business streets.

What the future holds for the retail department store is a matter for conjecture. For a time the small shop specializing in a particular line seemed doomed to extinction as the department store proprietor extended his business by taking on new lines; in recent years the number of smaller shops has increased, and the proprietors, by using the intensive methods of advertising and merchandising introduced by department store buyers apparently are conducting prosperous enterprises. Chain stores, national advertising of commodities sold under guaranty of particular quality, and the price regulations imposed by manufacturers—these are factors of recent development which tend to affect the department stores and their business practices.

TRADING CENTRES—Providence, as Rhode Island's most populous municipality and as a centre for an unusually large urban and suburban population, tended to become the trading centre for Rhode Island, much of southeastern Massachusetts and parts of eastern Connecticut. The commercial development of the city at the head of Narragansett Bay was promoted by transportation systems on water and land, the latter including the confluence of steam railways and electric tramways. Within the area inside a line fifty miles from the centre of the city, however, at locations convenient for large groups of people, are other important centres for retail trade, fostered by local tradition and an aspiration to maintain community identity. Thames Street in Newport, once the busiest thoroughfare in Rhode Island, and the old Parade, now known as Washington Square, continue to be the principal business streets in Newport, on which front retail stores and shops, restaurants, banks, theatres, newspaper offices, the Post Office and the Court House. There have been extensions on Franklin Street, Bellevue Avenue, and Broadway, the latter close to the City Hall. Newport, though a centre of population, has not become, as have most large Rhode Island communities, a manufacturing city. Except the enterprises conducted by the United States Government, which gives employment to hundreds of mechanics, Newport has few industrial enterprises. Newport has remained, after the departure of much of the commerce which made it a great seaport, a

popular summer resort, noted for the magnificence of the estates of perennial visitors. Thames Street is as busy, probably, as it ever was, but the atmosphere is different from that which prevailed when Newport grandees superintended the preparation at the wharves of their vessels for voyages, or the unloading and sale of returning cargoes.

Pawtucket, formed by the union of a Rhode Island village with its own extension beyond a narrow river boundary into Massachusetts, though only four miles (between centres) from Providence and actually in contact with the larger city along the political boundary line, has maintained a distinctive existence, in spite of Providence allurements. Directly west and also in contact is the twin city of Central Falls, served by the same railroad station. Main Street and Broad Street, the latter in both cities, are fine business thoroughfares in Pawtucket and Central Falls, lined with shops of every kind. Pawtucket and Central Falls have their own department stores, markets, newspapers, hospitals, and theatres, and the manufacturing enterprises in the combined cities exceed the total in several American states.

Straddling the Blackstone River as the latter crosses the state boundary line is Woonsocket, also a most important manufacturing centre, with a main street lined with shops of all kinds. Woonsocket has its own large department stores, newspapers, theatres and hospital. Its stores serve an urban population within its own limits, and a population living under urban conditions beyond the state border line, as well as the people of villages north and south.

Southwest, separated from Woonsocket by almost the longest distance across which a straight line can be drawn in Rhode Island, lies Westerly. The Westerly Post Office serves also the thriving Connecticut town of Pawcatuck, immediately across the river, and many of the inhabitants of Westerly are employed in factories which have been located in the Connecticut town, as well as in others within its own limits. Westerly is an enterprising community, with fine schools, well-paved streets and a civic centre bordering a beautiful park. It is the natural trading community for a population within and beyond its borders in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and it has fine stores of every type, besides its own newspaper, hospital and theatres.

In the heart of the Pawtucket Valley lies Arctic, sometimes called also "Jericho," the valley metropolis. Arctic is central for a large number of mill villages strung along the winding Pawtucket River, and it has become a trading centre with excellent stores. Other smaller commercial centres serving communities are located at Thames Street, Bristol; Main Street, Warren; Watchemoket Square, East Providence; Broad Street, Valley Falls, Cumberland; Smith Street, Centredale, North Providence; Apponaug, Warwick; Main Street, East Greenwich; Wickford, North Kingstown; Wakefield-Peacedale, South Kingstown. Within the city of Providence are notable community business centres at Olneyville Square, on Atwells Avenue, on Charles Street, at Elmwood, and at Washington Park. The city banks and trust companies have recognized the importance of these business centres in choosing sites for branch banking houses. The increase of fares on trolley cars, and the curtailment of service on railways and tramways no doubt have affected shopping and promoted the interests of home community centres, although the vast increase in the number of automobiles and the development of gasoline driven omnibus service affect the situation in a way that is diametrically opposite. Other factors contributing to the prosperity of city retail stores are the telephone, parcel post and rural free delivery, and the convenient delivery systems maintained by large city stores, extending over an area within a fifty-mile radius.

**RETAIL MARKETS**—The modern grocery store and market, offering for sale every type and kind of food, is of comparatively recent origin. The larger grocery stores and markets in Rhode Island resemble department stores in the dry goods trade as they combine under a single roof and unified administration and management the offerings of what were separate

establishments in the old order. The standard commodities sold in early grocery stores were butter, cheese, sugar, molasses, tea, coffee, spices, crackers, tobacco, and rum. Flour and other cereals were sold by millers rather than by grocers. Vegetables were raised in quantities by consumers in home gardens or rented farm lots, or sold by farmers or produce merchants in barrel or box lots rather than in the small quantities common now. Meat was sold by the butcher, who was a specialist. The fish market was a separate store. Fruit, except winter apples, which were sold by farmers and produce men, was also a specialty. Citrus and other semi-tropical fruits, except dried raisins, dates and figs, were not commonly on sale and prices were also prohibitive. A Yankee sea captain who loaded his vessel home coming with green plantains when no other cargo was available started the prosperous banana trade. Canned goods were introduced long after 1850 and had not been accepted as staple for common use until the last quarter of the century. The public bakery as a source of supply for table bread and later cake and pastry, appeared about 1850, although long before that public bakers had manufactured the hard bread and hardtack crackers which were carried by whalers and other vessels on long voyages. It required years to accomplish the change which has substituted bakery bread for homemade bread generally. The delicatessen, with its offering of cooked foods, is very recent in Rhode Island.

Yet, with the exception of rum, the modern grocery store and market offers all of these and more, if it assumes to carry a complete line. To its butter and cheese department it has added eggs, cream, milk, lard, substitutes for butter and lard, besides supplementing American cheese by cheese from other lands in a dozen to twenty varieties. Its sugar line includes not only the older brown and coffee sugars, but also granulated, powdered, confectioners in several finenesses, cube and other forms of loaf sugar. Its stock of molasses includes old lines of standard syrups identified by the name of the place of origin, besides refined syrups from cane, maple and corn or mixtures; molasses and syrup sold from or by the barrel or keg, and molasses and syrup sold in cans, bottles or jugs. Tea and coffee are offered in classifications identified by color or name of place of origin, as well as in blends and under special trade names, and both are sold in cans and packages. The tea and coffee department offers also, usually, chocolate and cocoa. Spices, whole and ground, are sold by weight in bulk, and also in boxes or shaker or bottle containers convenient for use on table or in the kitchen. The same department may offer also extracts of various flavors, some derived from natural oils, but many also which are synthetic or otherwise artificial; in modern practice the laws require that labels on packages or other containers declare their artificial content. The cracker line was once restricted to hardtack, soda biscuits, lunch, milk and wine crackers, besides the dot oyster used with chowders and stews; the modern cracker department includes a variety of sweetened biscuits almost limitless in number, and approaching classification as confectionery. With tobacco in plug and roll form were sold cigars and snuff, and cigarettes at a later period; some modern markets do not sell tobacco in any form. Rum and all related fermented and distilled alcoholic beverages for consumption on the premises were banished from retail stores and markets under the provisions of legislation regulating sales, although, until prohibition became effective, some markets sold alcoholic beverages in original packages as part of their trade in groceries. The groceries offered in many markets in 1930 included yeast, malt, malt syrups, hops and other commodities which are used extensively in the brewing of homemade fermented beverages, some of which have a larger alcoholic content, both volumetric and gravimetric, than the beers and ales forbidden by the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. In the fruit department of a city market in July, 1930, the offerings included apples, pears, peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, pineapples, grapes of several types, strawberries, blackberries, blueberries, raspberries, gooseberries, bananas, plantains, oranges, lemons, limes, grapefruit, canteloup melons, watermelons, casaba melons, honeydew melons, Persian

melons, prickly pears, pomegranates, nectarines, and ripe figs, besides dried fruit, including raisins, prunes, apricots, apples, pears, citron, dates, figs and currants, and candied ginger, lemon peel and orange peel. Later in the season the grapes would include Concord, Catawba, Niagara and Delaware from northern vineyards, and Malaga, Muscatel and Tokay from warmer climates. The fall trade in sweet grapes of the Tokay variety is heavy, as tons are used in making household wine.

The development of both wholesale and retail trade in food and food substances paralleled the change in the economic and industrial life of Rhode Island. Assuming agriculture as the prevailing industry, the farmer had few food wants that were not satisfied by the products of his own husbandry. The beginning of shipping and commerce, involving long voyages, necessitated provision for food preserved by various processes, including smoking, salting and drying. The inauguration of the factory system, and the rise of a population which did not produce its own food, involved the development of an extensive trade in food and food substances. The grocery and market rose to supply the need, and new lines were introduced gradually. When the mill or other tenement house became the habitation of a majority of Rhode Islanders, when because there were no facilities for home storage food must be brought in relatively small quantities to supply necessity from day to day, and when because most members of the family worked outside the home there was little opportunity for home cooking, successive problems in supplying food were met and solved. The grocer and marketman carried and offered for sale food for those who did not produce food, food in small quantities for those who could not buy and store, and cooked or semi-cooked food for those who could not or would not prepare food at home. Grocers who had no refrigerators or iceboxes added salted, smoked and dried meat and fish to staple lines. Flour, meal and other cereals were introduced as an accommodation for customers who otherwise must visit the miller. The sale of flour by grocers was increased tremendously with the coming of flour from the mills of St. Louis and Minneapolis, and local sales by Rhode Island millers became negligible as Rhode Island stopped raising wheat. Both butchers and grocers offered winter vegetables, and sometimes also fresh vegetables for sale. Occasionally a butcher and a grocer formed a partnership; butchers added groceries to their line of meats, and grocers sold meat in addition to groceries. The idea of the food shop, selling all foods, was gaining ground. Some carried also the line of the baker as an accommodation for customers until the development of the trade indicated profit. Milk and eggs, previously sold by farmers if not raised by the consumers, were added to standard lines for similar reasons. Canned goods were almost welcomed by food merchants because no risk of spoiling attached. Pickles and preserves, soaps and cleaning powders and liquors, clotheslines and clothes pins, pails and tubs, brooms, mops, matches, candy, a few household medicines, pens, pencils and paper, thread and needles, tape and buttons, other small wares and notions, these were only a few of the commodities that might be found in the grocery and market, the merchant in village or small community tending to carry more of the extra lines for the accommodation of customers than the city grocers and marketmen.

Seven significant changes affecting modern food merchandizing have been (1) the introduction of package goods, replacing sales by weight or measure from bulk; (2) health programs emphasizing the need for fresh vegetables and fruit in balanced diets to replace preserved foods or foods devitalized in preparation for market; (3) insistence upon cleanliness in containers, and facilities for handling and dispensing food; (4) cheaper refrigeration, and increasing sales of fresh meats and fish; (5) improved transportation with an increase in the quantity and variety of fresh fruit and vegetables offered for sale; (6) larger sales of cooked food ready for the table including not only bakery products, but also meat and fish in various forms; (7) improvement in the quality and increase in the variety of foods sold in tin, glass

or other sealed containers. The larger groceries and markets are departmentalized, with expert buyers heading departments, watching markets, and, in some instances, advertising "sales" of the type conducted in dry goods stores. The buyers canvass wholesale markets thoroughly, note supplies of food from day to day as determining prices, are alert to opportunities to attract customers by price reductions, and utilize storage warehouses as temporary depositories of goods bought under low price market conditions until such time as they may be sold advantageously. On these buyers rests the responsibility for keeping their houses supplied always with food to meet the requests of retail buyers.

Rhode Island, because only a small quantity of the food necessary to support its large population can be raised within its borders, derives its food supplies from all parts of the world. Rhode Island is a buyer of most foods. The population of Rhode Island is cosmopolitan, and people of recent immigrant origin retain some of their homeland customs, including preferences for food. Older Rhode Islanders, too, as travelers abroad or because of contacts with newcomers, have learned the flavor of foreign foods and cookery. The market offerings of food substances include many lines not found in colonial food shops, and in sections in which immigrant stock predominates the stores cater to the homeland tastes by carrying and displaying the foods sold in foreign countries. A visitor to one of these sections, window shopping or buying, might believe himself transported on a magic carpet to the market quarter of a European city. The development in Rhode Island includes stores and markets, restaurants and bakeries, delicatessen and factories for processing or making food substances. Rhode Island farmers find ready sale for vegetables which are new to New England.

CHAIN STORES—A retail dry goods store, which once claimed to be and was then the largest in Rhode Island, within twenty years after its establishment had become, in 1886, the mother of more than forty dry goods stores established in as many communities smaller than Providence by men who had learned the dry goods business as clerks in the older store. These men and their enterprises had been encouraged by the proprietors of the original establishment; the smaller stores became customers of the larger in its flourishing wholesale business. The system resembled the "chain store" introduced later, except in the detail that the men in charge of the smaller stores were proprietors rather than hired managers or clerks. A New England shoe manufacturer sold a large part of the product of his factories through small stores, the proprietors of which were authorized agents for a limited territory; later he was one of the first shoe manufacturers to establish a shoe store in Providence selling his shoes exclusively. The chain store in the shoe trade has not been uncommon; most shoes sold under the manufacturer's name reach the customers through chain stores. Rhode Island had had several "five-and-ten-cent-stores" before the first extra-state proprietor of a chain of low-priced stores bought out a similar local store in Providence and advertised his customers by wrapping his wares in lurid green paper. The popularity of the store was proved easily by the large number of green bundles seen on the streets and in street cars. The large size of some of the bundles carried from the ten-cent store was an important factor in the psychology at work. A corporation that had sold tea and coffee for many years through salesmen who canvassed from door to door, and which offered premiums as inducements for sales, closed the central retail store which it had maintained on Westminster Street in Providence; within a short time afterward the name of the corporation was observed as applied to scattered smaller stores in large number, offering tea and coffee and standard groceries for sale. The new stores established a reputation for low prices, and achieved a large patronage. They have been extended until they cater to almost every community in Rhode Island, and cover most of the United States. A restaurateur whose initial venture with coffee and doughnuts had been so successful that he had established a chain of lunch rooms in Boston, tried one

venture in Providence; unfortunately for him a more pretentious restaurant promoted by New York capital was opened within a few days almost directly across the street. The New York restaurant was one of a chain which eventually included every large city in the United States and many smaller cities; it survived in Providence, although the Boston experiment was closed for want of patronage.

The immensity of the chain store organization is scarcely realized unless one travels about and finds in almost every city he visits store after store similar in name and in the type of merchandise carried to certain stores in his home city, wares and prices being practically identical. He may eat in a restaurant exactly duplicating the restaurant at home in menu, prices, decorations, furniture, service, dishes and waiters or waitresses, save for faces, and these because of uniform dress tend to lose individuality. His hotel may be one of a chain reproducing similar service in almost every detail except the name of the local newspaper delivered under the door of his room early in the morning with the compliments of the management. He may replace almost any article of wearing apparel by an exact duplicate in size, material and price in a store bearing the same name as the store at home. If he settles down for continued residence he may find the same line of stores purveying food sold in packages identical in detail with those at home. The theatres have the same names from city to city, and in the movies and the talkies the programs are almost identical, first showings being simultaneous in many cities. Radio entertainment is similar because of national broadcasting, except possibly for the voice of the announcer from the local station. In the little city of Springfield, Kentucky, distinguished only because the county courthouse on the main street contains, among other records, the bond filed by Thomas Lincoln when he married Nancy Hanks, a visitor found nothing in stores, on streets or in hotel different from the things in Rhode Island until he saw a long row of buggies drawn up near a church on Sunday while the owners were within. Even the buggy was being replaced by the automobile; the visitor was told that the buggy line was only half as long and the automobile line was twice as long as either had been little more than two years before. The chains include hotels, theatres, restaurants, shoe, clothing, hardware, jewelry, grocery, tobacco, candy, drug, hat, haberdashery, automobile supply and radio supply stores, and possibly and probably others; some chains are national, others sectional or local. The chain, unless it is a completely unified corporation, as many are, under a centralized administration and control, may consist of a number of enterprises using coöperation at a highly developed stage in buying and merchandising. In the thoroughly organized chains, the corporation controls the entire output of factories producing the goods offered for sale, if indeed it does not own and operate the factories as subsidiaries of the major enterprise. The tendency in chain store operation lies in the direction of control or ownership, though trade names and labels may be retained on goods that are popular or have established reputation. In buying other goods than those made by or for the chain corporation, the latter with its immense facilities for converting or selling vast quantities has an advantage over the owner of a single store, large or small. In the operation of the chain system the wholesaler, jobber and other middlemen are excluded; the chain has buying capacity that prompts dealing direct with the factory owner or other producers.

Rhode Island in 1930 in relation to these merchandising problems arising from the development of chain stores is little different from other parts of the United States. A prominent wholesale grocery house organized its own chain of retail stores some years ago, and within five years joined in merging them with another system. Two of the largest jewelry factories in Rhode Island manufacture articles sold exclusively in chain stores. Another Rhode Island manufacturer of a nationally advertised commodity finds his largest customer a corporation operating a chain of stores covering the country. In groceries the chain stores at first were limited to the selling of staple lines of goods which were not subject to deterioration by hold-

ing in stock; eggs, milk, meat, fish, fruit and fresh vegetables have been added in the development of the chain stores. The chain stores as a rule sell only for spot cash, and thus avoid the extension of credit and accumulation of non-collectable accounts which have ruined many retail dealers. The keen competition to which they have subjected other retail merchants has suggested appeals to the General Assembly for legislation regulative of practices and imposing special taxes. Among other advantages accruing to chain stores are the operation of general average laws, which tend in a broad field to relieve and offset the effect of disturbing conditions in a particular place or section. Few chain stores, as an instance, carry insurance on the stock in trade or the building occupied. Assuming general average laws in operation, the number of chain stores destroyed by fire in any year would equal, with scattering of risks, only the number on which an insurance company based its estimate in computing premium charges. The chain store company, experiencing only average losses, earns by not insuring, the normal profit accruing to the insurance company; or by setting aside the normal insurance premiums in its own treasury, the company can pay its own losses from its own insurance reserve fund and realize a profit. The largest profits accrue, however, from vast buying power and all the accompanying advantages thereof, and vast selling power in a field so broad that local or sectional market variations are easily overcome.

The chain store in the grocery and market trade has solved problems in transportation and distribution as part of its work of supplying scattered stores with merchandise. The corporation maintains storage warehouses at central locations and plans rail shipments to these in carload lots to reduce freight charges to minima. From the warehouses distribution to stores is made in trucks on requisitions of the managers in charge. Bread, of which vast quantities are sold, is baked in centrally located bakeries and distributed to local stores by trucks traveling on established routes. Store managers are supplied with price lists weekly, and prices are uniform in the chain stores within areas. Stores are inspected frequently by traveling district supervisors, and stock is checked and accounts are audited at regular intervals, and sometimes without notice, the latter to assure consistent management at all times. To facilitate inspection and other checking the interior arrangement of chain stores conforms to general plans for displaying goods, location of shelves and goods on shelves, counters, scales, coffee grinder, cash register, refrigerator, etc., to the extent that a picture of one serves as a satisfactory picture of every other one in the chain, and a manager or clerk may be transferred from one to another without the embarrassment of "learning the stock." If he knows where an article of furniture or a commodity for sale is kept in one, he can go to the same place in another and find the same thing there. The chain store, as a rule, does not deliver goods for customers, and it does not maintain telephone service to accommodate them in placing orders. In spite of ignoring these conveniences and refusing the book account credit, which is offered freely by many other proprietors, the chain store thrives on a cash and carry basis.

COÖPERATIVE ENTERPRISES--Coöperative stores, conducted primarily for the resale to members of coöperative societies of goods purchased in wholesale quantities, with prices lower than those prevailing in retail trade or with rebate payments of earnings have been successful on a small scale, or when conducted for groups consisting of employes of large corporations or of others having a positive common interest otherwise. An attempt to establish a monster coöperative association, with operations based upon the issue of trading stamps or premium checks with purchases, brought rival associations into the field and developed a competition which destroyed the possibility of advantage. The General Assembly was appealed to, and in 1899\* enacted a statute which forbade the giving of trading stamps or premium checks. An arrest was made for violation of the statute, and the case was carried to the Supreme Court,

\*Chapter 652, Public Laws, 1899.

which held that the statute was unconstitutional because it violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty or property without due process of law," and article I, section 10, of the Constitution of Rhode Island, which protects "life, liberty and property." The court declared that "it is within the constitutional rights of an individual to sell his goods and as an inducement to people to trade with him to give to a purchaser directly or through a third party some other designated article of value as a premium."† The General Assembly subsequently enacted a statute declaring the trading stamp or premium plan of promoting sales as of the nature of lotteries if the premium offered were an "indefinite or undescribed article."‡ Thereafter trading stamps and premium coupons were issued with redemption value stated, but the business had been curtailed and was abandoned by most merchants, because of the demonstration of futility when no one had advantage.

**COAL TRADE**—Coal was imported from England so early as 1819, and from Nova Scotia in 1831. Five years later, in 1836, coal was "discovered" under Providence, and mining operations were planned until borings disclosed that the deposit was not thick enough to repay the investment. Graphite and shale deposits, both resembling coal, have been uncovered in several parts of Rhode Island; geological formations indicate that coal beds underly considerable areas. Coal has been mined in Cranston and Portsmouth. Rhode Island coal burns and emits heat from combustion, but it does not ignite so readily as most commercial anthracite, and has not sold well in competition with other coal because of the special attention required for successful use. One of the earliest merchants who undertook a regular trade in coal began his business by selling the cargo of a small schooner in 1843. The coal trade was stimulated by the extension of manufacturing and the building of steam plants to develop power. Coal came into common use as a domestic fuel because of advantages over wood for keeping fires without constant attention. The coal brought to Providence in 1856 amounted to almost 200,000 tons; in 1870 the trade had grown to 500,000 tons, and in 1878 it approached 1,000,000 tons. Not all the coal landed at the head of Narragansett Bay from a large fleet of carrying vessels was used in the city; the waters of the bay had been chosen as the natural southern gateway to New England, and coal was shipped from tidewater on the railways converging at Providence. As part of the development, the Wilkesbarre pier was built from the East Providence shore opposite Fort Hill, and connected by spur track with the railroads leading toward Boston and Worcester. At the pier the coal was hoisted from the holds of vessels into pockets, and from the pockets poured through chutes into railway gondolas standing on the tracks beneath the pockets. The pockets were destroyed by fire in 1930, and replaced by modern equipment. Two-thirds of the coal unloaded at Providence in 1878 was for transportation elsewhere; five-eighths of the coal burned in Rhode Island at that time was consumed in steam power plants. The earliest carriers were sailing vessels of small tonnage; as the trade developed, large schooners, some with six masts, were built for the coal traffic. Fleets of barges, some converted hulks of old sailing vessels, and others constructed for carrying coal, were also employed, being towed by powerful steam tugboats. Eventually large cargo vessels driven by steam entered the trade. An estimate placed the average consumption of coal for domestic heating at one ton per person annually.

In addition, Rhode Island factories used immense quantities of coal for power. The earliest manufacture of illuminating gas was by distilling coal; and the production of electricity by transforming steam power into current required coal for making steam. The amount of coal consumed annually by public service corporations is large, in spite of changes in the process of manufacturing gas, economy in making electricity, and the distribution of hydro-

†*State vs. Dalton*, 22 R. I. 77.

‡Chapter 847, Public Laws, 1901; Chapter 401, General Laws, 1923.

electric power brought to Rhode Island from generating plants in other states. The substitution of electric current for steam power plants in factories resulted in economy in the consumption of bituminous coal. In the domestic field of house heating, however, Rhode Islanders have only recently begun the substitution of central heating plants for separate family furnaces, the change as yet being incidental to the introduction of serviced apartments. The volume of coal, principally anthracite, used as house fuel continued to increase steadily with growth of population. The delivery from water front coal pockets to homes was by carts drawn by horses. The pride of coal merchants was displayed in the use of teams of matched horses in beauty rivalling teams drawing brewery wagons.

The domestic coal trade attained almost the apex of prosperity at the turn of the century. The strike in the anthracite coal fields in 1902, while not disastrous to the Rhode Island trade in house fuel, was embarrassing because of higher prices for domestic fuel which persisted after the strike had been settled, because of economy in the use of anthracite coal learned by some only under the stress of strike conditions, and because of the introduction of substitutes for coal and a receptiveness for such substitutes on the part of many who had felt the coal shortage in the winter of 1902-1903. A second strike in the anthracite field, higher prices for anthracite coal in the sizes preferred by consumers, enforced restriction of the use of anthracite coal during the World War, and the introduction and improvement of devices for using crude petroleum as house fuel have contributed to restrict continued growth of the trade in anthracite. Prices have attained a level which permits the importation of Welsh coal for sale at a profit. Other changes affecting the trade have been the transportation of more coal from Pennsylvania fields by all-rail routes direct from mine to pocket, thus reducing the volume brought by water into Narragansett Bay; the location of coal yards with reference to railroad rather than tidewater; the substitution of automobile trucks for horse-drawn carts in house delivery. The coal horse departed with the fire horse and the brewery horse. The decrease in the number of schooners and barges engaged in the coal carrying trade is offset by the large carrying capacity of the steam vessels in use; the decrease in water borne tonnage is balanced by increase in all-rail carriage. The coal trade is mighty in its proportions in 1930, the factors most effective in restricting it being hydro-electric power and the use of petroleum as fuel. The coal brought to Narragansett Bay by water in 1925 weighed 768,000 tons.

**PETROLEUM**—As Narragansett Bay was the central distributing port for the coal trade of southern New England, it is now the largest oil port in New England, the volume brought in by water routes reaching 175,000,000 gallons annually. The larger American companies have obtained wharf sites and docking rights on both sides of the Providence River, in East Providence and in Providence above Field's Point, and tanks are conspicuous in size and number. One company has built a refining plant on a broad strip of land reaching across East Providence from tidewater almost to the border. In consequence of the oil development, East Providence has been the fastest growing town in Rhode Island recently. Petroleum is brought to Rhode Island directly from Texan and Mexican ports in great steel ships, and the methods of pumping from the hold of the vessel to the tanks ashore include the most modern devices. Some of the oil is distributed over the New England area in oil tank railway cars, which are loaded from the shore tanks. Oil and gasoline are shipped by water in gasoline-driven tank boats to other Rhode Island ports. Allotments are distributed by fleets of tank trucks, some of which deliver crude oil for use as domestic fuel, and more carry gasoline to the filling station trade.

The filling station is a twentieth century institution; there were none in the nineteenth century. The few automobiles operated by gasoline engines before 1901 were supplied with fuel by garages, a very few of which had replaced public livery stables. The latter passed

with the horse and carriage, and the replacement of most animal-drawn vehicles by motorized wagons and carriages. The filling station became almost a public necessity, and the development kept pace with the increase in the number of automobiles. The volume of the trade is indicated by the rental and tax values of the property taken for filling stations, the investment in tanks and other equipment, and the money spent to make the stations attractive architecturally and in setting. Filling stations occupy prominent corners in cities and towns and stretch in endless lines along the state highways. The state tax on gasoline sold for use in motor vehicles yields an annual revenue which is an important source of money for building new roads and maintaining highways already constructed.

Besides unrefined oil for fuel, and gasoline for internal combustion engines, the oil companies sell lubricating oils and greases, kerosene, naphtha, benzine, and other petroleum products, the by-products including a long list of commodities and compounds rivalling the coal tar series. The extent of the petroleum trade in Rhode Island more than compensates for the suggestion of loss in the coal trade. As a matter of fact, one of the large carriers in either line may have the cargo capacity of up to 100 of the small sailing vessels which formerly traveled in and out of Narragansett Bay in fleets. Besides that, the large steel ship travels on a schedule almost as regular as that of a well-conducted railroad, whereas the sailing vessel was the toy of wind and current. The ship, deep laden with full tanks, arrives in the morning, is unloaded quickly by the great pumper lines extending out to the ends of wharves, and is away again early in the evening with tanks filled with water ballast. At the loading end the facilities for filling tanks are equally efficient, and the great vessel swings between ports like a pendulum, steadily providing a connecting link between discharging pipe lines in the Far South and receiving pipe lines on Narragansett Bay. Thus also is the distribution of petroleum arranged in Rhode Island; the shore tanks are temporary reservoirs rather than storage places. Oil and gasoline move out in an almost unbroken stream through daylight hours as one vehicle replaces another under the discharging pipes. Great underground tanks are filled from the tank trucks; thence the measuring pump supplies the automobile tank. The chain organization prevails in the filling station business to the extent that many stations are owned or controlled by corporations selling one company products. Other stations, catering to a variety of preferences, carry several lines in stock, the colors of pumps, different for easy distinction of the specific gasoline, adding picturesqueness to surroundings. Color is an element in chain store organization which is emphasized, and the oil companies have adopted the same principle.

**RUM AND PROHIBITION**—That Roger Williams would write the “rule of reason” into even a prohibitory statute is proved by his plea for the privilege of selling to Indians small quantities of ardent spirits for use as medicine. Not all by any means, but considerable, nevertheless, of the wealth accumulated in Rhode Island in colonial days accrued from the business of distilling molasses into rum. The manufacture of rum declined with the restriction and suppression of the slave traffic, with which it had been associated as one process in the triangular trade with the three corners resting in Rhode Island, Africa and the West Indies. John Brown’s development of India Point in Providence included a distillery. The vessels engaged in the profitable trade with the Far East carried distilled spirits as exports, and included them in incoming cargoes. Asa Blanchard owned the last Rhode Island distillery of the old régime, and closed it in 1874; it was located at Traverse and India streets in Providence. Rhode Island distilleries had produced rum and gin. Extravagant relations of the extent of the distilling industry in Rhode Island picture the shores of Narragansett Bay as lined with distilleries, neglecting the facts of investment in buildings, equipment, stock in process, and credit, all of which would tend to restrict the number of plants operated on a

commercial basis. Home brewed beer was as common in Rhode Island as might be expected among people whose ancestors were of European extraction. The rise of a brewing industry apart from the home was indicated by the leasing of the cellar of the old State House at Newport for trial of a project to manufacture bottled beer for export. Holmes & Company of Providence and W. Hill & Son of Newport brewed and sold malt liquors before 1850.

The first of the modern breweries in Rhode Island was built on the site on Jackson Street, Providence, formerly occupied by the Holmes brewery. Others were erected, and by 1900 Rhode Island was served by the product of half a dozen large breweries, additional to the malt liquors brought in from other states. The brewing industry suffered a reverse for a short time during the period of constitutional prohibition in Rhode Island, 1886 to 1889, but recovered promptly, even before the repeal of the amendment. The breweries during the interval had manufactured and sold ales with reduced alcoholic content. Much the same expedient was resorted to after the inauguration in 1920 of national prohibition under the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. But the brewing industry has declined in the ten years of prohibition so much that plants once held intact for resumption have been dismantled or converted for other purposes.

Related to the brewing industries were hundreds of retail shops for dispensing the product, operating under license laws, all of which were closed as liquor saloons in 1920. Before that the public saloon had been banished from many towns by adverse referenda, and even in cities public opinion rigidly adverse to abuses in the traffic in alcoholic beverages had excluded saloons from the principal business streets. Along with other agencies formulating opposition to public drinking, the public schools for more than a quarter of a century had given instruction in physiology and hygiene with emphasis upon the effect of alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs upon the human system.

In colonial Rhode Island the prototype of the licensed saloon was the public tavern, catering to needs for food and drink. The liquor saloon emerged from the tavern as a separate institution, offering food free and, as a rule, only as an inducement to drink. Suppression of "free lunches" in saloons was one of the measures used to restrict intemperance even before constitutional prohibition. The restaurant, offering food without alcoholic liquor, emerged from the tavern through the restrictive operation of liquor license laws. While most hotels and a few restaurants operated under tavern licenses and continued to serve both food and liquor as licensed retailers, most of the restaurants in Rhode Island by 1900 served no liquor even with meals.

RESTAURANTS—Long before prohibition became constitutional in 1920 the restaurant and the liquor saloon had become distinct and separate institutions. The oyster and fish restaurants, famous in their day and well-known the country over because of the tales told by travelers who had eaten oysters or clams in Rhode Island, have disappeared almost without notice, for most of them were hidden away on narrow streets known only to the elect. The development of the restaurants of Rhode Island has been most marked during the past thirty years, and coincides with changes in the economic life of the state. The concentration of mercantile, financial, manufacturing and other establishments in city centres brings to the downtown sections thousands daily; to these the new restaurants and cafeterias cater. The self-service cafeteria particularly adapts itself to the feeding of large numbers in the shortest possible time, and hurry is the characteristic of city life even in the midday lunch period. Besides the food shops operating exclusively as restaurants and cafeterias, drug stores, department stores, groceries and bakeries operate "lunch counters," to which thousands resort for food and refreshment. The present has been characterized as the sandwich era in America,

the sandwich rising from the plebeian ham and bread to the aristocratic skyscraper club sandwich of many storied height and elaborate construction. The lunchrooms of all sorts are busiest at the noon-hours; there are some that serve neither breakfast nor the late afternoon meal, called either dinner or supper, and others that close early in the evening.

The beginning of a distinct night lunch service in Rhode Island was made by Walter Scott, who carried a basket of sandwiches and a pail of hot coffee into a newspaper office, so early as 1858. The venture was successful immediately, and Scott for his long life afterward was a tradition and institution among newspapermen. With the passage of time the newspaper provided a lunchroom for its employes, but Scott was the caterer. Extending the service Scott operated the first night lunch cart "in the world," he was wont to assert, and the assertion was probably accurate. The cart at first was only a covered wagon drawn up to the curbstone at a convenient street corner, and the customers ate while standing on the sidewalk the sandwiches and coffee served through a window. In later development this Rhode Island itinerant restaurant was enlarged, and steps and a door were provided, so that the diner might enter and eat within. The cart was drawn to its station early in the evening, and withdrawn early in the morning. The night lunch cart had much to do with establishing the popularity in Rhode Island of the frankfurter. In the evolution of the night lunch cart, discarded horsecars were used. Even later the elaborate night lunch cart of city streets became the model for the "diner," which was substantially a more elaborate lunch cart occupying a permanent location. Roadside diners, elaborate restaurants built in such manner that the exterior resembles the lunch cart of yesteryears, have become familiar along state highways, catering to the crowds traveling by automobile.

Back in the busy centre, through all the hours of business, one finds restaurants and cafeterias, lunch counters and soda water fountains busy catering to those who eat and drink, in an unending procession. The service is rapid, the food is usually good and some of it is excellent. The enforcement of health and sanitary regulations is a reasonable assurance of cleanliness. There is, however, a monotonous similarity in the daily offering, due in part to the thorough organization of the modern mass service, which extends even to the operation of restaurants, and due also to chain store methods in supplying certain standard types of food for lunch rooms. If one craves a different meal, one into which a friendly chef throws the sauce of individuality, there are still a few places, like the old restaurants, known to the elect.

THE MODERN CITY-STATE—Rhode Island is a city-state in the sense that so large a proportion of the population, more than in any other commonwealth, resides in cities or compact communities enjoying the service that is typical of urban life—that is to say, running water, gas, electric light, telephone, drainage for house waste, paved streets, graded schools, police and fire protection, health supervision and public transportation. The business of catering, through retail trade, to the wants of a population averaging over six hundred to the square mile necessitates the thousands of shops, large and small, that line main thoroughfares. Old Town Street in Providence, now North Main and South Main streets, is practically two rows of shops, counting both sides, each almost six miles long, with only occasionally an interloping dwelling. Westminster Street from the great bridge is a business thoroughfare for five miles westward into and through Olneyville Square. Weybosset Street and the Broad Street and Elmwood Avenue extensions reach on for other miles. The shop streets include Smith, Atwell's Avenue, Broadway, Charles and Cranston to mention only a few others in Providence. In other Rhode Island cities similar conditions prevail, and the same is true of compact town centres. Rows of shops replace dwellings on main arteries of travel; occasionally a dwelling is raised from its old foundation to crown a row of shops at street level. Houses

on corners chosen for filling stations are demolished. For residence purposes quieter streets are chosen, and zoning legislation has been enacted to protect these from the invasion of business. The automobile, replacing the electric tramway, has taken up the problems of distributing population, pushed out from the cities, over the countryside. The small shop follows, catering to the convenience of those whose migration out has produced a new population centre. And thus Rhode Island maintains the quaint appearance of frame houses occupying fair-sized plots of land with an abundance of trees, whereas city life elsewhere too often has involved close building of multiple houses.

The business of providing food and other necessities for so many people is serious. It begins early in the morning, before daybreak, as hundreds of men with carts and horses, usually, distribute milk in bottles at the doors of residences, and milk in boxes of bottles at the entrances to retail stores. Bakery wagons, some huge trucks, deposit boxes of bread, and produce carts boxes and barrels at the doors of groceries and markets. When the store proprietor arrives he finds much to be moved within in the intervals between supplying early customers. Deliveries at homes continue through the day, between the time when the newsboy compresses the morning paper between the knob and frame of the door and the time when another boy leaves an evening paper. The grocery and market wagon is a daily caller, with the basket of provisions ordered in large part by telephone. The laundryman, the iceman, the coalman or oilman, the woodman and the man who removes ashes, tin cans and other rubbish and waste, the man who trims the lawn, the gas meter reader, the man who reads the electric meter, perhaps the water meter reader, besides the postman once, twice, thrice daily, all these come and go. Then come the pack peddlers, truck peddlers, fruit peddlers, the solicitors for magazines and periodicals, the demonstrators of new machines and appliances, the brushman, the salesmen of various types, the collectors for charity, the ticket sellers and the ordinary beggars.

Milady housekeeper has a busy day if she gives attention to all who call on pretext or errand and yet finds time for housework and cooking, and an afternoon for shopping, charity or recreation. Sometimes she forgets that many of these who call and take her time are engaged seriously in the business of making lighter for her the load of responsibility for the care of a modern house. Of these the grocer and butcher and other purveyors of food assume most, for on them rests the obligation of solving the food problems for the population—of bringing to the state food enough in quantity, variety and quality to feed nearly 700,000 people.

The five other New England states are tributary to Rhode Island in the production of milk, besides the quantities of condensed and evaporated milk that are consumed in Rhode Island and derived from far western sources. Carloads of beef, mutton, pork, poultry, eggs and butter are needed daily, with facilities for storage to equalize receipt and distribution. Canned provisions in trainloads, and fruit and produce pour in, are distributed to warehouses and commission merchants, and thence to stores and eventually to homes. And as it is with food, so also with many other commodities. Rhode Island manufactures some lines for the world, but, as Rhode Island has chosen because of the advantages of her environment and the skill of her denizens to make and sell, Rhode Island must buy the things that are not produced.

**OTHER MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS**—Besides the department stores and markets, Rhode Island has many large mercantile establishments specializing in men's clothing, hats, and furnishings; women's clothing, millinery and furnishings; shoes for men, women and children; furniture and house furnishings; hardware, tools and machinery; drugs and medicines; electrical machinery, equipment, fixtures, and appliances; hardware, tools and machinery; farm implements, tools, machinery and supplies; paints, lumber, cement, mason's materials, carpenters' fittings; musical instruments and sheet music; books, periodicals and sta-

tionery; rubber goods; automobiles and automobile accessories; radio and radio supplies. The persons employed as managers, salesmen and clerks in retail stores selling food and food substances, clothing, dry goods of all kinds, furniture and furnishings, hardware and tools, drugs and medicines, and large and small stores specializing in particular lines; the bakers, chefs, cooks, waiters, counter men and other attendants and helpers in bakeries, restaurants, cafeterias, delicatessen and other establishments cooking and vending food; the drivers of trucks and other delivery wagons engaged in the delivery of goods sold and distributed in wholesale and retail trade; the men employed in the delivery of milk, ice and fuel, and the hucksters selling produce, fruit, ice cream, fish, spring water, carbonated beverages, bakery products, and other commodities from door to door; the bookkeepers and accountants, buyers, sales supervisors, floor men, personnel managers, advertisement writers and publicity agents, credit men and claim adjusters, and others, including store detectives and watchmen, janitors and warehouse men, number thousands, and the payrolls of salaries, commissions and wages amount to millions annually. Besides catering to the wants of Rhode Islanders, these men handle a great volume of commodities, the ultimate consumers of which reside in others of the New England states.

When Jabez Gorham packed the product of his small factory and silver foundry in a case, and went with it to exhibit and sell the contents to merchants, he inaugurated the practice of selling by drummers showing samples which has been one of the methods used by Rhode Island manufacturers for over a century, particularly in the jewelry trade, but also in others. The regular season in business is anticipated months in advance by the preparation of samples, and several Rhode Island houses are engaged principally in the manufacture of cases for showing samples to advantage. The drummer carries the sample line far and wide over an extended area, displaying samples and booking orders; the measure of a successful season is the order list, because that indicates assured patronage. In textiles some goods are sold by samples, also, but the bulk of the Rhode Island product has been sold through agents operating in New York, and selling from headquarters there the entire output of factories. In other lines Rhode Island manufacturers use both selling methods.

In purchasing supplies of raw material, particularly cotton, Rhode Island manufacturers formerly sent agents through the Southern States to cities which were central cotton markets, and even to large plantations, to buy directly from primary commission merchants or planters. Methods of selling have changed, and cotton, ore and other commodities in modern times are purchased through brokers. Through the genius of merchants and salesmen markets for Rhode Island products have been found; other merchants and salesmen have found outside Rhode Island things that are needed here. In and out of Narragansett Bay the merchant group pour the merchandise which in their hands yields golden profits, and both the merchants who operate intrastate retail and wholesale marketing, and the other merchants who operate in interstate and international trade, have helped to make Narragansett Bay the Southern Gateway of New England.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

### RHODE ISLAND PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.



AS the nineteenth rolled into the twentieth century, Rhode Island was maintaining a complete and modern system of free public schools, reaching into every town and city, and enrolling 70,000 pupils, for whom 72,000 seats had been provided in 538 buildings. The value of school sites was estimated at \$5,500,000. Two thousand teachers were employed. Tuition and textbooks were furnished free to pupils at public expense; the total expenditures for public education were \$1,625,000 annually. Children of school age were compelled to attend some school approved by public school agents; in addition to the 70,000 in public schools, 13,400 were reported as enrolled in Catholic schools and 1150 in select schools. Nineteen high schools reported nearly 4000 pupils. Evening schools and free public libraries supplemented the day public schools. There were, besides, special opportunities for persons deprived of one or more sensory capacities. While the district system of administration and support persisted in half the towns, it was soon to be abolished (1904). Rhode Island was also soon to repeat (1905), by seeking as commissioner the chief educational officer from another state, what had been done in 1843, when Henry Barnard was called from Connecticut to Rhode Island. The new century witnessed (1) the extension of educational opportunities for defective classes; (2) additional provision for secondary and higher education; and (3) improvement of the entire public school system.

**SPECIAL SCHOOLS**—Rhode Island provides maintenance and care for blind children, institutional instruction for blind, deaf, dumb, indigent and imbecile children, instruction for the adult blind in their homes, and rehabilitation for persons incapacitated by accident or disease. The General Assembly, in 1836, directed town clerks to report the number, age, sex and pecuniary condition of deaf and dumb persons, and the extent of their education. In 1845, an annual appropriation of \$1500 was provided "for the education . . . of the indigent deaf-mutes . . . and . . . of the indigent blind . . ." The appropriation was increased subsequently, and in 1893, "the duty and responsibility of supervising the education of all such beneficiaries" were vested in the Board of Education.

A day school for the instruction of deaf-mutes by the lip-reading method was opened in Providence in 1877. The Governor, who promoted the venture, appointed five beneficiaries of the state appropriation for the education of the deaf as state scholars. The number of pupils grew gradually; in 1882 the school was reorganized as a state institution. Ten years later a permanent home for the school was built on Hope Street in Providence, and it was reorganized as the Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, and placed under control of a board of trustees. The name was changed to Rhode Island School for the Deaf in 1926. Attendance was made compulsory in 1898 for children between the ages of seven and eighteen years whose "hearing or speech, or both, are so defective as to make it inexpedient or impracticable to attend the public schools to advantage, not being mentally or otherwise incapable." Children three to twenty years of age are received at the school, the primary object of which is "to furnish to the deaf children of the state oral instruction and the best known facilities for the enjoyment of such a share of the benefits of the system of free public education as their afflicted condition will admit of."

The General Assembly, in 1907, made provision for a home and school for the feeble-minded, under the management and control of the State Board of Education. The institution

is located at Exeter. It provides instruction and education for feeble-minded persons within school age who are capable of being benefited by school instruction, and custodial care for feeble-minded persons beyond school age or who are not capable of being benefited by school instruction. The school is for idiots and imbeciles and other persons of decidedly low-grade mentality; its work should not be confused with that done for atypical or backward children in public elementary schools. The name of the institution was changed from Rhode Island School for the Feeble-Minded to Exeter School in 1916. The State Board of Education, on its own request, and suggestion that the work was principally institutional rather than educational, was relieved in 1917 of responsibility for the further care and management of the Exeter School, and the institution was entrusted to the then newly created Penal and Charitable Commission, which subsequently was reorganized as the Public Welfare Commission.

Rhode Island has not established a school or other institution for the blind, although public provision for the blind begins with the babe and reaches to the adult. Babies, that is, children not ready for school, whether born blind or becoming blind in infancy, may be placed by the State Board of Education in suitable institutions; for this purpose recourse is had to the Arthur Home for Blind Babies at Summit, New Jersey. For blind children of school age, education may be provided at state expense at suitable institutions; most are sent to Perkins Institution, a few to Hartford. For over twenty years, from 1908-1930, the Board of Education employed traveling teachers to visit the adult blind and instruct them in their homes. Two teachers travel thousands of miles annually to all parts of Rhode Island, teaching the blind reading and writing, usually by the Braille system, and also occupations, including sewing, knitting, tatting, crocheting, cane and rush seating, etc. Under the auspices of the board two or more sales of articles made by the blind were conducted annually, and the entire proceeds were paid to the blind. The teachers employed in 1930 were themselves both blind. Supervision of education of the adult blind was transferred in 1930 from the State Board of Education to a newly created Bureau for the Blind.

Rehabilitation may be defined as the reëducation or physical reconstruction of a person who by reason of injury or disease has become incapacitated for his customary vocation, whereby the person may be returned to self-supporting employment. The General Assembly in 1918 made provision for rehabilitation of crippled victims of industrial accidents by education or artificial limbs, or both. The United States entered the field of civilian rehabilitation in 1920, and Rhode Island at the same time that it undertook coöperation with the federal government in rehabilitation on the basis of an even sharing of expenditures, broadened its own legislation to correspond with the federal statute. Under state and federal legislation, rehabilitation is offered to victims of any type of accident, and to persons disabled by disease, whether congenital or acquired. Only persons of extreme age, paralytics, insane, epileptics, and those whose condition otherwise indicates no possibility of successful rehabilitation are excluded. Under the Rhode Island practice reëducation or retraining may be provided in any school or other institution of learning, or in any shop with suitable equipment, or by special instructors or tutors. The state is generous in providing artificial limbs or other prosthetic appliances, usually assuming the entire expenditure as a joint state-federal contribution to assist the injured person. Rehabilitation is not considered successful and satisfactory unless and until the person has been restored to employment under wage and other conditions that at least equal those prevailing at the time of disability. The service is conducted by a director employed by the State Board for Vocational Education, which is the responsible state agency.

On recommendation of the State Board of Education and the Commissioner the General Assembly in 1883 authorized the organization of the State Home and School for indigent children, which was opened in Providence two years later. The original board of control was abolished in 1917, when the school was assigned to the Penal and Charitable Commission, later

the State Public Welfare Commission. The school receives such children as are declared vagrant, neglected and dependent on the public for support, over four and under sixteen years of age, who are in suitable condition of mind and body to be instructed. Children under four may be admitted for exceptional reasons, and children once admitted may remain in the institution until they are twenty-one years old, unless otherwise ordered. Children of unsound mind are excluded. The object of the school is to "provide for neglected and dependent children, not recognized as vicious or criminal, such influences as will lead toward an honest, intelligent and self-supporting manhood and womanhood, the state so far as possible holding to them the parental relation." The children may be placed out in private families, which undertake to care for them and to provide for their education in public schools. In recent years the placing out system has been extended, with the general purpose of substituting private home custody and care so far as possible for institutional care. In recognition of the desirability of environmental conditions so nearly as possible corresponding to those outside the institution, children resident at the home are sent to neighboring public schools.

Providence Reform School was established in October, 1850, in compliance with the request in a petition presented to the city council in 1847 by the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, and under authorization by the General Assembly, for "the confinement, instruction and reformation of juvenile offenders and of young persons of idle, vicious, or vagrant habits." The school was located in the Tockwotton House, Providence, which previously had been a hotel. The reform school received by commitment persons less than eighteen years of age convicted of offences in the courts, and might receive also persons over five years of age upon request of parent or guardian. The Reform School was a Providence institution, owned by the city and administered by a board of trustees elected by the city council; it received persons by commitment from other towns and cities under an agreement for reimbursement by the state for these. The Reform School was investigated at the close of the Civil War on charges that inmates had been persuaded to enlist in the Union army, and that bounties and hand money paid on account of enlistments had been misappropriated; the charges of misappropriation were not sustained. Again, in 1868, the Reform School was investigated on charges (1) that vices against chastity, decency and good morals prevailed in the school, and that children left it more corrupt than when they entered; (2) that teachers used immodest and disgusting language in the presence of pupils; (3) that cruel methods of punishment, including flogging, were employed; (4) that girls were stripped and lashed, and taken from bed during the night and beaten in nightdress; (5) that names of children were changed, to prevent identification by their parents; (6) that children were apprenticed in remote sections of the country, to separate them from their parents; (7) that public property at the school had been misappropriated, and (8) "that a spirit of proselytism and of religious intolerance has prevailed in the school, as is shown by the fact that children of different creeds are compelled to attend a form of worship which is contrary to the conscientious convictions of a large majority of them, which is directly in conflict with the spirit of our state constitution, which insures to the inhabitants thereof the liberty of conscience in the following language: 'No man shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place or ministry whatever except in fulfilment of his own voluntary contract,' and that the children of said school are denied the use of books and all religious instruction in the religion of their choice." Major Doyle vetoed a resolution to authorize a select committee to hear the parties for the reason that the council had no power to delegate its own authority in the matter. The hearing proceeded before the Board of Aldermen, beginning December 2, 1868. The testimony of witnesses, with the arguments of counsel, and decision of the Board of Aldermen, taken down at the trial in shorthand, make 1450 pages of a printed report. The Mayor and one alderman, both being trustees of the Reform School, refused to participate in the decision. Five of ten aldermen agreed that two instances of immoral practices by

officers had been proved, but that the offenders had been dismissed; that other charges, except the eighth, had not been sustained; and as to the eighth: "No sectarianism has been permitted in the school. Clergymen of all denominations have been invited to address the school on the Sabbath, and on other occasions, and have been treated in the same manner. No evidence sufficient to satisfy the committee was offered to show that any attempt has ever been made in the institution to proselyte or convert any pupil from one religious faith to another." One alderman agreed with the majority generally, but with reference to the eighth charge said: "In the election of trustees to the Reform School, whenever a vacancy has occurred, the undersigned, since he has been a member of the city council, has always advocated the propriety of selecting one trustee from each of the larger denominations, as likely to prove more satisfactory to the community; and the recent investigation has fully confirmed him in the opinion that it would be a decided gain to the institution, if this plan was adopted." Another held that the superintendent's answer to the effect that he would, upon request of an inmate close to death, ask the trustees before summoning a clergyman of the denomination wished, to be a mistake, adding, "in my opinion any superintendent of this institution who would hesitate to allow the consolation of religion to be administered in the form desired by the child, under such circumstances, should be promptly relieved from duty." A third alderman held that charges of cruel and brutal punishment of girls had been proved. The petition for an investigation had been signed by twenty-seven Catholics, and the most significant charge was the eighth. No testimony to sustain the charge that names had been changed was presented. There was testimony to sustain all other charges; that is to say, there was evidence that there had been immoral practices, improper speech, brutal punishment, along with other evidence to show that these were exceptional, and that the superintendent had discharged employes on occasion for cause. As to the eighth charge the majority of the aldermen found that there had been no active proselyting, but there was evidence that (1) every inmate had been required to commit to memory and recite passages from the Bible; (2) that boys and girls were required to participate in morning and evening prayers conforming to Protestant rituals; (3) that on the pretext that no sectarian books were permitted, Catholic prayer books and catechisms had been taken away from Catholic children. The superintendent had actually undertaken to exclude Catholic books provided by two of the trustees for Catholic children, and related an incident of finding two Catholic catechisms which had been hidden away and passed from child to child, as the latter had sought to read and study them. On the eighth charge the attorney for the trustees of the Reform School argued:

It is perfectly clear to everybody, that one of two rules should be adopted: either that the ministers of each and all schools should be admitted whenever request is made, or that none should be admitted. . . . The trustees have endeavored to avoid any cause of complaint by the extremest caution upon their side; . . . they have avoided any sectarian explanation of the Bible itself. They have prohibited the introduction into the school of any sectarian books, or the admission of sectarian teachers. I do not undertake it upon myself to say that either the one or the other of these courses is the most judicious and conducive to the well-being of the pupils of that institution. I admit that these pupils, perhaps of all other classes in the community, are entitled to, and perhaps ought to have, that religious instruction which should make the deepest and most permanent impression upon their minds and characters, and do them the most good. . . . That there has been no effort at proselytism is proved. That the children have been denied teaching in the religion of their choice is a charge that has been found to be without any foundation whatever. There is no evidence of their having been refused the ministrations of their church. They are permitted to go at certain periods to attend the churches where their parents worship.

Counsel for the petitioners argued:

The charge is this—not that there has been permitted, before the school, upon the stated days when religious exercises are had, a discussion of the different points in controversy among the sects of Protestants, but that Protestantism is taught and forced upon these children, and that no opportunity is given to priests

of the Romish Church to minister to the religious wants of the inmates, no matter how great may be the desire of the inmates to receive the consolation of the faith in which they were born. . . . If you will admit to that school the pious teachings of these Catholic ministers who would be only too willing to render such services for the instruction of the Catholic youth there confined, the influence would be the best possible upon the condition of the institution. . . . The exclusion of the priests of the Romish Church is a graver wrong, it seems to me, than my brother was inclined to admit it to be. It is the very means of influence that should be resorted to. We ought not to forget that these children are sufficiently instructed in the faith of their fathers to have a thorough conviction of mind that Protestant teachings are not according to the Word of God. All teaching, therefore, coming from that source, necessarily fall upon barren ground when addressed to them.

The hearing ended with no agreement among the aldermen; and no action was ordered. There was, nevertheless, immediately, an improvement in conditions at the Reform School. The General Assembly in 1880 assumed complete responsibility for the Reform School, changing the name, and placing it under control of the Board of State Charities and Corrections, and plans were made to remove the school from the Tockwotton House to the estate purchased earlier by the state board, at Cranston. There separate buildings for boys and girls were constructed, and the divided institution was known, thereafter, by two names—Sockanosset School for Boys and Oaklawn School for Girls. Both are now administered by the State Welfare Commission.

Sockanosset School for Boys is an institution "for the confinement, instruction and reformation of juvenile offenders and of young persons of idle, vicious or vagrant habits," as described by the statutes, but a former superintendent\* declared that it "is an institution for the moral uplift of the unfortunate boy who has been brought here through conditions for which he is not always responsible. Prominent among these might be neglect of proper guidance by those who should have been responsible for his upbringing, by virtue of which the lad is the real sufferer, and these conditions should be considered by those who have him in charge. The real object of this institution, therefore, is to reclaim these lads and endeavor to make of them law-abiding and useful citizens by educating them along lines that would lead them into useful pursuits, and developing those talents which it may be found they possess." The school is operated on the cottage plan. Under Superintendent Gardner marked attention was given to the improvement of school education and the teaching of skilled trades. A building formerly used as a dormitory was remodelled as a school building. The boys were organized in graded classes, but special attention was given to boys needing individual instruction. The boys constructed a vocational trade building of reinforced concrete, which housed eight shops, in which the boys were taught as many trades while producing articles used at the school and in other state institutions. The estimated value of the building at the time of construction was \$46,000; the boy labor employed saved the state half that amount. The building is an enduring monument to boy labor well employed. In recent years the general policy of dealing with youthful offenders has been modified by the introduction of juvenile courts for trying minor offences, and of the probation system. There has been a general tendency to fewer commitment and to shorter sentences. In consequence of the latter the tenure of boys at the school averages a shorter period, and thus diminishes the opportunity for effective vocational training up to the point of complete apprenticeship. There has been less attention to training for trades, and several of the vocational shops have been dismantled, the machinery having been transferred to other state institutions.

Oaklawn School for Girls was opened at Howard in 1882. Its purpose is corrective. It provides care and education for female juvenile offenders. A cottage plan is in operation for the segregation of girls into classes according to the nature of their offences. The small number of girls committed to the Oaklawn School, the comparatively short periods of sen-

\*Ezekiel Gardner.

tences, and the necessity of separating girls in cottages, prohibit the organization of graded school classes, although schools are conducted, and an earnest effort is made to promote education. Much the same reasons have almost inhibited the organization of vocational classes, but all girls are given careful training in various departments of domestic service. The juvenile court and probation laws tend to restrict commitments.

**HIGH SCHOOLS**—The first public high school in Rhode Island was established in Providence in 1843. Newport established a public high school at the same period. Other town high schools followed in this order: Warren, 1847; Bristol and Woonsocket, 1849; Pawtucket, 1862; Westerly, Lincoln and Hopkinton, 1871; Barrington and East Providence, 1884; Johnston, 1885; New Shoreham, 1887 and 1898; Cranston, 1890; Burrillville, 1891; Cumberland, 1894; North Kingstown, 1901; South Kingstown, 1904; Warwick, 1905; Little Compton, 1918. Lincoln high school became Central Falls high school in 1895. Johnston high school was closed when part of the town was annexed to Providence. South Kingstown high school was established in 1880 as a private high school. Warwick high school became West Warwick high school in 1913, when the town of Warwick was divided. Warwick established its high school in another building later. In recent years the enrollment in public high schools has increased so rapidly that new high school buildings have been constructed in many places to provide the accommodations needed. Among the new high school buildings are those at Burrillville, rebuilt and enlarged after a fire; Woonsocket; Central Falls; Pawtucket; Providence, Commercial; Cranston; Warwick, new building erected after fire; Barrington, Warren and Westerly. The new high school buildings are ample in proportions and include, in many instances, shops and other special rooms which were not considered properly part of the equipment in earlier construction. The high school at Pawtucket is notable in these respects, including besides classrooms, laboratories, shops, etc., an assembly hall large enough and so well outfitted as to be available for use as a community centre, and one of the finest swimming pools in New England. Additional to new high school buildings, the rapid extension of the "junior high school" movement has been experienced in Rhode Island as elsewhere. Junior high school buildings have been constructed at Bristol, Woonsocket, West Warwick, Westerly, Cranston, two in East Providence, three in Pawtucket, and five in Providence, with plans for others underway. Henry Barnard School at Rhode Island College of Education includes a junior high department.

One of the recommendations made by the State Board of Education in reply to a request made by the General Assembly in 1896, was improved high school facilities. Twenty-two towns then had no high school, and these towns comprised eighty per cent. of the area of the state, though their children numbered only twenty per cent. of the school population. The General Assembly, in 1898, as part of an act "to secure a uniform high standard in public schools of the state," provided that "any town maintaining a high school having a course of study approved by the State Board of Education, shall be entitled to receive annually from the state \$25 for each pupil in average attendance for the first twenty-five pupils, and \$15 for each pupil in average attendance for the second twenty-five pupils, and that any town not maintaining a high school, which shall make provision for free attendance of its children at some high school or academy approved by the State Board of Education, shall be entitled to receive aid on the same basis." In 1909 the per capita was increased five dollars, and the new law provided that a town not maintaining a high school must make provision at the expense of the town for free attendance of its children at some high school or academy approved by the board. Thus the provision of a high school or high school education was made obligatory. This interpretation of the high school law has been established by a decision of the Commissioner, which was approved by a justice of the Supreme Court, and is, therefore, final in fact and in law. In the particular case the town's obligation to provide high school education was not denied, but it was asserted by the town that this obligation was limited to four years for



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each pupil, and was conditional upon the pupil's maintenance of class standing. The town refused to pay tuition for a boy who had already attended high school at the town's expense for four years without completing his course, and also for a boy who was repeating the school work for a year for which tuition had been paid by the town. The Commissioner held that the public high school, as an extension of the public elementary school, is to be governed by essentially the same rules and regulations, practices and customs; that no restrictions or conditions of the kind set up by the town had prevailed in elementary education; that such restrictions and conditions were inconsistent with attendance laws, and contrary to the public policy which dictates always an extension rather than a restriction of public education. The decision held that the law is mandatory.\* By later legislation state support for high school education has been increased \$5 per pupil, being now \$35 per pupil for the first twenty-five pupils, and \$25 for each of the second twenty-five pupils. The compulsory attendance law extends to high schools in the provision that requires attendance to age sixteen in all instances except those of children over fifteen who are lawfully and regularly employed. The operation of this statute since 1926 has been manifested in a marked increase in attendance at public high schools. The distribution of high schools by towns and cities in 1930 was four senior and five junior schools in Providence, one senior and three junior high schools in Pawtucket, one senior and two junior high schools in East Providence, one senior and one junior high school in each of Bristol, Cranston, West Warwick, Westerly and Woonsocket, and one senior high school in each of Barrington, Burrillville, Central Falls, Cumberland, Hopkinton, Little Compton, Newport, North Kingstown, New Shoreham, South Kingstown, Warren and Warwick.

Public high schools have replaced old-time academies. Of the early academies many, which though offering instruction in secondary branches, offered also work of the elementary school grades, endured not long beyond the opening of public schools. Those that survived and others organized at later dates confined themselves to branches now taught in public high schools and to preparation of boys and girls for college. Of the old Rhode Island academies only the Moses Brown School in Providence, replacing the Friends' School, and the East Greenwich Academy, replacing Kent Academy, are still in existence. The development of academies by the Roman Catholic Church is discussed in another chapter.

The early New England academy was a finishing school, in the sense that it undertook to offer a complete education, without emphasis upon preparation for college. The first plan for a public high school in Providence contemplated an education that would round out elementary instruction, and prepare boys and girls for active participation in the life of the growing commercial and manufacturing city. In later years high school education has become diversified, with objectives that suggest variety in courses, the most common in Rhode Island being college preparation, commercial, scientific or technical, and English or general. The modern high school, except in cities in which separate buildings may be provided for different courses, offers usually several courses in parallel, with provision sometimes for interchange of courses on a selective basis.

IMPROVEMENT OF SCHOOLS—Improvement of the public school system in the past thirty years has followed eight principal lines of endeavor as follows: (1) Stricter compulsory attendance, extension of school age, and restriction of the employment of children; (2) establishment and maintenance of uniform high standards for all schools; (3) improvement of teaching, and of the economic and professional status of teachers; (4) extension of professional supervision of schools; (5) improvement of administration of schools in town and city systems; (6) provisions for the safety and health of school children; (7) patriotic instruction; and (8) vocational education.

\*Hudson vs. Coventry.

The first American child labor and compulsory school attendance law, enacted in Rhode Island in 1840, established a precedent in the extension of which modern systems have been developed. In Rhode Island significant developments have been (1) the taking of an annual school census whereby to obtain the names of children of school age; (2) extension of the years of required attendance gradually to include the years from seven to sixteen; (3) inspection of factories and other places where children may be employed to insure compliance with law; (4) standard records of attendance in all schools, public and private; (5) correlation of census and school attendance records through a system of individual pupil card recording required by statute; (6) systematic reporting and checking. The aims and purposes have been insuring school education for all children, and preventing the employment of children of tender years, for humanitarian and other equally good reasons. The attendance law requires attendance on public instruction all the days and hours that public schools are in session, but, in recognition of parental rights, accepts attendance on private instruction approved by public authority as compliance with the educational purposes of the law. Children over fifteen years of age who are literate in English, who have attended school eight years or completed the work of eight grades, and who are in sound health and physically fit for employment, may be excused from school for lawful and regular employment. Through rigid enforcement of this law, as well as public appreciation of the soundness of Rhode Island's general education program, has come a regular attendance on instruction in day schools, public and private, that averages more than 150,000. In the years of strict compulsory attendance, seven to fifteen, more than ninety-eight per cent. of children attend school, the little more than one per cent. of failure to attend including those physically or mentally handicapped.

A statute to insure "a more uniform high standard in the public schools," enacted in 1898, offered a bonus for "consolidation" of schools and state support to encourage the establishment of high schools, and required that public school teachers should hold certificates of qualification issued by the State Board of Education. "Consolidation" is the process of uniting small classes in such manner as to permit a better classification of the aggregate, and graded instruction of groups as a substitute for individual or small group instruction; it is the accepted remedy for the deficiencies attributed to country schools enrolling only small classes, and suggesting for economy a single teacher and a little attention to the mechanics of graded schools. Fifteen years later, in 1913, the "deficient school" act, so-called, placed at the disposal of the Commissioner and State Board of Education an annual appropriation of \$5000, to be apportioned at discretion "for the purpose of aiding the schools in such of the towns whose taxable property is not adequate at the average rate of taxation throughout the state to provide schools of high standard." The money was used to insure a lengthened school term of not less than thirty-six weeks; to increase teachers' salaries in towns in which teachers' salaries were an obstacle to obtaining qualified instructors; to repair buildings the physical condition of which was woefully inadequate; to provide apparatus and equipment, books, blackboards, and other things that are almost indispensable to efficient instruction; to promote consolidation by providing transportation from closed schools to better schools; from all of which there was a remarkable improvement in rural schools in Rhode Island over the period of ten years until the statute was repealed in 1922. In the year last named the income of the permanent school fund, then approximately \$12,500 annually, was made available, in lieu of the \$5000 for deficient schools, to be expended for emergencies, with discretion in the Commissioner and State Board of Education to apportion any part of the income to assist school committees facing unusual problems. One of the first uses of the fund was the replacement of books and furniture destroyed in the fire that razed the Block Island high school. With assistance from the fund the high school was reopened in rented quarters with actual loss of only a few days of school. When with the assistance provided from the "deficient school" fund all schools had attained, in 1914, a school year of thirty-six weeks, the minimum was

established at thirty-six weeks, by statute, to prevent retrogression. The average school year in Rhode Island was 179 days in 1873, 191 days in 1898, 193 days in 1912, 195 days in 1915, 195 days in 1930. The statutory minimum school year was made 180 actual days in 1927. Rhode Island has had the longest average and longest minimum school year in the United States for most of the years of the twentieth century.

IMPROVING TEACHING AND TEACHERS—To improve teaching and teachers Rhode Island has used certification, pensions, minimum salary, and professional education. The school act of 1800 forbade any person to teach in school or academy “reading, writing, grammar or mathematics unless he shall be a native or naturalized citizen of the United States and be approved by a certificate in writing from the town council of the town in which he shall teach.” School committees were empowered, in 1828, to “appoint all the schoolmasters or school mistresses to be employed in teaching the schools, taking care that such masters and mistresses are qualified for the task.” The school committee, in 1839, was directed “to appoint all instructors and instructresses, taking care that they be of good moral character, temperate and otherwise well qualified for the office,” and, in 1842, to “ascertain by their personal examination, or that of a committee to be appointed by them, the qualifications and capacity for the government of all instructors that may be employed in their respective towns.” The Barnard act of 1845 permitted certification for a town by the town school committee, for a county by a county inspector, for the state by the Commissioner, but no certificate might be issued “unless the person named in the same shall produce evidence of good moral character and be found on examination, or by experience, qualified to teach the English language, arithmetic, penmanship, and the rudiments of geography and history, and to govern a school.” Barnard’s “remarks” on the school law, published to assist school officers in achieving a uniform interpretation, added:

No person should be considered qualified to teach any school who cannot speak and write the English language, if not elegantly, at least correctly. He should be a good reader, be able to make himself understood and feel all that the author intended. He should be able to give the analysis as well as explain the meaning of the words of the sentence, and to explain all dates and names and allusions. He should be a good speller. He should understand practically the first principles of English grammar . . . . He should also be able to write a good hand, *to make a pen and to teach others how to do the same*. He should show his knowledge of geography by applying his definitions of the elementary principles to the geography of his own town, state and county, and by questions on the map and globe. He should be able to answer promptly all questions relating to the leading events of the history of the United States and of his own state. In arithmetic he should be well versed in some treatise on mental arithmetic, and be able to work out before the committee . . . . such questions as will test his ability to teach the textbooks on arithmetic prescribed for the class of schools he will be engaged in.

The “remarks” suggested teaching a practice class or lesson as a good test for ability to teach. Barnard’s plan for state and county certification failed to function, and from 1857 until 1871 school committees examined and certificated teachers.

With the reestablishment of the Rhode Island Normal School, 1871, the trustees were authorized to issue certificates, valid throughout the state, as a measure to insure acceptance without question of the graduates of the school as qualified to teach. The suggestion that the teacher should be “able to make a pen and to teach others how to do the same,” was dropped from the Manual of 1873; otherwise qualifications continued as outlined in 1845 until 1896, when the Manual suggested that aside from examination or experience the school committee “would also have the right under the law to grant a certificate for one term at least, without an examination, to a person having a diploma from an accredited normal school or college.” The statute law, 1873, provided that “the school committee shall not sign any certificate unless the person named in the same produce evidence of good moral character, and be found on

examination qualified to teach the various branches required to be taught in the school." Under a statute of 1898, the State Board of Education was made the exclusive certificating agency, with power to establish qualifications by rule or regulation, and to issue certificates on examination, or without examination on satisfactory evidence of qualification. The board's policy has been progressive, in the sense that from time to time the standard of qualifications has been advanced in such manner as to require more and better training, thus guaranteeing to the citizens who support the schools through taxation a quality of service commensurate with the compensation paid, to the citizen who attends the schools more efficient instruction, and to the teacher who has made adequate preparation for service reasonable protection against competition for positions by those not properly fitted. The standard qualifications for professional certification in 1930 are graduation from a standard normal school for elementary school teaching, or graduation from a standard college with additional training in professional education for teaching in high schools, and equivalent education and preparation, academic and professional, for teachers of special subjects. All candidates for certification must file evidence of good character, name responsible references, present documentary evidence of educational and professional qualifications, and pass a successful examination in Rhode Island education, including Rhode Island school law and history of Rhode Island schools.

A holder of professional certificates who teaches successfully five years in Rhode Island public schools, and who accomplishes the equivalent of a year of graduate professional study in approved normal school or college, may receive special citation, and be granted a life professional certificate with the designation "Master Teacher." To persons who have not met fully the requirements for professional certification, but who have achieved enough to warrant it, provisional certification may be granted conditional upon an undertaking to achieve complete qualification. All teachers are required to sign and swear to or affirm the Teacher's Pledge of Loyalty, which was first prescribed in 1918, as follows:

I, as a teacher and citizen, pledge allegiance to the United States of America, to the state of Rhode Island, and to the American public school system. I solemnly promise to support the Constitution and laws of nation and state, to acquaint myself with the laws of the state relating to public education, and the regulations and instructions of my official superiors, and faithfully to carry them out. I further promise to protect the school rights of my pupils, to conserve the democracy of school citizenship, to honor public education as a principle of free government, to respect the profession of education as public service, and to observe its ethical principles and rules of professional conduct. I pledge myself to neglect no opportunity to teach the children committed to my care loyalty to nation and state, honor to the Flag, obedience to law and government, respect for public servants entrusted for the time being with the functions of government, faith in government by the people, fealty to the civic principles of freedom, equal rights and human brotherhood, and the duty of every citizen to render service for the common welfare. I shall endeavor to exemplify in my own life and conduct in and out of school the social virtues of fairness, kindness and service as ideals of good citizenship. I affirm, in recognition of my official obligation, that, though as a citizen, I have the right of personal opinion, as a teacher of the public's children I have no right, either in school hours or in the presence of my pupils out of school hours, to express opinions that conflict with honor to country, loyalty to American ideals, and obedience to and respect for the laws of nation and state. In all this I pledge my sacred honor and subscribe to a solemn oath that I will faithfully perform to the best of my ability all the duties of the office of teacher in the public schools.

Under the progressive plan for gradually raising standard qualifications for certification, covering a period of thirty years, Rhode Island has achieved unique distinction among American states for the excellence of the personnel of the profession of education. Over eighty-five per cent. of all teachers have attained professional rating, and the average education of Rhode Island public school teachers extends more than three years beyond completion of high school, a standard nowhere else attained.

**TEACHERS' SALARIES AND PENSIONS**—As part of a program for improving Rhode Island public education announced after he had served one year as Commissioner, Walter E. Ranger recommended pensions for school teachers. Legislation in 1907 provided that any person sixty years old, who for thirty-five years had been engaged in teaching as his principal occupation, twenty-five of which, including the fifteen immediately preceding retirement, were in the public schools, or such other schools as are supported wholly or in part by state appropriations, might be retired or retire voluntarily on an annual pension equal to one-half his average contractual salary during the last five years before retiring, but in no case could the pensioner draw more than \$500 per year. Administration of the pension law was entrusted to the State Board of Education. After 1909 a teacher in service thirty-five years need not have reached sixty years of age before retirement. In 1914 provision was made for the retirement on pensions of teachers regularly employed not less than twenty years who become physically or mentally incapacitated, the pension to be a proportionate part of the ordinary pension determined by the ratio of his total years of service to thirty-five years. Through later legislation the amount of the pension has been increased to not less than \$500 nor more than \$700 for long service or disability. The Rhode Island teachers' pension law is the most generous in the United States, besides being state-wide and universal in the sense that it covers all persons engaged in teaching or supervising public education in public schools maintained by towns or cities and in schools maintained by the state. No teacher is compelled, asked or permitted to contribute to his pension, and no assessments are levied. There is no suspicion that the pension is deducted, in some mysterious way, from salaries, for the pension is paid from the general treasury, whereas teachers' salaries are paid from town or city treasuries. The pension is, therefore, a public measure to improve the economic status of the public school teacher by provision for old age; at the same time it serves the means of providing for honorable retirement, in a manner worthy of the state, of veteran teachers whose years for efficient service have passed.

Rhode Island's first minimum salary law was enacted in 1909, when the state established \$400 as the lowest permissible salary for regular employment and offered to assist towns to attain the minimum by paying one-half the amount necessary from the general treasury. Four years later, partly because the lowest salaries had been brought to the minimum, the State Board of Education reported \$618 as the average salary paid in Rhode Island public schools, adding "an annual salary of \$400 is too low to command, in general, the services of teachers of average ability. Many defects of public education, without question, are due to low salaries. Nevertheless, the minimum salary law has remedied the worst conditions due to ridiculously low salaries, and was a measure of great importance." A by-product of the minimum salary law was an increase in some towns of the town school year, under circumstances in which the school committee undertook to make the teacher earn the increase required by the minimum law, by teaching a few extra weeks, thus holding the teacher to the same rate per week. The minimum salary was raised to \$650 in 1922. Average salaries have improved steadily in the past fifteen years, from \$714 in 1915 to over \$1500 in 1930. In the meantime the actual minimum salary has exceeded the legal minimum; no salary at a rate lower than \$700 has been paid in Rhode Island since 1925. It will be noted that the increase in salaries has been contemporaneous with the improvement in the qualifications for teaching required by the State Board of Education. Rhode Island is paying more for instruction principally because Rhode Island is employing a superior type of teacher, and is insisting upon better preparation. Higher salaries may be interpreted as compensation for better service.

**TRAINING TEACHERS**—While the paragraph above dealing with certification has indicated an improvement in the education of teachers, it omitted reference to the means provided by the state of Rhode Island to assist teachers in attaining initial standards, and in keeping pace with advancing standards. Rhode Island College of Education, with unsur-

passed facilities for training elementary school teachers has been the most important agency, both for initial training in regular courses preparatory for teaching, and for assisting teachers to improve themselves professionally after entering service. In large part the latter work has been accomplished through extension courses offered on Saturdays, and in the afternoon at hours after school that are convenient for teachers, and through a summer session from 1917 to 1928, inclusive. For several years the enrollment of teachers in extension and summer courses at the College attained 1800 or forty-five per cent. of all the public school teachers. Rhode Island State College also offers courses in professional education to meet the requirement for certification for high school teaching additional to graduation from college. In recent years the department of education at State College has been conducted by the Director of Vocational Education, the State Supervisor of Agricultural Education and the State Supervisor of Home Economic Education, all professors in the college faculty, in a plan for coöperation by the college with the State Board for Vocational Education in preparing teachers for vocational classes. Rhode Island School of Design has conducted a normal arts course for preparing teachers of drawing and design for the public schools, which was organized at the request of the Commissioner of Education. At Brown University a graduate department of education is encouraged and aided by a state subsidy of \$5000 annually, all of which is at present available for free state scholarships on appointment by the State Board of Education. These scholarships are for graduate study only in education, and are intended to assist in preparing teachers for high schools, or to become principals or superintendents. The Brown department continues a plan for training high school teachers inaugurated by Professor Walter B. Jacobs and modelled on the plan for practice teaching used in Rhode Island College of Education. Other devices for improving the education of teachers in service are teachers' institutes, conducted under the direction of the Commissioner; lectures and addresses, subsidized by the Commissioner and State Board of Education; educational publications, issued by the state division; an educational library, maintained in the Commissioner's office, from which loans are made to teachers. The Commissioner offers to supply from this library any book on education requested for loan by any public school teacher. The teachers themselves have been interested in professional improvement, and have had recourse to the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction, established in 1845 and the oldest state teachers' association in the United States; the "Quarterly Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction," published by the Institute; voluntary associations for improvement in towns and cities, which conduct significant programs through each school year; such state associations as the Barnard Club of Rhode Island, enrolling the men teachers, and also state associations for groups of teachers, such as the Rhode Island Vocational Society, the Home Economics Association, the Physical Education Association, Music Supervisors' Association, and others.

**SUPERVISION**—The invention of the office of superintendent of schools is attributed to Thomas Wilson Dorr, who, as chairman of the Providence school committee, suggested the service that might be rendered by a public school officer charged with responsibilities similar to those that appertain to an overseer or superintendent in industry. The first superintendent was appointed in Providence in 1839; the school statutes mentioned the office in 1851, and in 1871 a statute required a school committee to appoint a superintendent if the town failed to do so. Commissioner and Board of Education, in annual reports, urged the importance of supervision, and recommended state support to encourage towns to engage capable officers and pay reasonable salaries. School committees were given exclusive right to appoint superintendents in 1884, and to fix the superintendent's salary in 1902. The General Assembly in 1903 and 1904 made provision for annual appropriations to be apportioned to towns to support supervision, and in 1908 extended the teachers' certificate law to require superintendents to qualify by state certification. Under the two state plans for supervision in practice the state reimburses a town employing a professional superintendent to an amount not exceeding

one-half the salary paid or not exceeding \$1000; or the State Board of Education may provide supervision on request of a school committee, at an expense to the state of not exceeding \$1000 per town. In 1930 all but one town school system was under professional supervision. The school committee may employ a superintendent of schools without the restriction of residence or qualification for suffrage usually attached to public office, a provision which permits seeking a properly qualified candidate from beyond the borders of Rhode Island if desired; may establish reasonable tenure, and may pay the salary that may be necessary to obtain an efficient officer. The superintendent of schools in Providence is paid a salary that equals that of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the highest paid office in state service in Rhode Island.

OTHER MODERN IMPROVEMENTS—While the statute of 1898 to promote a uniform high standard in the public schools offered a bonus for consolidation of one-room rural schools, little progress was achieved until, in 1904, school districts were abolished, and the administration of town public schools was entrusted exclusively to town school committees. The abolition of districts and the elimination of district officers tended to decrease sectional autonomy within towns, which, while it continued, was an outstanding obstacle to closing "the district school," in spite of the assurance that a central school, properly graded, might achieve more efficient educational processes. Gradually, but reluctantly, opposition has been overcome in many towns. South Kingstown was one of the earliest to go forward with a plan for consolidation. Narragansett and Little Compton have achieved consolidation that gathers all children attending public schools in each town under a single roof. The plan for consolidation includes transportation to and from convenient assembling places along the highways in automobiles designed particularly for school service. The surveys of the town schools of New Shoreham, Little Compton, North Kingstown, Richmond, South Kingstown, Exeter, and Glocester have included recommendations of closing one-room schoolhouses accommodating only small groups of pupils, consolidating and furnishing transportation.

The fire escape law of 1890 included seminaries, colleges, academies and schoolhouses in the list of buildings for which equipment must be provided. It was amplified in 1908 to require outswinging doors and outswinging windows giving on fire escapes, and inspection. Five years later, the Commissioner published a pamphlet to assist teachers in meeting a new requirement that fire drills be conducted monthly to assure prompt and orderly dismissal of classes in the event of fire. The Commissioner has also published a pamphlet entitled "Safeguarding the Home Against Fire," and an outline of a course of study in fire prevention, the latter to meet a requirement that fire prevention be taught in the public schools at least one hour monthly.

Medical inspection of schools had been introduced in Rhode Island before legislation was enacted in 1911; the latter made provision for three measures: (1) "Proper standards of lighting, heating, ventilating, seating and other sanitary arrangements of school buildings and proper regulations concerning the same," to be adopted by the State Board of Education and communicated "to the school committee of each city and town and to any committee having charge of the erection, alteration, equipment or furnishing of any school building." The board approved a code in 1917, which had been drafted after several years of careful study and investigation. The statute does not make the code mandatory; a school committee, however, which finds the construction of a new building unsatisfactory as measured by the board standards, may refuse to accept the building for use as a school, and may thus compel suitable changes. (2) The statute of 1911 requires an annual testing of eyes and ears for defects, and notification of parents of children found to be defective. The effects of this legislation appear in a decreasing ratio of defective eyes and ears to total enrollment, which is interpreted as indicating attention by parents, and proper treatment in most instances. (3) The statute of

1911 offered reimbursement of part of a town's expenditure for medical inspection by doctors; after 1926 "medical inspection" might include the services of trained school nurses. More than ninety per cent. of public school children attend schools in which medical inspection is regular. In several towns and cities public inspectors visit private as well as public schools, as a measure for safeguarding general health. More than 100 doctors and nurses are engaged in this service.

Physical education, twenty minutes of instruction or practice daily for children over eight years of age, was required after 1917; to assist classroom teachers the Commissioner published a "Syllabus for Physical Education," which outlined instruction in physical education and hygiene. Physiology and hygiene "with special reference to the effect of alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs upon the human system," had been a part of the required course of study from 1888. Dental inspection became a part of medical inspection in 1917, with provision for professional examination of teeth, reports to parents, and public clinics for treatment at the option of the school committee if parents neglected notice. Under the age and employment provisions of the compulsory attendance and factory inspection laws, children fifteen years of age and under sixteen applying for release from school for employment are examined by doctors. The statute permits the establishment and maintenance of open-air schools for delicate children, with provision at public expense of "such medical, food or other supplies as are necessary." The first open-air school in America was established in Providence in the old brick schoolhouse on Meeting Street. The safety and health program in public instruction is significant not only for the prevention of disease by proper safeguards, but also for future welfare. The physical education plan has ripened into a program of school-directed athletics, with emphasis upon the benefits of abundant physical exercise in the open air, while the lessons in attention to cleanliness and avoiding disease unquestionably are carried home and into life after leaving school.

**PATRIOTIC INSTRUCTION**—The public schools of America always have taught patriotism if only in connection with history, while the closing of schools for patriotic holidays in early days accomplished a purpose of emphasizing the importance of the events of which these were anniversaries. In the schools of Providence opened in 1800 Christmas and the Fourth of July were observed as holidays. School policy has been modified in recent years by a tendency to substitute for holidays observance of important anniversaries by suitable school exercises. Arbor Day was the first day selected for school observance, and in connection with it the Commissioner of Education for forty years has published an annual program of material for school exercises and concerning trees and nature. For thirty years, Grand Army Flag Day, February 12, and for twenty-three years, Rhode Island Independence Day, May 4, have been observed in schools, and the Commissioner has published annually a program for the observance of each. For ten years the Commissioner has published annually a program for the observance of September 17 as Constitution Day; occasionally he has issued a program for Columbus Day. Grant Day was observed on an important anniversary, and in 1929 Pulaski Day was honored in memory of the Revolutionary hero. School holidays, on which schools are closed, include New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, July 4, Labor Day, Columbus Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas. Armistice Day is a banking holiday, which usually is made a school holiday also by proclamation. School committees are required to provide a national flag for every schoolhouse for display on a flagstaff or otherwise in some appropriate way, and the Commissioner prescribes a uniform salute to the flag to be used daily in the schools. No national flag other than the flag of the United States may be displayed on a public schoolhouse. Since 1922 the law has required as part of every public and private school course of study instruction in the principles of the American plan of government with particularization of the Constitution and history of the United States, and the Constitution and history of Rhode Island. Three years earlier emphasis upon the

teaching of the English language appeared in the Americanization law, which required the opening of evening schools for instruction in English in towns in which more than twenty persons under twenty-one years of age could not read, write and speak English. This work was carried forward systematically in a dozen years under the supervision of Agnes M. Bacon. In 1926 home classes for teaching English were authorized on state initiative.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION—The State Board of Education urged the establishment of a textile school in the basement of the Rhode Island Normal School shortly after the first permanent building was erected in 1898. The Commissioner by direction of the General Assembly in 1910, made an investigation of the conditions and needs of Rhode Island in respect to "industrial education, including agricultural education," his report being a printed document of more than 100 printed pages. On his recommendation legal provision was made for state encouragement and promotion of industrial education by subsidies for the purchase of equipment and payment of salaries. An appropriation of \$5000 was made available. Central Falls, Pawtucket, Warwick and Westerly were the earliest towns to take advantage of the new legislation. Commenting upon this, the State Board of Education, in its report for 1913, said: "The criticism so frequently made that the work of the public schools is in no way related to the outside interests of the child cannot be made of the schools in these places. The time appears to be approaching when it will be more and more difficult to justify, in any of our schools, criticism of this sort. With the increased opportunities for choice in studies made possible by the more general introduction of industrial education in the schools, it will be possible to determine with greater certainty just what the individual needs of each child are, and to offer him what will contribute most to his highest development." A fresh impetus to extension of vocational education was given in 1917 by the enactment by Congress of the Federal Vocational Education Act, and the acceptance of the provisions by Governor Beeckman on the last day of the year, with ratification by the General Assembly in 1918. The federal legislation offered coöperation with state programs for vocational education on the basis of contribution from the federal treasury to an amount not exceeding fifty per cent. for expenditures for instruction in agriculture, in trades and industries, and in home economics. In connection with the joint federal-state program provision must be made for teacher-training, including supervision. The Rhode Island program organized under a contract with the federal government includes the four lines indicated. Administration rests with the State Board of Vocational Education, as which the State Board of Education is organized. The Commissioner of Education is the executive agent of the state Board, and the board employs a Director of Vocational Education, a Supervisor of Agricultural Education, a Supervisor of Trade and Industrial Education, and a Supervisor of Home Economics Education. Except the training of teachers the work in vocational education is of less than college grade, and restricted to persons over fourteen years of age. The work in agriculture is in high schools, seven of which—Bristol, East Providence, Little Compton, South Kingstown, Warren, Warwick and West Warwick—offer courses. Besides instruction in school, every person enrolled in a day agricultural class is required to carry on a home project in agriculture and to keep careful accounts. Reports indicate that pupils average earnings in agricultural projects approaching \$100 annually. The work is so planned that it need not interfere with preparation for college if the pupil wishes to continue. Evening agricultural classes have also been organized in places convenient for gatherings of farmers; for these members of the professional faculty of the department of agriculture at Rhode Island State College are engaged as teachers. Trade and industrial education is offered in all-day and part-time classes, and also to adults in evening classes. In this division the Providence Trade School has been developed by joint coöperation of state and city, and is recognized as a school of unusual merit. The organization is on the continuation plan, for boys and girls who are regularly employed, and who are released from employment for instruction. Under an arrangement preferred for this

school two boys or two girls are employed on the same job, and alternate at work and in school. In practice a boy enrolled at the Trade School and working half time may shorten the usual period of apprenticeship in his trade, and be graduated for immediate employment as a journeyman. Printing, carpentry, electricity, painting and decorating, automobile mechanics and repairs, and machine shop trades are taught, along with clothing, foods, and millinery for girls, not on the home economics but upon an industrial basis. Another trade school is being developed at Central Falls. Until 1929 a factory continuation class at Bristol was conducted in a rubber factory under a plan for release of employes in relays to attend instruction.

Evening vocational classes for adults engaged during the day time in occupations to which the evening instruction is supplementary is offered in a variety of trades and occupations in Central Falls, Cranston, Newport, Pawtucket, Providence, and Woonsocket. The regulations prescribe rigid adherence to strictly vocational instruction and practice, and the work of the evening schools is highly practical and attracts a fine type of citizen, intent upon improvement. In home economics the program, except in an all-day school at South Kingstown maintained for practice teaching, is in evening classes, which are conducted in Bristol, Central Falls, Cranston, Pawtucket, Warren, West Warwick and Woonsocket. Teacher-training for teachers of agriculture and home economics is conducted principally at Rhode Island State College, with practice teaching in the high schools at South Kingstown, Pawtucket and Providence. In trades and industries the principal teacher-training courses are conducted in afternoon and evening hours at Rhode Island College of Education. The state appropriation for vocational education is \$18,000 annually; from the federal government \$10,000 for agriculture, \$32,811.48 for trades and industries and home economics, and \$10,000 for teacher-training and supervision are received. The total expenditure of federal, state and town money annually for vocational education averages \$150,000.

Evening schools have been a care of the State Board of Education since 1873, with annual appropriations for promotion. The courses, additional to Americanization and vocational instruction, parallel day courses, and afford opportunities for youth and adults to round out education not completed in years of regular attendance. Pre-primary schools, including kindergartens and American modifications of the Montessori type of school are maintained in large towns and cities. The Montessori school particularly has had a marked influence upon elementary school procedure. Professor Clara E. Craig of Rhode Island College of Education, visited Italy in 1913 by direction of the Trustees of Rhode Island Normal School to study with Madame Montessori. Professor Craig returned to introduce Montessori methods in an experimental class in the Henry Barnard School, of which, as Director of Training, she is principal. Out of Professor Craig's painstaking and patient work in directing the experiment and in training teachers to carry forward the work came a revelation of processes of child learning. Her success warranted publication of a pamphlet on methods of instruction in reading and writing, and the gradual extension of the Montessori-Craig principles through the Barnard School. Recent group tests of children in the Barnard School indicate achievements beyond those normal for both mental and chronological ages. The Barnard School attracts visitors from every continent in large numbers, the registration of professional teachers and superintendents who come to see and learn reaching almost 1000 annually. Montessori-Craig methods are a marvel to conservative old-time educators, many of whom arrive as skeptics and are as reluctant to return home as the lotus eaters after they have experienced a revelation of the unbelievable—until one has seen.

A NEW COMMISSIONER—Commissioner Stockwell resigned in 1905 after completing thirty years of faithful service—a period equal to the aggregate terms of all his predecessors. In grateful remembrance of Commissioner Stockwell the public school teachers of Rhode Island, through their state association, the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction, erected a bronze tablet, which has been placed near the door of the Commissioner's office in the State

House. During Commissioner Stockwell's term the Barnard program had been carried forward to perfection in completion; Rhode Island was ready in 1905 for a new program. Walter E. Ranger, then chief educational executive in Vermont, was invited to come to Rhode Island as Commissioner, and accepted. One year later, 1906, after a year spent in visiting Rhode Island schools and becoming acquainted with the system, Dr. Ranger announced ten projects for progressive development of the public education system, which were enacted into law in the years indicated, thus: (1) Pensions for teachers, 1907; (2) state aid for travelling libraries, 1907; (3) a state school and home for the feeble-minded, 1907; (4) state certification of superintendents, as of teachers, 1908; (5) a minimum salary law for teachers, 1909; (6) a more practical equalization of educational opportunities, to be secured by extension of high school education for all the youth of the state, 1910; (7) industrial and trade schools, 1912; (8) improved school sanitation, and sanitary standards, 1911; (9) reasonable tenure for teachers and superintendents, 1913; (10) a state summer school for teachers, 1917. Other advances during the same period were: Instruction of adult blind at home, 1908; mandatory provision for high school education, 1909; medical inspection in schools, 1911; post-graduate department of education at Brown University with provision for free state scholarships, 1912; state-supported textile school at Rhode Island School of Design, 1913; deficient school act, providing aid for rural schools, 1913; minimum school year established, thirty-six weeks, 1914; state inspector of high schools appointed, 1914; age and employment certificate law perfected, 1916; free state scholarships at College of Pharmacy, 1916; physical education mandatory, 1917; dental inspection, 1917; coöperation of state and federal government to promote vocational education, 1917; definition of certain powers entrusted to superintendent of schools as an administrative and executive agent, 1918; provision for financial support of town schools in the instance of delayed town appropriations, 1919; Americanization law, 1919; civilian rehabilitation, 1919; reorganization of Rhode Island Normal School as Rhode Island College of Education, 1920; state aid for service of librarians in free public libraries, 1921; instruction in the principles of popular and representative government in all schools ordered, 1922.

A SURVEY—A commission, consisting of William C. Bliss, as chairman of the Public Utilities Commission; Zenas W. Bliss, as chairman of the Tax Commission; Howard Farnum, as chairman of the Senate finance committee; Frederick S. Peck, as chairman of the House finance committee, and Walter E. Ranger as Commissioner of Education, previously appointed to make a survey of school finance and administration, reported in 1922 to the General Assembly a draft of legislation proposed to carry recommendations into effect. Referred in the House of Representatives to the committee on education, hearings were conducted, inasmuch as significant changes in the law had been proposed. Aside from measures to increase state support of town schools financially and to strengthen the State Board of Education in the exercise of functions related to the enforcement of law, the commission proposed transfer from town school committees to the State Board of Education of the power to approve or disapprove private schools for attendance in lieu of attendance on public instruction. The purpose announced on behalf of the commission was the setting up of a single agency for approval throughout the state, and of a single minimum standard, and the simplification of the process of obtaining approval. Objection was voiced immediately by many, who interpreted the proposed unification of authority as arbitrary and in conflict with the Rhode Island tradition of local approval by school committees. The bill was reported from committee, after having been amended, and after a series of conferences and hearings in which, it was believed by the committee, objectors had been reconciled. The bill was reached on the calendar in the afternoon of the last day of the session of the General Assembly, and precipitated one of the most vigorous debates on a question not purely political in its

nature that has ever been heard in the new State House in the thirty years since it was dedicated.

The bill was attacked principally on the ground that it aimed to establish state interference with private schools, particularly those maintained by French Catholics for the education of their children. The outstanding exponent of the French view was Felix A. Toupin, who became the candidate of the Democratic party in the fall election and was elected as Lieutenant Governor. William S. Flynn, Democratic House leader, supported Representative Toupin, and in the fall was elected as Governor on the Democratic ticket. The debate was continued through afternoon and evening hours, and the bill was passed by the House close to midnight, and sent to the Senate. After an unsuccessful effort to persuade the Senate committee on education not to report the bill, it reached the calendar, and was passed by the Senate late in the morning of Saturday, April 22, actually, although the day of concurrence was the legislative day of Friday, April 21, continued, there having been no adjournment. Thus the issue, on enactment, was carried squarely to Governor Emery J. San Souci, Republican, who had power under the Constitution to veto the bill finally, inasmuch as the General Assembly had adjourned *sine die*. The Constitution, Article XV of amendments, besides providing for veto and reconsideration, with the machinery for overriding the veto, establishes a time limit on action by the Governor, thus: "If the measure shall not be returned by the Governor within six days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall become operative unless the General Assembly, by adjournment, prevents its return, in which case it shall become operative unless transmitted by the Governor to the Secretary of State, with his disapproval in writing, within ten days after such adjournment." The Rhode Island Constitution does not permit the "pocket veto" exercised by the President of the United States; the Governor may permit an act of the General Assembly to become law by his own inaction; to prevent law he must act. Governor San Souci was besieged immediately by friends, as well as opponents of the measure, urging him to sign or to veto, each according to interest. The Governor faced a most perplexing problem; the measure had become practically a Republican party project as the debate had developed in the General Assembly, and failure to pass it might have been construed as a victory for the Democrats, led by Representatives Flynn and Toupin. On the other hand, strong pressure on the Governor was exercised by many of his most intimate personal and political friends, particularly because he, though a native-born citizen of the United States and son of a father who had fought in the Union army to defend the national flag, was ultimately of French extraction. The Governor postponed action, while the discussion of the "Peck bill," so named because the measure had been introduced by Frederick S. Peck, continued unabated.

The Governor returned the bill to the Secretary of State with a veto message on May 3, 1922. Immediately another question arose: "Had the Governor acted within ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen days of adjournment?" The Governor's first position was that he had acted within ten days, Sundays excluded, two Sundays having intervened between April 21 or 22 and May 3. Proponents of the law asserted that the Constitution did not exclude Sundays from the count of ten days permitted for the veto if and when the General Assembly adjourned. The Governor, with the purpose of removing doubt, requested the Supreme Court to rule upon the matter in the form of an advisory opinion. In a letter to the court under date of May 9 the Governor asserted that the bill had been presented to him on the legislative day of April 21 and that he had transmitted his veto message on May 3, adding: "Two Sundays occurred between the twenty-first day of April, 1922, and May 3, 1922, and the Governor returned the bill on said May 3, understanding that Sundays were to be excepted from said ten-day period." In a second communication, dated May 13, the Governor declared that although the records of the General Assembly showed adjournment on the legislative day of April 21, as a matter of fact, the Assembly adjourned on the calendar day of April 22,

and the next day, April 23, was Sunday. The Governor asked the court to answer two additional questions: (1) "Is the day of adjournment . . . to be computed as the legislative day of adjournment or the calendar or natural day; (2) if the calendar or natural day . . . is held to be the day of adjournment . . . is Sunday, the next day after the day of said adjournment, to be computed in said period of ten days?" In view of the importance of the question presented, the Supreme Court invited arguments and briefs by counsel, although the request was for an advisory opinion rather than a decision. The Governor was represented by Michael J. Lynch as counsel, who was supported by the city solicitors from Pawtucket and Woonsocket. Herbert S. Rice, Attorney General, and Oscar L. Heltzen, Assistant Attorney General, argued against the veto. Dr. Charles Carroll appeared as counsel for the State Board of Education with brief and argument. The city solicitor of Cranston argued against the veto. The court delivered an opinion in which it declared that the Governor had not acted within the period prescribed by the Constitution, and that the veto was ineffective. The court held that in computing periods of time intervening Sundays, unless Sunday be the last day, are counted unless expressly excepted, including the first day, even if that be Sunday. Holding this view, it was not necessary for the court to decide whether the ten-day period began on April 21, the legislative day, or on April 22, the calendar day, of adjournment. Thus the matter rested, with the law in effect, and an issue created for the fall election.

The act of 1922 provided for (1) investment of the permanent school fund exclusively in bonds of the United States or bonds issued by Rhode Island towns or cities; (2) use of the income of the fund for emergencies and application of unexpended income to increase of the fund; (3) enforcement of school legislation by the State Board of Education, with power to withhold state money due a town unless and until the board's orders were complied with; (4) surveys of school systems under the authority of the board; (5) approval of private schools by the board, essentially upon the same conditions and subject to the same restrictions prescribed theretofore for approval by school committees; (6) prescription by the Commissioner of a uniform system of school records to be kept on blanks, cards and books provided by him, and a uniform system of bookkeeping for officers entrusted with public school money, with permission for the Commissioner to examine and audit records at discretion; (7) an increase of 150 per cent., \$120,000 to \$300,000, in the largest appropriation from the general treasury for the support of town public schools; (8) a mandatory minimum town tax and expenditure for public schools amounting annually to three mills; (9) administration by the State Board of Education, on request of the school committee, of the schools of any town, provided the school committee cannot support good schools from current legal school revenues; (10) the keeping by the superintendent of schools in every town of a correlated individual card record of census and attendance, cards to be furnished by the Commissioner; (11) the presentation by every school committee annually to the town and to the Commissioner of a budget of proposed school expenditures, the budget to be made on standard forms prescribed and furnished by the Commissioner; (12) the keeping by teachers in public and private schools of uniform records of attendance, with reports to the superintendent of the information essential for the card record prescribed to be kept by him; (13) the forbidding of (a) collections or receipts of gifts by teachers in school, (b) sales in school, (c) soliciting or receiving subscriptions to periodicals, (d) tutoring by a teacher of members of his own classes, and (e) distribution of tickets, articles or advertising matter in school or to pupils on their way to and from school; (14) the elimination and exclusion of secret or other fraternities or school societies to which less than the whole school are eligible for membership.

It was and is a most significant piece of school legislation because (1) of the increased financial support provided for town schools; (2) of the effective measures for enforcing compliance with school legislation; (3) of the uniform system of accounts and records; (4) of the provision for budgeting school accounts, and (5) the regulation of internal relations of

schools with the inhibition of abuses. Yet the measure was discussed through the summer of 1922 and in the fall political campaign exclusively with reference to its alleged effect upon private schools, when as a matter of fact and law the only change affecting private schools lay in the designation of the State Board of Education, rather than the town school committee, as the agency for approval or disapproval. There were other issues in the election of 1922, including at the outset a three-cornered contest for the Republican nomination for Governor, the election of a United States Senator, and, close to election, the exposure of an alleged attempt at bribery, all of which played their part in effecting a shifting of 25,000 votes, and election by the Democrats of their candidates for United States Senator, one Congressman, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, General Treasurer, and a substantial increase of party members in both houses of the General Assembly.

Bills were presented in the General Assembly in 1923 proposing (1) repeal of the act of 1922, and (2) repeal of the provisions relating to private schools. With respect to the latter the issue was more clearly defined as principally related to the intense love which people of French descent retain for their language, and fear lest the legislation of 1922 be enforced in such manner as to inhibit teaching of French in the schools maintained by the French for their children. Hearings were conducted, and discussion was heated, but no action was taken during the session. What might have happened in 1924 may not be told; the famous filibuster in the Senate effectively prevented legislation, and the issue on the statute of 1922 remained unsettled, in spite of the attempt made to reach an adjustment that would satisfy objectors without sacrificing the state's educational policy of insisting upon the teaching of English to all children of school age. The function of approving private schools was restored to school committees in 1925 in an act that prescribed as conditions for approval (1) attendance periods substantially equal to those prescribed for public schools; (2) satisfactory records of attendance and reports of attendance similar to those required of public schools; (3) the teaching of "reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, the history of the United States and history of Rhode Island, and the principles of American government . . . in the English language substantially to the same extent as such subjects are required to be taught in the public schools"; (4) "thorough and efficient teaching of English," with provision for appeal to the State Board of Education from the action of any school committee refusing to approve a private school. The law of 1925 limited the Commissioner to prescribing standard record systems for public schools, although the report requirement imposed by the amending statute would effect substantially the keeping by private schools of records of attendance similar to public school records. On that point there never had been objection; all private schools had used the public school register voluntarily for years, the books being distributed to private schools on request under the statutes.

Following the filibuster of 1924, and to avoid the possibilities of other delays or failures in passing of appropriation bills, the school statutes carrying appropriations were rewritten in 1925 in such manner as to carry stated amounts, under a ruling of the Attorney General in 1924 that a statute that purported to make an appropriation operated without necessity for action by the General Assembly. In the same year, school committees were relieved of an obligation to visit schools every term, a practice of district days that had been continued in the statutes; instead the law requires the superintendent of schools, if the school committee designates no other agent, to visit schools annually at least, and to report on "schoolhouse and premises, including classrooms, laboratories and other rooms used by the pupils and teachers, with particular reference to cleanliness, heating, lighting, seating, ventilation and other sanitary arrangements, and to corridors, stairways, doors, windows, fire escapes and other devices for the protection of life in case of fire; and of registers and other school records, of the school library, apparatus and equipment in classrooms and laboratories, of the books, discipline, mode of teaching and other matters that affect instruction," with recommendations.

The law thus effectively requires a survey by the superintendent. Following a survey of the schools of Providence, a special school statute enlarging the powers of the school committee with reference to finance, and providing a new method of selecting the school committee, was enacted in 1925. Curiously a similar statute enacted for Central Falls in 1926 had the effect of curtailing the powers of the school committee in that city. The teachers' pension law was amended to increase both maximum and minimum pensions in 1926; the minimum school year was made 180 days, and school committees were directed to keep a journal of meetings, in 1927, following a wholly gratuitous "dictum" of the Supreme Court that negated the existence of a statutory or other obligation; in 1929, part of the income of the permanent school fund was made available for apportionment to towns as assistance in building consolidated schools. In 1929, the state department was reorganized, the office of assistant commissioner was abolished, and three assistants were designated each with the title director, as Director of Vocational Education, Director of Adult Education, and Director of Surveys and Accounts.

A STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM ACHIEVED—Until 1882 it might be said, accurately, that the public schools of Rhode Island were town schools. In spite of the facts (1) that towns and cities derived their power to levy taxes for school support from the general laws of the state; (2) that school committees were elected under general laws, derived their powers from the statutes and generally were independent of control by town governments; (3) that schools were aided by state appropriations distributed *pro rata*, as well as by town taxation; (4) that certain revenues of the towns, derived from poll taxes, dog taxes and fines, could, under the Constitution and the laws, be applied to no other purpose than school support; (5) that the town school administrative organization was prescribed by statute and did not vary radically from town to town; (6) that the town schools were fundamentally uniform in type, though varying somewhat in detail and quality; (7) that town schools were subject to state supervision and inspection; (8) that the state had provided a normal school for the training of teachers; (9) that courses of study were subject to approval by the Commissioner, and (10) that Commissioner was by statute a judicial officer for the adjustment of disputes arising under the school law—the maintenance of schools and the appropriation of money for school support were *permissive* rather than *mandatory*. The Supreme Court, in 1881, declared: "The statutes of the state relating to free public schools do not make it the imperative duty of the several towns and cities to establish and maintain such schools, but create a general school system, under which the several towns and cities voluntarily establish and maintain public schools, receiving from the state certain allotments of money to help defray the cost of instruction."\* Conscious of its obligation to education, the state encouraged towns to establish schools, by annual appropriations to aid the towns. In 1882 the word *shall* replaced the word *may* in the statutes, and the school law became mandatory. Thereafter the school system might be regarded as a state system, in which towns became agents for the state in establishing and maintaining the schools which the state had decreed should be open to all its citizens; in which town taxation for school support was a device for adjusting a public burden amongst the people of the state; in which the towns became trustees of public school property. Twelve factors that establish the accuracy of the state view are: (1) Mandatory maintenance; (2) compulsory attendance; (3) special state assistance; (4) state certification of teachers; (5) state education for teachers; (6) minimum salary for teachers; (7) minimum school year; (8) mandatory high school education; (9) prescription of part and direction of the remainder of the course of study; (10) free textbooks; (11) state supervision through the Commissioner and the State Board of Education, and (12) the judicial authority of the Commissioner. The state school system centres in the state department of education, that is, in the State Board of Education and the Commissioner, who is *ex-officio* secretary of the State Board of Education and its chief executive agent.

\*Wixon vs. Newport, 13 R. I. 454.

The Rhode Island state system of schools consists of (1) free public elementary and high schools, established and maintained by towns and cities under mandatory statutes; (2) Rhode Island College of Education, the function of which is the training of teachers for the public schools; (3) Rhode Island State College, open without tuition to youth who are properly prepared for pursuing the instruction offered; (4) a number of institutions established and maintained for persons who may not with profit participate in public education in the ordinary type of school, including Rhode Island School for the Deaf, Exeter School, Sockanossett School, Oaklawn School, and State Home and School. The state also provides education through other agencies, including education for the blind, free state scholarships at Rhode Island School of Design, Brown University and Rhode Island College of Pharmacy, rehabilitation service, and public libraries. For older youth and adults the public day school system is supplemented by evening schools, and by vocational schools and classes of various types. The administration of the school system centres in the State Board of Education, which appoints as its secretary and executive agent a Commissioner of Education. Assisting the Commission directly are Directors of Vocational Education, of Adult Education, and of Surveys and Accounts. Other agents travelling from state headquarters are Supervisors of Agricultural Education, of Trade and Industrial Education, and of Home Economics Education, attached to the vocational division; an inspector of high schools, a library visitor, and a supervisor of home classes in Americanization. The town and city organization for administration is essentially similar throughout the state, centering in a school committee elected by the people. The school committee appoints a superintendent of schools, teachers, supervisors, truant officers, census enumerators, medical inspectors, janitors, and other agents in number and variety of service depending upon the size of the system. Under the statutes the school organization is practically independent of the general municipal government in town and city, and is protected from interference in the exercise of its functions by town meeting, town council or city council.†

The following summary outlines the general administration of Rhode Island public schools in 1930:

A. School Property—Land and buildings may be provided by the town or city; the school committee may rent suitable quarters if the town fails to provide school buildings. The school committee has exclusive right to locate sites for schoolhouses, subject to an appeal to the Commissioner. *Dube vs. Peck*, 22 R. I. 443; *Dube vs. Dixon*, 27 R. I. 115; *Appeal of Cottrell*, 10 R. I. 615. The school committee may take land privately owned for school purposes by condemnation. The town may appoint a special building committee to construct a school building. Closing a school does not operate as an abandonment; the school committee retains a right to reopen the school unless it votes to "abandon." *East Greenwich vs. Gimmons*, 34 R. I. 256. The school committee has the exclusive right to spend money appropriated for equipping and furnishing school buildings, even in the instance of a new building, the construction of which has been entrusted to a special committee. The school committee selects and prescribes textbooks, and must purchase at public expense and loan to pupils all supplies and textbooks needed for use in schools. *Gormley vs. School Committee*. Textbooks may be changed only once in three years without permission first obtained from the State Board of Education.

B. School Finance—Town school money is derived from general taxation of property; the tax and expenditures annually must equal the amount of a tax of three mills. The school committee is entitled also for use for school purposes to poll taxes, dog taxes, tuition paid by non-residents, proceeds of sales of school property other than land and buildings, and fines collected under the truancy law. State support is provided from general taxation, and apportioned to towns to assist in paying teachers' salaries, supporting high schools, maintaining

†*Times Publishing Company vs. White*, 23 R. I. 334; *Hardy vs. Lee*, 36 R. I. 302; *Murphy vs. Duffy*, 46 R. I. 210.

evening schools, providing supervision, purchasing apparatus, providing apparatus for manual training or instruction in vocational classes, paying for medical inspection, and consolidating schools. The Commissioner and State Board of Education may provide further assistance from the income of the permanent school fund in the event of emergencies. The town treasurer is legal custodian of school money, is required to keep separate accounts of receipts and expenditures, and to use the books prescribed by the Commissioner. The town treasurer may pay money from the school account only on orders drawn by the school committee. *Randall vs. Wetherell*, 2 R. I. 120. For this reason special appropriations of school money do not bind the school committee. *Times Publishing Company vs. White*, 23 R. I. 334. The city council may not establish a salary schedule for teachers that binds the school committee. *Hardy vs. Lee*, 36 R. I. 302. The school committee may expend for any purpose within its jurisdiction an amount exceeding that appropriated by the town meeting. Expenditure of school money is limited to school purposes, but the school committee has a wide discretion. A town is required by mandatory statute to establish and maintain schools, and the school committee is its agent for the purpose. A school committee is not limited to the amount appropriated by the town or city; it may incur indebtedness, charging the public credit. *Gormley vs. School Committee*; *Hardy vs. Lee*, 36 R. I. 302. The school committee is required to prepare a budget of proposed expenditures before the meeting for appropriations, and must send copies to the appropriating body and to the Commissioner. The school committee is required to report annually to the Commissioner and to the town on forms prescribed and furnished by the Commissioner.

C. School Teachers—No person is eligible for appointment as a teacher, supervisor or superintendent in the public schools unless he holds a certificate of qualifications issued by or under the authority of the State Board of Education. The board may annul a certificate for cause. Teachers may be recommended for employment by the superintendent of schools, but the selection of teachers is a function of the school committee. Tenure may not be, in the instance of regular employment, for less than a school year, or the balance of a school year; a contract for a shorter period is construed as an evasion of the statutory process for dismissal. The school committee may dismiss a teacher on charges after a trial. The teacher is entitled to presentation of charges, and an opportunity to present witnesses in his defence. *Crandall vs. School Committee*; *Brown vs. School Committee*. Members of school committees are ineligible for appointment as superintendent or teacher in the town of residence. The teacher's salary may not be less than \$650 per year for regular employment. The duties of the teacher are (1) To hold a certificate of qualification; (2) to observe and enforce rules and regulations prescribed by the school committee; (3) to teach the course of study; (4) to keep a school register and report to the Commissioner when requested; (5) to keep records of vaccination, and exclude from school children who are not vaccinated or excused from vaccination; (6) to implant and cultivate in the minds of the pupils sound principles of morality; (7) to prepare programs for observance of school holidays; (8) if in charge of a building, to conduct fire drills; (9) to conduct physical education twenty minutes each day; (10) to teach fire prevention one hour each month; (11) to teach the principles of the American form of government. The teacher is eligible for a pension after thirty-five years of service; and is no longer exempt from jury duty since 1929.

D. Administration and Supervision—The school committee is the exclusive agency for local administration; the superintendent of schools is the executive agent of the committee. The school committee may prescribe rules and regulations for teachers and pupils, and for the use of buildings and other school property. The rules are subject to approval by the Commissioner. The school committee prescribes the course of study, subject to approval by the Commissioner, and in the instance of the town high school subject to approval of the State Board of Education also. The course of study must include (1) physiology and

hygiene; (2) physical education; (3) fire prevention, and (4) the principles of the American form of government. The minimum school year is 180 actual days, and for high schools thirty-eight weeks. The school committee is required to employ a superintendent of schools, whose statutory duties are (1) to undertake the duties prescribed for him by the school committee; (2) to conduct sight and hearing tests annually; (3) to be the chief administrative agent of the school committee; (4) to assist the committee in keeping records and making reports; (5) to recommend teachers for appointment; (6) to recommend textbooks, supplies, and equipment; (7) to recommend repairs and improvements; (8) to report to the committee at least annually; (9) to report the opening of Americanization classes; (10) to keep a card record of the census and of attendance; (11) to visit schools at least annually and report to the school committee on the condition of buildings and equipment, the quality of instruction, and the needs of the schools. The school committee must appoint truant officers to enforce attendance, and enumerators to take the annual census. It may provide medical inspection, including dental inspection, and may establish public dental clinics. Besides the financial report made annually, the school committee or its agents is required to report, on the request of the Commissioner, other information concerning the schools. Complying with the requirements of the school statutes, the school committee exercises a liberal discretion in extending the town's educational program, and in the appointment of agents and assistants is not limited to customary designations, but may appoint reasonably and specify the service.

E. Pupils—No person may be excluded from any public school because of race or color or for being more than fifteen years of age, or for any reason except by general rule applicable to similar cases. The right to exclude or suspend temporarily because of hazard of contagious or infectious diseases is recognized as a reasonable health quarantine. The right to school includes in Rhode Island elementary and secondary education at the expense of the town of residence, with books and supplies. A child may not be excluded for backwardness or failure to achieve promotion. The power to exclude finally does not exist; a school committee may suspend a pupil for incorrigibly bad conduct, or persistent violation of school regulations. The right of a teacher, principal or superintendent to suspend is limited to the current session as a device for protecting a school from disturbance. Attendance is compulsory for children aged seven to sixteen years, except children over fifteen who are lawfully and regularly employed or engaged in business; attendance must be at public day schools, or on private instruction approved by the school committee. The machinery for enforcing attendance includes (1) the school census; (2) the teacher's record of attendance; (3) the correlation of census and attendance on the cards kept by the superintendent; (4) the services of truant officers and factory inspectors. A child is entitled to attendance in his own town, and reasonably in the school of his grade nearest his home, and is bound to attend regularly every day and hour that school is in session. Services may not be required of a pupil, and hazing is forbidden. The law protects the child in school from solicitation (1) for contributions to collections; (2) for purchases; (3) for subscriptions to magazines and periodicals, and (4) from charges for tutoring by his teachers.

F. The school law carries many penalties for violation or failure to observe. To assist in enforcement, appeals may be taken without cost from action or failure to act on the part of a school committee to the Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner's decision may be enforced by mandamus. *Randall vs. Wetherell*, 2 R. I. 120. The State Board of Education also has a function with reference to enforcing school law, may issue orders to assure compliance, and may penalize towns for violations of law by school officers or other persons related to the school organization, by withholding state money apportioned to the town until orders are complied with satisfactorily.

Public education is Rhode Island's greatest and most important enterprise, measured by the number of persons affected, by the widespread distribution of school property, by the value

of public school property, and by the amount of money expended annually. More than one-fifth of the population is enrolled in schools for education.\* Schools are so well distributed as to be convenient by location or transportation to every home in the state. The value of public school estates aggregates \$40,000,000. The amount expended for public education in recent years for current maintenance has averaged over \$10,000,000 annually. The system is rated excellent for accomplishment and achievement. The congestion of population in cities and large towns in Rhode Island lends itself to the housing of schools in commodious buildings, and to the provision with such buildings of auxiliary accommodations not feasible in small buildings, such as shops for manual training, pre-vocational and vocational classes; assembly halls for aggregate sessions, lectures, moving pictures, concerts, dramatics and whole-school exercises; gymnasia, lunchrooms, libraries, study rooms, all of which suggest an enriched curriculum. While the type of building used for school purposes tends as a matter of economy to simple lines, architects are finding ways of producing inexpensive, artistic effects that tend to relieve the "factory" cast and add distinction and beauty to schoolhouse construction. Occasionally a community finds in the building of a schoolhouse a way of expressing its aspiration to a finer conception of citizenship and a better exemplification of civic interest in the welfare of the rising generation. The Commissioner of Education once said that no building can be made finer than the civic aspirations of the community. A town may disclose a splendid ideal of service in the beauty and adequacy of its school buildings, making them temples of learning worthy of the public's greatest enterprise and most important investment. A stranger may measure somewhat the soul of a community as he looks at its schools.

Walter E. Ranger in 1930 completed a quarter-century as Commissioner; in recognition thereof the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction presented him with a watch chain engraved with the name of every town in Rhode Island, and a purse to which 4100 teachers contributed. A dinner in honor of the anniversary was attended by the commissioners from Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire and the presidents of Rhode Island State College, Rhode Island College of Education, Providence College and the University of Florida, besides several hundred teachers and superintendents.

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\*117,065 in public; 31,542 in private; total 148,607.





## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### HIGHER EDUCATION IN RHODE ISLAND.



RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE, later Brown University, the first institution of higher education in the state, and the first educational institution incorporated, was chartered by the General Assembly, in 1764, on the initiative principally of Baptists. The list of incorporators, Baptists and others, included many of the most influential citizens of Rhode Island of the period, and the governing body, although subject to control by a majority of Baptists, included representation of the then most populous denominations of Christians in Rhode Island. The General Assembly granted the charter without reserving a right to amend or to revoke, and without stipulating representation of the colonial government in the corporation. The charter of the college is unique among colonial college charters in the declaration:

That into this liberal and catholic institution shall never be admitted any religious tests; but on the contrary, all the members hereof shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute and uninterrupted Liberty of Conscience; and that the places of professors, tutors and all other officers, the President alone excepted,\* shall be free and open for all denominations of Protestants; and that youth of all religious denominations shall and may be freely admitted to the equal advantages, emoluments and honors of the college or university; and shall receive a like, fair, generous and equal treatment during their residence therein, they conducting themselves peaceably and conforming to the laws and statutes thereof. And that the public teaching shall, in general, respect the sciences; and that the sectarian differences of opinions shall not make any part of the public and classical instruction; although all religious controversies may be studied freely, examined and explained by the president, professors and tutors, in a personal, separate and distinct manner, to the youth of any or each denomination; and, above all, a constant regard be paid to, and effectual care taken of, the morals of the college.

Thus the charter conformed to the distinctive Rhode Island principle enunciated by Roger Williams, in so far as it enjoined liberty of conscience; but would permit, nevertheless, in the provision for free study and explanation of religious controversies, the development of a seminary for Baptist ministers, which was one of the significant purposes of obtaining in Rhode Island a charter for "a Baptist college established by law." In consideration of the "liberality and catholicity" imposed by the charter, the college was granted a sweeping and all-inclusive exemption of all its property from colonial and municipal taxation. As a further mark of favor, and in conformity with ancient European practices of granting privileges and immunities in order to attract teachers and students to university cities, the estates, persons and families of the president and professors of the college, and the persons of tutors and students were exempted from taxes, jury duty and military service,† the last except in case of invasion. The exemption of the college estate from taxation has been upheld by the courts of Rhode Island in the most liberal interpretation possible.‡ A modification of the exemption from taxation of members of the faculty, limiting it to not exceeding \$10,000 in each instance, was agreed to by General Assembly and college in 1863.

RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE—Rev. James Manning, graduate of the College of New Jersey, afterward Princeton, came to Rhode Island in 1763, and, with Rev. Morgan Edwards, undertook negotiations to obtain the charter. Dr. Manning remained as first President of Rhode Island College, Professor of Languages and only member of the faculty, when the college

\*Amended by agreement to permit the election of other than a Baptist as President.

†Exemption from colonial and state service, not from federal.

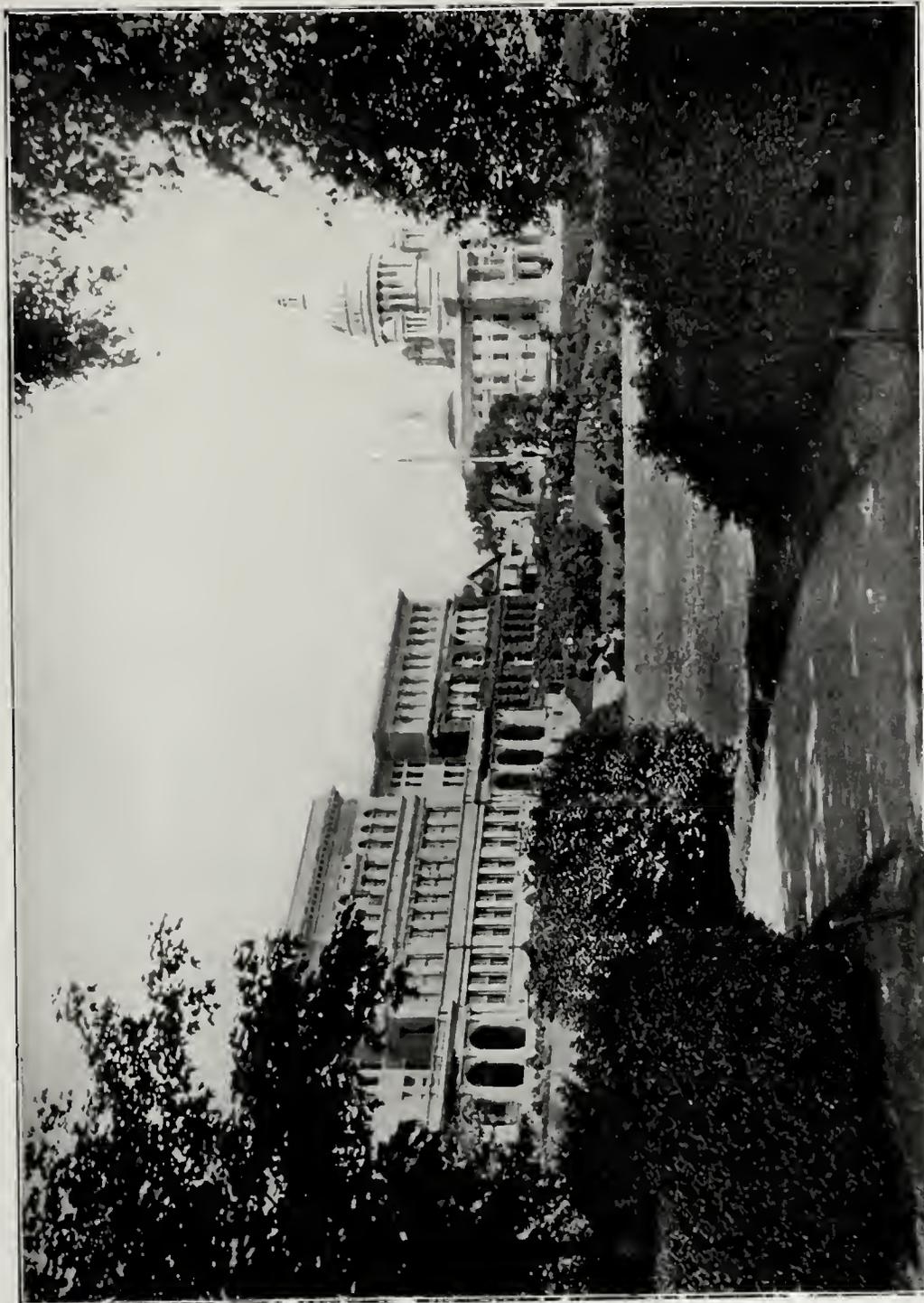
‡Brown University vs. Granger, 19 R. I. 704.

opened as a Latin School at Warren, in 1764, with one student—William Rogers. Five years later the accumulative aggregate of enrollments had reached twenty-nine. The college was still at Warren, in 1767, where Dr. Manning was pastor of the Baptist Church. The General Assembly, in that year, granted a lottery to complete the parsonage of the Baptist Church at Warren, where “Dr. Manning hath now under his care several pupils to be educated in the liberal arts, who cannot be accommodated in the said house in its present condition.” William Rogers was not only first student in Rhode Island College, but also first in the Latin preparatory school, which later was known as the University Grammar School. Because of the growth of the college, David Howell was appointed as tutor in 1767 with a salary of £72 lawful money. Later he became a professor in the college. Howell was a graduate of the College of New Jersey; his coming to Rhode Island brought to Colony and state a brilliant genius. Howell was an outstanding figure because of his defence of state rights in the Congress of the Confederation;§ he was later an associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, Attorney General, and Justice of the United States District Court. The first commencement exercises were conducted at Warren September 7, 1769. The first class included James Mitchell Varnum, who rose to the rank of Brigadier General in the Revolutionary War, was a lawyer distinguished for brilliant forensic ability, member of the Continental Congress, and died prematurely at the age of forty-one years in 1789, within a short time after he had removed to Marietta, Ohio, to become a justice in the Northwest Territory; William Rogers, first and for nine months only student under Dr. Manning’s instruction, who subsequently was noted as a Baptist minister, teacher and editor, and was awarded honorary degrees at Yale, Princeton and the College of Philadelphia; Richard Stites, lawyer, who died from the effects of wounds inflicted at the Battle of Long Island; Charles Thompson, Baptist minister, who succeeded Dr. Manning at Warren and was a trustee of the college; William Williams, Baptist minister and teacher, subsequently a member of the board of fellows; Joseph Eaton, physician, who died prematurely, aged twenty-five, in 1775; and Joseph Belton, who died in Philadelphia in 1785. Of the commencement exercises the “Providence Gazette” said: “Not only the candidates, but even the President, were dressed in American manufactures,” indicating an intense patriotism already developed in Rhode Island College. The “Newport Mercury” reported as part of the exercises “a forensic dispute in English” on the thesis: “The Americans, in their present circumstances, cannot, consistent with good policy, affect to become an independent state.” Curiously, James Mitchell Varnum, who was later to become one of the ablest of Washington’s generals, defended the thesis “by cogent arguments handsomely dressed, though he was subtly but delicately opposed by Mr. Williams, both of whom,” said the “Mercury,” “spoke with much emphasis and propriety.” “The audience (consisting of the principal gentlemen and ladies of this colony, and many of the neighboring governments), though large and crowded, behaved with the utmost decorum.” The time had not yet arrived in which the sheriff of Providence County and all his deputies would be assigned to attend the college commencement for the purpose of preserving order.

Meanwhile vigorous and effective methods had been undertaken to obtain financial support for the ambitious new college. Rev. Morgan Edwards went to Ireland and England in 1766 to solicit funds, and obtained the equivalent of \$4300, a quarter of which was contributed in Ireland. The Island of Saints and Scholars was more sympathetic than the mother country, which at the time was incensed by the obstinacy of her American colonies in opposing the stamp act. Subscriptions amounting to \$1700 were obtained for the college in South Carolina and Georgia, by Rev. Hezekiah Smith. Contributions and collections were taken in all Baptist churches, members being urged to contribute at least sixpence annually for the support of the college. The purpose had been the establishment of a Baptist college; the Baptist denomination immediately assumed principal responsibility for its support. In these later days of

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§Chapter XIV.



RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION WITH STATE HOUSE IN BACKGROUND



munificent gifts to enrich college endowments the large number of small contributions to the first fund raised for Rhode Island College appears amazing. Yet a parallel for it is found in the collection in the twentieth century of the fund for Providence College—the great bulk of which was contributed in small amounts by thousands of persons who had little to give but who gave that little generously. So it was with Rhode Island College in the beginning, gifts so low in amount as one shilling being recorded.

The location at Warren was temporary, determined in the first instance by Dr. Manning's residence there as pastor of the Baptist Church. East Greenwich, Newport, Providence and Warren entered a vigorous competition as rival sites for the college, Providence being selected eventually. Excavation for the cellar of the building later known as University Hall was begun on March 27, 1770, and John Brown laid the first foundation stone, May 14. The work went steadily forward under the direction of John Brown for the Brown Brothers, who had the contract for construction. Dr. Manning removed to Providence in May, 1770. For a time, while the college edifice was being made ready for occupancy, college exercises were conducted at the town brick schoolhouse on Meeting Street. As it was, only the two lower stories of the college building were furnished at first. Dr. Manning became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence in 1771. John Dorrance became the third member of the faculty as tutor and librarian in 1774, after graduation. Commencements in Providence were held at Mr. Snow's meetinghouse until the First Baptist Church had been completed, both "for the public worship of Almighty God and also for holding commencement in."\* The first commencement in the First Baptist Church, and the last until the end of the Revolution, was conducted in 1776, when Major General Nathanael Greene was awarded the honorary degree of Master of Arts, "in consideration of the great abilities, literary merit and the many eminent services performed . . . to this state in particular, and the continent in general." The college was closed December 14, 1776; the students had already been dispossessed by the patriot army, which had occupied the college as barracks.

The graduates, including the class of 1777, which received diplomas "in absentia," numbered sixty; of the forty-six whose records after graduation are known at the university, twenty-two became ministers, including eleven Congregational and six Baptist. Ten were physicians, seven lawyers, and one each a merchant and a manufacturer, and two were teachers. Ten were officers in army or navy, and five served as surgeons or chaplains. Of the first class graduated after the war, 1782, two had been army officers. President Manning issued a call for the reopening of the college in 1780, but then came the French army to occupy the college edifice as a hospital for two years. When, in 1782, the building was returned to the corporation the damage was estimated as £1300. The old quarters at the town schoolhouse on Meeting Street were occupied temporarily, while repairs were made by the state of Rhode Island. So few students were attracted by the reopening that none were graduated from 1783 to 1786. Meanwhile the college was casting about in various directions, seeking financial assistance. The faculty was strengthened by the engagement of Asher Robbins, 1782, and by the gratuitous services of Joseph Brown, as Professor of Experimental Philosophy, and Benjamin Waterhouse, who was Professor of Theory and Practice of Physics at Harvard. John Brown's offer to contribute half the cost of a set of philosophical apparatus and library was matched in 1783. Improvement continued, and the graduating class numbered twenty-two in 1790. Commencement was a holiday attracting crowds of people; in 1790 the sheriff of Providence County was requested to attend "to preserve the peace, good order and decorum," and the church society was requested "to prevent the erection of booths, or receptacles for liquors or other things for sale, and other disorderly practices in the Baptist Meeting House lot on Commencement days." President Manning died in 1791.

\*The Assembly granted a lottery to assist the building project.

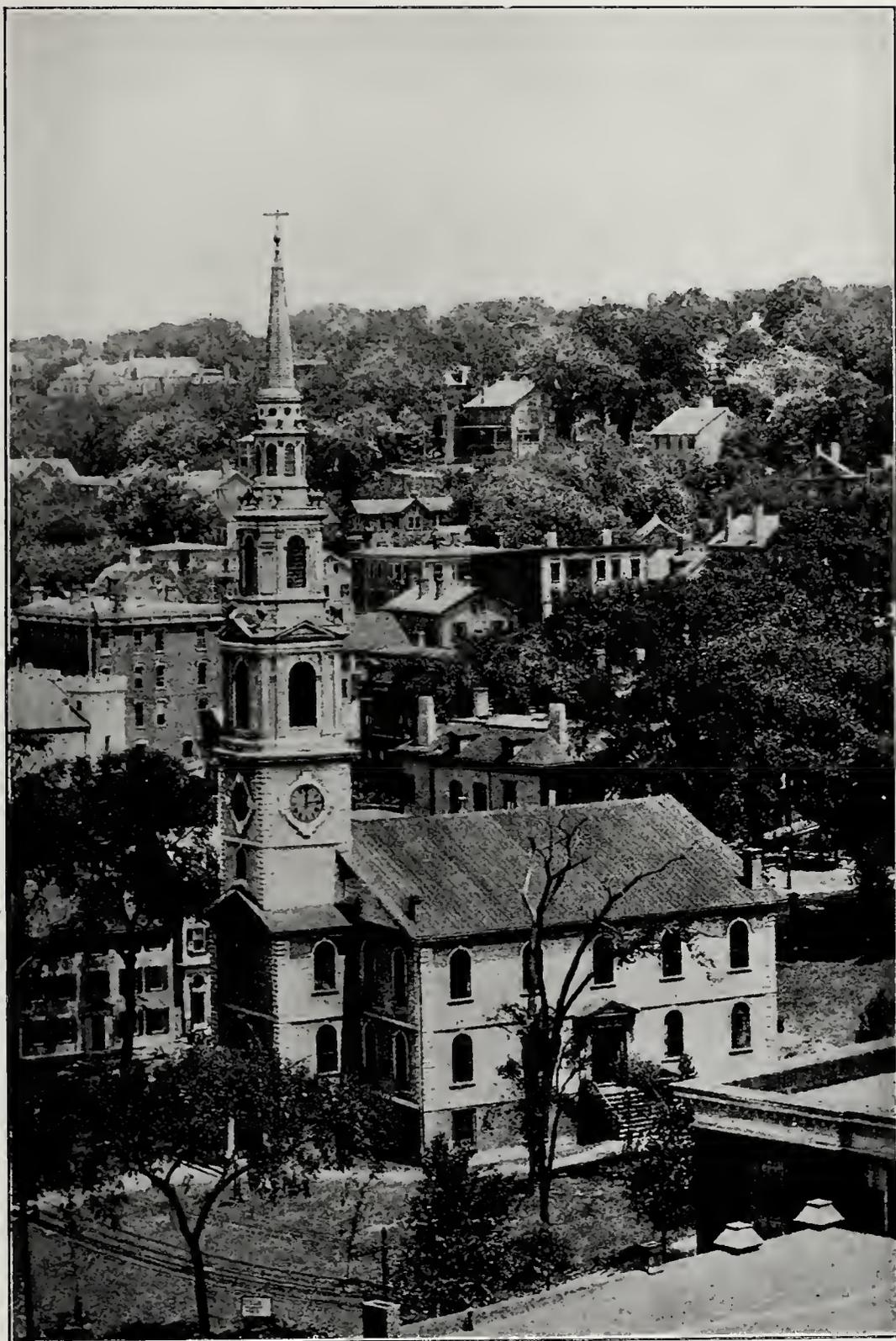
NAME CHANGED TO BROWN UNIVERSITY—Rev. Jonathan Maxcy was the second President. During his administration the college increased slowly but steadily in numbers of students and faculty but was beset for the most part by serious financial difficulties. A lottery granted by the state yielded \$8000 in 1795-1800,† and the college occasionally received small gifts of money, books, apparatus or museum specimens. President Maxcy, resigned, was succeeded by Asa Messer. Nicholas Brown, in 1804, responsive to a vote of the corporation “that the donation of \$5000, if made to this college within one year from the late commencement,‡ shall entitle the donor to name the college,” gave \$5000 to establish a professorship of oratory and belles lettres. The corporation voted, thus exercising a function given in the charter, “that this college be called and known in all future time by the name of Brown University in Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.” Brown University established a medical school in 1811 with three professors—Solomon Drowne, Professor of *Materia Medica* and Botany; William Ingalls, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; William C. Bowen, Professor of Chemistry. Dr. Levi Wheaton and Dr. John M. Eddy were added to the medical faculty in 1815, and John D’Wolf in 1817. The medical school was discontinued during President Wayland’s administration, when the university dispensed with the services of instructors not resident at the college. Nicholas Brown, appointed with Thomas P. Ives as a committee to erect a new building, proceeded with the construction at his own expense, and in 1823 presented the structure known as Hope College, so named for Mrs. Hope Ives, who was sister to Nicholas Brown. The name of the older “college edifice” was changed to University Hall. President Messer resigned in 1826 voluntarily, but probably because of embarrassment because he had been accused of leaning to Unitarianism.

FRANCIS WAYLAND’S RÉGIME—The resignation of President Messer marked the end of an old, and the election of Francis Wayland as his successor the beginning of a new régime at Brown University. Rhode Island College and Brown University, 1764-1827, compare favorably with other American colleges of the period. Most, like Brown, were struggling with serious financial problems, were poorly equipped with library books and apparatus, could pay such meagre salaries that teaching in college involved usually a sacrifice of economic advantage and advancement in other professions. American colleges had been established on English patterns, resembling Oxford and Cambridge in organization, content and methods of instruction, and relations between faculty and students. The instruction was principally in the Latin and Greek classics of antiquity, mathematics, a little science, English grammar, rhetoric, literature and oratory. In ancient classics the volume of reading accomplished was less than the minimum required for admission to college in 1900.\* Mathematics included arithmetic, and much of algebra and geometry which have been relegated to secondary education. The emphasis on oratory appeared in a letter written by John Brown shortly before his death in 1803: “And as the most beautiful and handsome mode of speaking was a principal object, to my certain knowledge, of the first friends to this college, I do wish that . . . the corporation may find means . . . to establish a professorship of English oratory.” Nicholas Brown gave \$5000 to endow the professorship in 1804. The college requirement of residence, the contacts in the college community with fellow students and with members of the teaching faculty probably were as educative as the academic work of study and in recitation and lecture. Keeness of analysis, thoughtful discussion, and eloquence in public speech were sought through the discipline of college studies and the practices of the college community. College education was also preparation to further study for entrance into the learned professions of the period. No better evidence of the value of the work done at Brown in the first sixty years may be found than the alumni.

†Another lottery, granted in 1811, yielded a small amount.

‡September, 1803.

\*Reduced since then, with substitution of other studies.



FIRST BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, PROVIDENCE  
The Oldest Baptist Church in America



From the following short list of 100† distinguished graduates have been omitted other hundreds of sterling citizens, patient and successful practitioners of chosen professions in church, education, law and medicine, and men of affairs, including, for example, judges of courts of inferior jurisdiction, members of state legislatures, college professors who did not become college presidents. Unless otherwise indicated with reference to public officers, the service was in Rhode Island, but the list shows also how widely Brown's sons were scattered and how the influence of the Rhode Island university was carried to other commonwealths and to nations beyond the seas. Included are the names of an acting Vice President of the United States, fourteen United States Senators, twenty-eight members of the National House of Representatives, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of State, eight Governors, three state chief educational officers, thirteen chief justices and eleven other justices of state supreme or federal courts, five mayors of cities, nineteen college presidents, three Episcopal Bishops, besides America's first international lawyer, and Ministers to foreign countries. "Here they are": General James M. Varnum, 1769; Theodore Foster, 1770, United States Senator; Samuel Eddy, 1787, lawyer, public officer, Congressman, Chief Justice; Jonathan Maxcy, 1787, second President; Jabez Bowen, 1788, Chief Justice, Georgia; James Burrill, 1788, Chief Justice, United States Senator; James Fenner, 1789, Governor, President of Constitutional Convention; Jeremiah Brown Howell, 1789, United States Senator; Asa Messer, 1790, third President; William Hunter, 1791, United States Senator, Minister to Brazil; James Brown Mason, 1791, Congressman; Jonathan Russell, 1791, Congressman, Minister to Norway and Sweden; Nathaniel Hazard, 1792, Congressman; Samuel Willard Bridgham, 1794, Chancellor of the University, lawyer, first Mayor of Providence; Solomon Sibley, 1794, Congressman; William Baylies, 1795, Congressman; Ezekiel Whitman, 1795, Chief Justice, Maine; Asa Aldis, 1796, Chief Justice, Vermont; Tristram Burges, 1796, Professor of Belles Lettres and Oratory, Chief Justice, Congressman; John Holmes, 1796, Congressman, United States Senator, author; James Ervin, 1797, Congressman; Horace Everett, 1797, Congressman; Nathaniel Bullock, 1798, Lieutenant Governor; James Tallmadge, 1798, Congressman; Jeremiah Chaplin, 1799, President of Waterville College; Nathan Fellows Dixon, 1799, United States Senator; John Pitman, 1799, Justice of United States District Court; John Mason Williams, 1801, Chief Justice, Massachusetts; Henry Wheaton, 1802, Reporter of United States Supreme Court, Chargé d'Affaires, Denmark, Minister to Prussia, author and leading American writer on international law, chosen lecturer on international law at Harvard; Philip Allen, 1803, manufacturer, Governor, United States Senator; John Reed, 1803, Congressman; Zebdiel Sampson, 1803, Congressman; Virgil Maxcy, 1804, Chargé d'Affaires, Belgium; Marcus Morton, 1804, lawyer, Congressman, Justice of Supreme Court of Massachusetts, member of Massachusetts Constitutional Convention; Samuel Randall, 1804, Justice of Supreme Court; William Durkee Williamson, 1804, lawyer, acting Governor of Maine, historian; Aaron Hobart, 1805, Congressman; Walter Raleigh Danforth, 1805, lawyer, editor, Mayor of Providence; Theron Metcalf, 1805, lawyer and writer and editor of law books, Reporter and Justice of Supreme Court of Massachusetts; Willard Preston, 1806, President of University of Vermont; John Bailey, 1807, Congressman; Adoniram Judson, 1807, missionary and author; Ebenezer Stoddard, 1807, Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut, Congressman; Charles Wheeler, 1807, President of Rector College; Abiel Bolles, 1808, President of Charleston College; John Brown Francis, 1808, Governor, United States Senator; William Learned Marcy, 1808, Justice of Supreme Court of New York, United States Senator, Governor of New York, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, editor; Dutee Jerauld Pearce, 1808, Attorney General, Congressman; John Hopkins Clarke, 1809, Congressman, United States Senator; Nicholas Brown, 1811, Consul to Italy, Lieutenant Governor; Daniel Wardwell, 1811, Congressman;

†Of 1085 graduates.

William Giles Goddard, 1812, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, Professor of Belles Lettres, editor and author; Richard Ward Greene, 1812, lawyer, Chief Justice; James Kinnicutt Angell, 1813, Reporter of Supreme Court, author of law books; Luke Drury, 1813, Justice of Supreme Court, author of new system of geography; Job Durfee, 1813, Congressman, Chief Justice, author; Enoch Pond, 1813, President of Bangor Theological Seminary; John Ruggles, 1813, United States Senator, author of United States patent law, 1836; Albert Smith, 1813, Congressman; Joseph Joslin, 1814, educator, President of People's Constitutional Convention; Joseph Adams, 1815, President of Charleston College, and of Geneva (Hobart) College; Wilbur Fisk, 1815, President of Wesleyan University, minister, member of State Board of Education of Connecticut; Charles Edward Forbes, 1815, Justice of Supreme Court of Massachusetts; John Goldwire Polhill, Justice of Supreme Court, Georgia; Benjamin Franklin Hallett, 1816, lawyer, editor of "Providence Journal"; Benjamin Bosworth, 1816, Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky, State Superintendent of Education of Kentucky; William Greene, 1817, Lieutenant Governor; Charles Jackson, 1817, Governor; William Read Staples, 1817, Chief Justice, editor, author; Jared Warner Williams, 1818, Congressman, United States Senator, Governor of New Hampshire; Jesse Hartwell, 1819, educator, minister, President of Mt. Lebanon University; Horace Mann, 1819, lawyer, educator, author, editor, Secretary of Massachusetts State Board of Education, Congressman, President of Antioch College; Rufus Babcock, 1821, President of Waterville College; Levi Haile, 1821, Justice of Supreme Court; Samuel Gridley Howe, 1821, soldier, naval surgeon, Superintendent of Perkins Institution for Blind, member of Massachusetts State Board of Education, author, educator; Thomas Hopkins Webb, 1821, physician, editor of "Providence Journal" and "Common School Journal"; Thomas Mackie Burgess, 1822, Mayor of Providence; Alexis Caswell, 1822, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and acting President of Brown, educator, minister, manufacturer, author; Samuel Leonard Crocker, 1822, manufacturer, Congressman; Isaac Davis, 1822, educator, lawyer, Mayor of Worcester, member of Massachusetts State Board of Education; Samuel Starkweather, 1822, lawyer, Mayor of Cleveland; Samuel Ames, 1823, Chief Justice of Supreme Court, Reporter, author of Revised Statutes of Rhode Island, and of legal textbooks; Silas Axtell Crane, 1823, President of Kemper College; Edward Mellen, 1823, Chief Justice, Massachusetts; George Denison Prentice, 1823, educator, editor of "Louisville Journal"; George Arnold Brayton, 1824, lawyer, Chief Justice of Supreme Court; George Gordon King, 1825, Congressman; Christopher Robinson, 1825, Congressman, Minister to Peru; Barnas Sears, 1825, President of Brown, President of Newton Theological Seminary, Secretary of Massachusetts State Board of Education, author, editor; George Burgess, 1826, minister, Episcopal Bishop of Maine; Eleazar Carter Hutchinson, 1826, President of Kemper College; John Kingsbury, 1826, Commissioner of Public Schools, educator; Edwards Amasa Parke, 1826, educator, Professor at Amherst and Andover Theological Seminary, author, historian, editor; Henry Williams, 1826, lawyer, manufacturer, Congressman; John Henry Clifford, 1827, lawyer, Governor of Massachusetts; Thomas Robinson Hunter, 1827, diplomat, Mayor of Newport; John Pratt, 1827, educator, minister, farmer, President of Denison University; Israel Putnam, 1827, physician, Mayor of Bath, Maine; Lafayette Sabine Foster, 1828, educator, lawyer, United States Senator, acting Vice President of United States, Justice of Supreme Court of Connecticut, editor; Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, 1828, educator, minister, editor, author, Episcopal Bishop of Central Pennsylvania; Joseph Thomas Robert, 1826, physician, minister, educator, President of Burlington University.

President Wayland, on taking office in February, 1827, threw all the vigor of robust physique and giant intellect into the work of reorganizing Brown University. In the later years of President Messer's administration, there had been marked relaxation of discipline,

and occasionally disorder and destruction of property by student rioters. Discipline was restored by Wayland in college community life, in study hours and in the classroom, and was applied both to students and faculty. The former found themselves bound to quiet, orderly living in dormitories, to actual presence and work in study hours, and to regular attendance on an exacting and complete recitation schedule throughout the college year. Additional to the rigor of regulations, a stern but just man was in command. Students who complained at first of the new program learned to appreciate the progress that resulted from the strict regimen. Instructors were required to visit students' rooms for supervision, to report disorder, infraction of rules and unsatisfactory accomplishment in studies, and to "occupy rooms in college during the hours appropriated to study." Enforcement of the rule last mentioned brought the medical school to an abrupt ending and precipitated resignations of professors, such as Tristram Burges, who had come to the college only to lecture. Wayland himself carried no textbook to class, nor did he permit his students to do so. Thus both instructor and student rose to the intellectual stature of independence of the text, and met on the common ground of acquaintance with the subject to be discussed. Both must be adequately prepared. Wayland's rule was extended to the college, thus: "No textbooks shall be brought into the recitation room, except the recitations of the learned languages." Within a few months Wayland had so quickened educational activity that he could recommend rigid entrance requirements and enrich the college curriculum by introducing new studies. A chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was chartered in 1830 to encourage general high scholarship. Ten years later, after a visit to England, Wayland introduced the English practice of offering prizes for excellence in college studies. The almost revolutionary program inaugurated by President Wayland evoked criticism, but he pressed steadily onward. As he alarmed an exclusive "illuminati" by placing his hands in his side pockets while speaking from the platform, and by chewing tobacco in public, as well as by upsetting old and setting up new standards, he found favor with the body politic of practical men by reason of his intensely honest thinking, frank expression, and firm, unflinching convictions. Requested in 1828 to make a survey of the public schools of Providence, his report\* was epoch-making in constructive criticism, clear enunciation of principles vital to public education, and practical recommendations, most of which were undertaken immediately. Among other achievements early in his administration were: (1) The raising by popular subscription in 1831 of \$25,000† as a permanent endowment for the college library, adoption of a plan for systematic accessions "so that the library may present a view of the progress and attainments of the human mind," and the appointment of a regular librarian; (2) the building of Manning Hall, 1834, gift of Nicholas Brown, as a house for library and chapel; (3) the building of Rhode Island Hall, as a science hall; and (4) a dwelling house for the President, both on land given by Nicholas Brown, who also subscribed \$10,000 as an initial gift, conditional upon the raising of an equal amount by other subscriptions. A devise of land carrying the college estate easterly to Hope Street, and a bequest of \$10,000 in the will of Nicholas Brown, who died in 1841, carried the total of his gifts to Brown University to \$160,000. The expansion of the college estate involved an increase in expenditure for current maintenance; Wayland's rigorous insistence upon high scholastic standards turned frivolous students away, and the number enrolled decreased steadily. Losses in the number of graduates was not so great, however, which indicated strong holding power, and excellent and successful teaching.

A list of fifty distinguished graduates during Wayland's administration includes three Governors of Rhode Island, two Lieutenant Governors of Rhode Island and one of Connecticut; eight members of the national House of Representatives, two United States Senators;

\*Chapter XVI.

†\$19,437.50 subscribed and placed at interest to accumulate \$25,000.

two Rhode Island Chief Justices, besides one who was elected and declined, the Chief Justice of Arizona, Kansas and Ohio, three Rhode Island Justices of the Supreme Court, and one of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; President Robinson of Brown and Presidents of Almira College, Brownsville Female College, Granville College, Waterville College (two), Eno College, Andrews College, Des Moines College, Swarthmore College, Crozier Theological Seminary, Monongahela College, University of South Carolina, Colby College, University of Michigan, University of Vermont, and a Dean of Yale Law School; Mayors of Boston and Bangor; a national Secretary of State, and Ministers to Turkey (two) and China; Henry B. Anthony and James B. Angell, editors of the "Providence Journal"; Samuel Greene Arnold and Henry Crawford Dorr, historians; Jeremiah Lewis Diman, James Robinson Boise, Albert Harkness, John Larkin Lincoln, George Ide Chace, Samuel Stillman Greene, all brilliant scholars and teachers; Nathan Bishop, first American Superintendent of Schools; Alexander Burgess, Bishop of Quincy; a Rhode Island Commissioner of Public Schools; James W. C. Ely, one of the best known and most beloved of Rhode Island physicians; Samuel Sullivan ("Sunset") Cox, poet; George Parks Fisher, author; Augustus Hoppin, artist, and Reuben A. Guild, beloved by Brown men as librarian, and historian of the University.

A college cannot be maintained, however, unless its income is sufficient to pay the salaries of teachers and other current expenditures. When the time approached in which the college no longer would be able to meet its financial obligations, President Wayland tendered his resignation in 1849. The corporation requested that the resignation be withdrawn, and Wayland consented conditionally upon the appointment of a committee of inquiry and investigation. It was clear that his purpose had been to precipitate a situation that would necessitate action. In a report to the corporation on March 28, 1850, President Wayland directed attention to the failure of American endowed liberal arts colleges to meet the pressing demands of the nation for men trained in science, and to the loss of students in American colleges generally "because we do not furnish the education desired by the people." His view was not new; in 1842 he had published "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States," in which he had sustained the thesis "that the present system of collegiate education does not meet the wants of the public." Wayland was an educational reformer, who chafed at the conservatism of Brown University, while he endeavored to use to the utmost advantage every opportunity to educate the youth committed to his guidance.

WAYLAND'S PLAN FOR A NEW HIGHER EDUCATION.—President Wayland recommended an entirely new plan for collegiate education, involving (1) abandonment of the traditional term of four years, every student to be allowed to carry on, without reference to time, such studies as he chose; (2) a liberal elective system, in which "every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose"; (3) completion of courses once begun without interruption; (4) new courses on subjects not theretofore included in the curriculum. The complete curriculum should include (1) Latin, two years; (2) Greek, two years; (3) three modern languages; (4) pure mathematics, two years; (5) mechanics, optics, and astronomy, with or without mathematical demonstration, one and one-half years; (6) chemistry, physiology, and geology, one and one-half years; (7) English language and rhetoric, one year; (8) moral and intellectual philosophy, one year; (9) political economy, one term; (10) history, one term; (11) science of teaching; (12) principles of agriculture; (13) application of chemistry to the arts; (14) application of science to the arts; (15) science of law. Wayland suggested that the changes proposed would increase the enrollment of students, which was the immediate purpose, by inducing many to remain longer, five or six years, and by inviting to enter college many others who could not remain four years but who could, in shorter time, complete one or more parts of the curriculum. He urged that the

plan was "just," because it offered to agriculturists, manufacturer, mechanic or merchant opportunity for cultivating the mind; "expedient," because "civilization is advancing, and it can only advance in the line of the useful arts," and "a knowledge universally diffused of the laws of vegetation might have doubled our annual agricultural products," and "had a knowledge of principles been generally diffused," among our mechanics and manufacturers, "we should already have outstripped Europe in all those arts which increase the comforts or multiply the refinements of human life"; and "necessary," because "men who do not design to educate their sons for the professions are capable of determining upon the kind of instruction which they need." Here, then, was the crux of Wayland's philosophy of higher education, anticipating the declaration of Justin Morrill that there was ample provision for education in liberal arts colleges for the sedentary professions, but that the nation needed a type of higher education that would prepare men for the occupations of life.

Wayland proposed that Brown, while maintaining a curriculum that should fit men for the professional study of theology, law, medicine, literature or education, should so broaden the opportunities for study and so open options for choice, that numbers would come, additional to those who had chosen professions, and find at the university education in the sciences that would lead to successful careers in the workaday world of industry, commerce and agriculture. Had Brown had the resources and the willingness to carry Wayland's plan completely into effect, a great University of Rhode Island must have developed, anticipating the type of federal-state university that was fostered by the Morrill act of 1862, and later legislation by Congress. The corporation voted, May 7, 1850, to inaugurate the "new system" so soon as \$125,000 "can be added to its present funds." The money was raised, \$65,000 by subscriptions of John Carter Brown, Alexander Duncan, Mrs. Hope Ives, Robert H. Ives, and Horatio N. Slater, conditional upon the raising of \$60,000 additional by September 4; and the balance after an appeal stating that "the whole design must fail and the university very soon be closed forever." The new curriculum included Latin, Greek, modern languages, mathematics, natural history, civil engineering, chemistry and physiology, English, moral and intellectual philosophy, history and political economy, educational science (under the name of "didactics"), application of chemistry to the arts, and theory and practice of agriculture. Under the new system Brown inaugurated the first college department of education for training teachers. The enrollment of students justified the changes, rising from 174 to 225, 240, 283, 252, the last in 1854-1855. The enrollment included in four successive years 55, 51, 84, 75 students who were not candidates for degrees in regular courses. Comment upon the new system generally was congratulatory. The General Assembly invited President Wayland to explain the plan in an address to the joint assembly, and adopted resolutions "that the members of the assembly will exert themselves to the end that said plan may be carried into successful operation." There were difficulties, such as might be expected, in carrying the new system completely into operation, and some failures. Brown had gained in one of the crises of its history at least (1) an increased endowment; (2) an enlarged faculty; (3) an enriched curriculum; (4) a new clientage; and (5) a widespread confidence in Rhode Island that the new system in its operation would tend to establish a positive correlation between state and university. Brown University was nearer in 1850 to being the "University of the State of Rhode Island" than ever before in its long history. President Wayland resigned in 1855; he died September 30, 1865.

AFTER WAYLAND—Rev. Barnas Sears succeeded Dr. Wayland, continuing twelve years to 1867. During this administration there was a perceptible reaction from the new system inaugurated by Wayland, and the departments of education, civil engineering\* and applied

\*Temporarily.

chemistry disappeared. Requirements for admission and degrees, which had been lowered under the new system, were restored, and the college was less cordial in its welcome to students who entered for less than the four-year term. There was no overt declaration of abandonment of the new system or of return to the practices prevailing before 1850, and there was no complete restoration of the old regimen. There was, nevertheless, a gradual readjustment, or consolidation, in the course of which a selection took place of excellencies of the new system for retention, and a rejection of some factors that had not worked well in practice or which were too much in advance of the times for easy assimilation. For five years the Civil War overshadowed the college, as it did all else in America. The college endowment was increased, Rogers Hall, the old chemical laboratory, was added to the equipment, and sons of Brown, alumni and undergraduates, undertook patriotic service in the struggle, for the most part with the Union army or navy, though there were a few from the Southland, who followed their states loyally into the Confederacy. College exercises were interrupted, but the college was not closed as it had been in the Revolution. Of the 278 men who were members of the graduating classes, 1861-1865, 132 enlisted; altogether 268 Brown men enlisted, counting graduates and undergraduates, and the memory of twenty-one who died in the war is preserved by a tablet in Manning Hall.

From the State of Rhode Island Brown University received an assignment of Rhode Island's "rights" under the Morrill act of 1862. It is conceivable that a President with Wayland's strong penchant for the utilitarian in education might have seized upon this grant as the opportunity for transforming Brown University into a state university, or for establishing in the university a department of agriculture following the recommendation in his report in 1850.† It was not to be, however; Presidents Sears, Caswell and Robinson were not interested in agriculture. Professor Chace, who served as executive administrator while Brown was finding a president to succeed Sears, organized a three-year course for those who had been granted state scholarships under agreement with the General Assembly. During the administrations of Presidents Sears and Caswell the university's endowment was increased, reaching \$602,000 in 1872, when President Caswell resigned. Interest in athletics had produced a baseball nine, and a crew; in 1870 the freshman six-oar boat defeated Amherst, Harvard and Yale at Lake Quinsigamond.

BROWN'S IRON MAN—An "iron man" came to Brown as President in 1872 in the person of Ezekiel Gilman Robinson, who almost immediately devoted himself to a program of building, introducing new studies and increasing the university funds. Several offers of land as new sites for the university had been made, including one by Senator William Sprague, but none was accepted. New construction during the seventeen years of President Robinson included (1) an addition to Rhode Island hall for the department of physics; (2) a new library building, at the corner of Waterman and Prospect streets, across Waterman Street from the campus, land and buildings both gifts of John Carter Brown and his widow; (3) Slater Hall, a dormitory, gift of Horatio N. Slater; (4) Sayles Hall, gift of William F. Sayles, as a memorial to his son, William Clark Sayles; (6) rebuilding of University Hall, except the walls, from cellar to roof; (7) Wilson Hall, for the physics laboratory, gift of George F. Wilson. Money for two other buildings, Lyman Gymnasium, gift of Daniel W. Lyman, and Ladd Observatory, gift of Governor Herbert W. Ladd, had been contributed; the buildings were constructed after Dr. Robinson resigned. The endowment funds reached \$1,000,000. The university library, which had grown to 38,000 volumes, received the Olney bequest of \$10,000 for the purchase of botanical books, and the Harris collection of American poetry, 6000 volumes, collected by Albert C. Greene, C. Fiske Harris and Henry B. Anthony,

†For a history of this grant see the State College *infra*.

the last of whom bequeathed it to Brown. The middle campus was graded, and the back campus, later known as Lincoln Field, was filled in and levelled for baseball. Metcalf Arboretum, for use as a botanical garden, was received by gift in 1884. A collection of portraits, already underway, was removed to Sayles Hall. In his first report to the corporation President Robinson discussed the need for a "scientific school . . . for instruction in the applications of science to the mechanic arts . . . which . . . shall not fail to provide for sub-schools of design, of drawing, of civil engineering, of architecture, of the fine arts, etc.," thus anticipating the work later undertaken in part by Rhode Island School of Design. His own interest in science led to a broadening of the curriculum, which, made possible by the larger means available and the tuitions increased in amount per student and by the number of students, would have gladdened the heart of President Wayland. New professorships were established in physiology, agricultural zoölogy, natural history including botany, geology, astronomy, and modern languages. Entrance requirements were increased, the course leading to the degree of bachelor of philosophy was lengthened to four years, and a limited elective system was gradually introduced, made possible by the new studies and a recognition of the broadening needs of well-educated citizens. President Robinson resigned in 1889, being then seventy-four years of age.

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, PRESIDENT—To the vacancy caused by the resignation of President Robinson, the corporation called Elisha Benjamin Andrews, who a year before had left Brown to accept a professorship at Cornell. Seventeen years of age in 1861, he enlisted as a private, rose to the rank of second lieutenant by promotion, was wounded at Petersburg, and entered Brown, in 1865, already a veteran with an honorable war record. As professor of history at Brown, 1883-1888, his popularity was only less than that which he achieved as President. In eight years the enrollment of students, including undergraduate men, graduates and women in the new women's college, increased from 276 to over 900, a gain of 240 per cent. The faculty was enlarged from twenty-six to eighty-eight, including a gain of from sixteen professors to forty-seven professors, and of from six to thirty-one instructors. New departments were introduced, old departments were broadened by the introduction of new courses, and the requirements in course were modified to permit more extensive election of courses. Andrews not only built up the university, but by inspiring leadership unified it in spirit. Old Brown experienced a Renaissance and was fired with the enthusiasm of a magnificent master spirit which fused it with the new Brown. Marked as had been the splendid growth in physical equipment under President Robinson, including Wilson Hall and Lyman Gymnasium, both completed in 1891 while Andrews was President, Brown had outgrown all of it and was badly crowded by 1892. The erection of Maxcy Hall, 1895, affording dormitory and class-room accommodations, scarcely relieved the pressure. Brown needed more new buildings and more endowment, but neither was forthcoming. The construction of Pembroke Hall, 1897, for the Women's College, did not improve the situation on the campus. The nation was not prosperous at the period, and men with wealth no longer gave liberally to Brown University.

President Andrews had incurred the displeasure of some of the new captains of industry and commerce because of his views on economic questions, favoring both free trade and bimetallism. As a teacher of political economy his views on both questions were well known, but he avoided, while serving as President, public expressions of his opinions. He was absent from the United States and Brown, on leave of absence seeking recuperation and health in 1896, during the political campaign waged on the issue of free silver coinage, but private letters in which he answered questions favorably to bimetallism were quoted in the discussions incident to the campaign and were published without his wish or consent. No issue after the

Civil War awakened more rancor and ill-feeling than that of free silver coinage, and the campaign of 1896 was one of the most bitter the country ever experienced. The corporation in June, 1897, appointed a committee to confer with President Andrews "in regard to the interests of the university." On learning from the committee that the corporation wished "not a renunciation of . . . views as honestly entertained by him, but a forbearance, out of regard for the interests of the university, to promulgate them," President Andrews tendered his resignation because he could not comply with this request "without surrendering that reasonable liberty of utterance . . . in the absence of which the most ample endowment for an educational institution would have been but little worth."

It was a Massachusetts member of the corporation, Joseph Walker, of Worcester, who had proposed curtailment of the President's liberty of speech; had E. Benjamin Andrews been born in Rhode Island he could not have answered better. In his years at Brown as student, instructor and President he had caught the Rhode Island spirit and had become most appreciative of Rhode Island's unique history. The university rose to his support. More than 600 alumni petitioned the corporation to "refute the charge that reasonable liberty of utterance was, or ever is to be denied to any teacher of Brown University." Women graduates of the new college for women sent a petition on behalf of the President who had made the Women's College possible. Undergraduates were preparing to leave. Twenty-four professors joined the movement against the corporation, protesting action that "would stamp this institution, in the eyes of the country, as one in which freedom of thought and expression is not permitted when it runs counter to the views generally accepted in the community or held by those from whom the university hopes to obtain financial support." The issue of personal liberty transcended the economic issue. Friends of "free thought and free speech" from all parts of the United States took up the quarrel. Thus it must ever be "*ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.*" In the dilemma the great soul of Andrews rose to new magnificence and magnanimity. He knew, perhaps, better than anyone else in that summer of 1897, in which many an enthusiastic supporter of "Andrews and free speech" cast discretion to the winds, the incalculable injury to Brown University that would follow his withdrawal under the circumstances; and he placed the welfare of the university first. He must maintain his own integrity, and yet find a way for conciliation and to restoration of peace after a quarrel that threatened destruction, in the course of an unfortunate episode, of all that had been accomplished in years of constructive effort. In a statement to the committee of conference he reaffirmed his unqualified faith in international bimetallism, and his belief that, while other nations must coöperate to make the movement successful, the United States might initiate action. He denied the making of any public statement of his private views, and regretted that private correspondence with intimate friends had been published without his consent or wish.

The corporation requested President Andrews to withdraw his resignation, disaffirming any purpose "to prescribe the path in which you should tread, or to administer to you any official rebuke, or to restrain your freedom of opinion, or reasonable liberty of utterance," and explaining that the corporation had wished "simply to intimate that it would be the part of wisdom for you to take a less active part in exciting partisan discussions and apply your energies more exclusively to the affairs of the college." The corporation concluded by saying that it "cannot feel that the divergence of views between you and the members of the corporation upon the 'silver question' and its effect upon the university is an adequate cause of separation between us," and that it is "profoundly appreciative of the great services you have rendered the university and of your sacrifice and love for it." The resignation was withdrawn and Andrews returned to Brown. The news of President Andrews' return, received late in the evening preceding the reopening of college for the fall term, 1897-1898, was the

occasion for the greatest "celebration" in the history of the college, the next greatest being another on the occasion of the return of President Andrews some years later for a short visit to the university. To signify their rejoicing at the return of "Benny," as he was called affectionately by faculty and students, both turned out in an imposing fireworks procession from College Hill through the centre of the city of Providence, and back to the campus for a round of speeches, and a final cheer for Brown and a "God bless Benny Andrews." The writer, a senior at the time, walked and danced in the procession side by side and sometimes arm linked with a professor who had seen and was to see further years of service in the university. Bad feeling engendered by the passions of the quarrel were forgotten, and Brown entered upon an era of good feeling, into the promotion of which Andrews threw all the ardor of his love for Brown University.

With the declaration of war against Spain in 1898 Andrews aroused the student body with the clarion call of a veteran soldier of the Republic, and the students turned out almost to a man to organize a cadet battalion and drill daily under the direction of a United States army officer. The war was short and the battalion never was called for actual service, but many Brown men, including some who were undergraduate students, enlisted in the Rhode Island regiment. Two, Louis Thomas and John Wells, both of the class of 1898, who went to the Philippines after the war as teachers, were slain by natives. President Andrews remained only for a year after his return; he resigned in July, 1898, to become Superintendent of Public Schools in the city of Chicago for two years, and later Chancellor of the University of Nebraska. The corporation accepted the second resignation in resolutions recording "their high appreciation of the valuable services which he has rendered to the university during the nine years in which he has held the office of President. His administration has been both vigorous and conservative; his method, that of extending as widely as possible the influence and help of liberal education; his relations to students, faculty and officers, such as to bind them to him in sincere respect and personal regard. His success as an educator is shown in the remarkable growth of the university during his term of office, and in the enthusiasm which he has inspired in those who have been under him. The record which he leaves of his labors here is one in which he may well take an honest pride, and one which marks an epoch in the history of Brown."

Both Robinson and Andrews had brought back to Brown some of the fire of Wayland, Robinson in the masterful building of the university estate, and Andrews in the splendid recruiting of a greater Brown, which for the time grew faster than any other American college. Besides the larger regular student body of undergraduate men, and the inauguration of a college for women in the university, Andrews had not only attracted a large body of "special students," not matriculated as candidates for degrees, and following the plan outlined by Wayland for a group of students, each one studying "what he chose, all that he chose and nothing but what he chose," but had carried university culture outside the college walls through "extension" service that reached hundreds of people in Rhode Island and nearby places in other states. There had been also, during the administration of Presidents Robinson and Andrews, a notable development of athletics, and Brown maintained teams of national reputation in two major sports—baseball and football. President Andrews himself was an enthusiastic supporter of the athletic program, and a conspicuous figure at games and in "celebrations" of victories. For a year Professor Benjamin Franklin Clarke, who had been acting President while Andrews was on leave of absence, served as acting President until the election of Rev. William H. P. Faunce as President, June 3, 1899.

A LONG ADMINISTRATION—The long administration of President Faunce, thirty-one years from 1899 to 1930, may be divided into two periods of nearly even length, from 1899 to the sesquicentennial year of 1914, and from 1914 to 1930. In the first period of fifteen

years there was a steady, but not a remarkable growth of the student body or of the faculty, although the latter was strengthened by a gain in the ratio of professors to instructors and encouraged by salary increases that tended to relieve the sacrifices constantly made in earlier years. Into the work of obtaining the physical plant and the financial resources necessary to maintain the university that had grown so rapidly in the preceding administration, President Faunce threw all his strength, receiving cordial support from corporation and alumni, reunited in the common cause. His charming personality, unctuous address and polished eloquence won him hosts of friends, who shared his enthusiasm in the great work of building. The first task, raising \$1,000,000 to increase the endowment, was accomplished in 1900, and in 1902 another \$1,000,000 was obtained. To large gifts offered by wealthy friends of the university contributions were added, large and small, by the alumni; the \$2,000,000 raised in 1900 and 1902 attest the love of the graduates for their college. Other gifts, including a legacy of \$500,000 and one of \$85,000, and a third \$1,000,000, raised in 1912, carried the endowment to over \$4,500,000 in the sesquicentennial year. New buildings and other construction, augmenting the physical resources, during the same period, included: (1) Andrews Field, 1899, for a quarter of a century the university athletic field; (2) a brick house for the President, 1901, at the corner of Hope and Manning streets; (3) an administration building, 1902, at the southwest corner of Prospect and College streets, and with it, also the gift by bequest of Augustus Van Wickle, a memorial gateway at the main entrance to the campus, on Prospect Street opposite College Street; (4) the Engineering building, 1903, on the back campus; (5) Caswell Hall, 1903, a dormitory, on the back campus facing Thayer Street; (6) Colgate Hoyt swimming pool, 1903, adjoining Lyman Gymnasium; (7) Rockefeller Hall, 1903, gift of John D. Rockefeller, at the north end of the middle campus; (8) John Carter Brown Library, 1904, housing the John Carter Brown collection of Americana, both gifts of the estate of John Nicholas Brown, and with them the John Nicholas Brown gateway, on George Street, opposite Brown Street; (9) the Carrie Brown clock tower, 1904, gift of John Bajnotti, a memorial to Carrie Mathilde Brown Bajnotti; (10) the iron fence, 1903-1905, gift, section by section, of university classes, and including, besides the Van Wickle and Brown gates, other gates known as Robinson, Class of 1872, Class of 1887, Goddard, Schofield and Soldiers; (11) Sayles Gymnasium, 1906, for the Women's College; (12) recitation building, 1906, for the Women's College; (13) field house, 1907, Andrews Field; (14) Miller Hall, 1910, dormitory for Women's College; (15) John Hay Library, 1910; (16) East House, 1912, dormitory for Women's College; (17) Arnold Biological Laboratory, 1914. University Hall, exterior, was restored in 1905, by removing the stucco, replacing doors and windows, and the belfry in colonial design. Of the new buildings, 1899-1914, the most striking are the John Carter Brown Library and the John Hay Library. The former houses a growing collection of some 30,000 volumes relating to the history of North, South and Central America. John Carter Brown began to accumulate the library in 1840, and the work was continued by his son, John Nicholas Brown. Composed of source material printed before 1801, the collection bears in Europe and America a deserved renown for completeness, as well as for its possession of some of the most coveted treasures of Americana.

The John Hay Library, for which the initial contribution of \$150,000 offered by Andrew Carnegie was matched by alumni and friends, was planned to afford stack room for 250,000 volumes, with possibility of extension, and includes a magnificent reading room, with seats and library tables for 200 readers. The university libraries contain 450,000 volumes. Special collections in the university library include: The Harris collection of American poetry, the Rider collection of Rhode Island history, the Wheaton collection of international law, the Church collection on the geography, history and resources of South America, the Cottrell engineering library, the Chambers Dante collection, the Lester F. Ward library of sociology

and paleo-botany, the Hammond Lamont library of English literature, the Hoffman Napoleon collection, the McLellan Lincoln collection, the Walter Hammond Kimball library of literature and history. The physical development to 1914 was principally in and about the old college estate, and the new centre developing for the Women's College.

The sesquicentennial of Brown University, 1914, was celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, including a revival of the torchlight parade and an evening pageant of the university. The World War had already broken out in Europe, but America's sword was still sheathed. University life was little changed because of events across the Atlantic, although the shadow of war fell nearer home when dispatches brought tidings of the death in one of the early battles of Henri Ferdinand Nicholeau, French instructor, who had returned to his regiment in the French reserve. America's entry into the war brought changes. Students enlisted voluntarily, and many answered the call through the selective draft. In the intensive period of preparation the university conducted an all-year program, omitting vacations, and with other universities and colleges, undertook the work of training special units for military service. The campus became an armed camp, and the student body a military organization. Many Brown men went overseas, never to return. Soldiers' gate, on Thayer Street, opposite Manning, is their memorial, dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in 1923. Forming a graceful entrance to an enclosed quadrangle, it bears the names of those who carried on even unto death. With the end of the war, Brown felt the immediate effects of the movement "back-to-college," and faced new problems because of an enrollment surpassing all earlier experience.

New buildings constructed or acquired after 1917 include: Metcalf Hall, 1919, dormitory for Women's College; Jesse Metcalf Memorial Laboratory, 1923, for chemistry department; Littlefield Hall, 1925, dormitory; Marston Hall of Modern Languages, 1926; Engineering annex, 1926; Hegeman Hall, 1926, dormitory; Alumnae Hall, 1926-1927, social hall of Women's College. Other property acquired included Brunonia Hall, 1926, dormitory; Ely House, 1920, for extension department; Sharpe House, 1921, and McVickar House, 1925, dormitories for Women's College; Faculty Club, 1922. Andrews Field has been abandoned, platted for houselots and sold. Instead the university owns Aldrich Field, 1917, perhaps the finest baseball and general athletic field in the East, and Brown Field and the Brown Stadium, 1925, for football and track. Lyman Gymnasium, outgrown, has been supplemented by a new gymnasium at Aldrich Field, 1927-1928, at the door of which the Brown Bear, in bronze, greets friends and challenges foes. The university owns also an athletic field near the centre, for intramural games, and tennis courts both for undergraduate men students and for students of the Women's College. The name of the latter was changed to Pembroke College in 1928, so named for the college of Roger Williams at Cambridge.

Brown is particularly proud of its scientific laboratories, including the laboratory of physics at Wilson Hall, enriched during the thirty years in which Carl Barus, one of the most distinguished of American physicists, was head of the department; the Arnold Laboratory for biology, and the Metcalf Laboratory for chemistry, neither of the latter surpassed anywhere in general excellence. In addition to the wonderful development of physical resources during the second period of the administration of President Faunce, for the most part gifts of alumni or friends of the university, the funds, or endowment, were increased from the \$4,500,000 attained in 1914 to \$9,931,000 in 1929. The funds included steady accretion, besides gifts made with buildings and other property to assure upkeep. Even the college fence was endowed, section by section, for repair and replacement by the classes which gave it. The university income in 1899 had been \$210,000; in 1929 it had reached \$1,412,000, almost equalling the endowment of \$1,159,000 in 1899. The alumni maintain a loyalty fund, through annual contributions, from which allotments for university purposes are made from

time to time. The state's contribution is exemption of the entire college estate, wherever located in Rhode Island, from taxation.

The university in 1930 included (1) the undergraduate college for men, with courses leading to the degree of bachelor of arts, bachelor of philosophy, and bachelor of science in chemistry or engineering; (2) Pembroke College, for undergraduate women, with courses leading to the degree of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science; (3) the undergraduate school of education, granting the degree of bachelor of education; (4) the graduate school, granting advanced degrees. The undergraduate school of education was in process of elimination, in view of the development of Rhode Island College of Education as a state college offering four year courses for teachers leading to the same degree. The enrollment of students in 1929-1930 was 2204, of whom 1357 were undergraduate men, 499 were undergraduate women, 290 were graduates, and 58 were teachers finishing courses in the school of education. Registration in extension courses totalled 2374. The faculty included 107 professors, 43 instructors, 10 lecturers, and 51 assistants and demonstrators, a total of 211. In the enrollment of undergraduate men twenty-six states were represented. The distribution of patronage appears in the following classification indicating the per cent. of the total undergraduate enrollment contributed by states and sections: Rhode Island 33, Massachusetts 21, New York 16, New Jersey 8, Connecticut 7, all New England 63, southern New England 61, southern New England, New York and New Jersey 85. The fact that 25 per cent. of the patronage comes from New York and New Jersey reflects the strength of the alumni organization centering in New York City. The distribution of undergraduate students in courses shows preference for studies, affected in part by requirements, as follows: English, economics, mathematics, history, biology, engineering, Latin, chemistry, French, German, philosophy, psychology, social science, political science, geology, Greek, Spanish, music, Biblical literature, astronomy, physics, botany, Italian, education, art.

President Faunce, retired emeritus, in 1929,\* turned over to Clarence Augustus Barbour, his successor, a flourishing university, broad in liberal culture and wealthy in estate and foundation. The physical plant included eight halls devoted to lecture and classrooms, three devoted in whole or in part to offices of administration, four laboratories and an astronomical observatory, eight dormitories, two gymnasias and a swimming pool, four athletic fields, a hall of recreation for students and a club for the faculty, a house for the President. The physical plant for Pembroke College,† additional to the university plant, included four recitation and administration buildings, five dormitories, a gymnasium, a recreation building, a house for the Dean. Thus it had grown from that day in 1764 when the university consisted of James Manning, President and faculty, and William Rogers, student, seated probably at either end of a table in the living room of the parsonage of the Baptist Church at Warren—a university with a teacher and a student, but without a home, without a foundation, and without a library. Thus it had grown also from that day in 1850 when Francis Wayland made his return to the presidency conditional upon the raising of \$125,000 as an endowment fund and the inauguration of a more liberal curriculum. Thus also it had grown in thirty years from the day in which in the crisis of the Andrews controversy the university was revealed to the world as rich and proud in spirit and noble in tradition, but pinched by stark poverty in the effort to carry forward the work of educating youth without the financial resources that are absolutely necessary.

THE STATE COLLEGE—Rhode Island State College is a federal-state college. Senator Justin Morrill of Vermont introduced in Congress, in 1857, a bill granting public lands to the several states for the support of public colleges. The bill was passed by Congress in 1859,

\*Deceased 1930.

†Name selected for women's college.

but vetoed by President Buchanan. A revised bill was introduced in 1861, passed June 19, 1862, and approved by the President, July 2, 1862. It provided for the grant to the several states of 30,000 acres of public land for each Senator and Representative in Congress, for "the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college (in each state) whose leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may, respectively, prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." No state was permitted to locate public lands beyond its own borders; the act provided for an issue of land scrip, which a state unable to locate public land within its borders might assign, the income of the fund realized from such a sale to be applied for the purposes named in the act. Rhode Island, in 1863, transferred its right to Brown University, stipulating that the university should establish a school or department of agriculture, pay all the cost of locating lands and perfecting titles, apply the income arising from the sale or other disposition of lands to the support of the agricultural school or department, and receive and educate as students on free scholarships, at \$100 per year up to the entire income, such persons as should be appointed. The General Assembly was to nominate, and the Governor and Secretary of State to appoint on the free state scholarships persons who otherwise would not have the means of obtaining a college education. The university's attempt to locate public land in Atchison, Kansas, before the land scrip was issued failed. Dismayed by failure and the accumulating cost of locating land, for which the General Assembly declined to reimburse the university in any part, the university applied for and was granted permission in 1865 to sell or exchange the land scrip, realizing therefrom \$50,000 in government bonds.

The state had made a hard bargain with the university, and the latter had undertaken an obligation which it scarcely could afford to perform—that is, apply the income of the fund both to establishing and maintaining a school of agriculture and to free scholarships. A report by a committee of the General Assembly in 1869 that neither the state nor the university had acted in complete good faith seems to have been amply justified. The state had avoided its obligation to establish a school of agriculture by assigning its land scrip to the university; the university had reached out for the endowment without having the means to conform to the terms of the grant. Its only effort to comply therewith was the designation of certain courses of lectures on agriculture by professors of such subjects as pure mathematics as a "department of agriculture." Other committees of the General Assembly reported from time to time that there had been no practical compliance with the letter or spirit of the law. The university, on the other hand, asserted its willingness to provide practical instruction in agriculture if the state or citizens would provide a suitable farm for demonstration and experimental purposes, and money for the purchase of suitable apparatus and equipment, but contended that it was unable to do either from the land grant money or its income, while still yielding to the state the tuitions of holders of state scholarships. The General Assembly did nothing to relieve the situation; on the other hand, it continued to make appointments on free scholarships at the university.

When Congress, through the Hatch act of 1887, made \$15,000 available annually for the support of an agricultural experiment station, Rhode Island, in 1888, made an appropriation for the establishment at Kingston of an experiment station and school of agriculture and mechanic arts. Brown University, in 1890, offered to surrender to the State the \$50,000 realized from the sale of land scrip under the Morrill act of 1862. The General Assembly was not in session at the time, and the Governor asked the Supreme Court for an advisory opinion. The court\* declared that the agricultural school at Kingston was not entitled to

\*17 R. I. 815.

the Morrill grant, because it did not purport to be a "college of agriculture and mechanic arts," and that Brown University, as the only institution in the state of collegiate grade teaching agriculture, was the proper custodian. A law providing further federal support by an annual appropriation for public colleges promised to improve the situation so far as the university was concerned, and Brown University, in view of the court's opinion and the new act of Congress, withdrew its offer of surrender. The state, in 1892, designated the school at Kingston a college, under the name of Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and, after suggestion of taking the question of right to federal money to the federal courts, an agreement was negotiated with the university for a surrender of the original grant, upon payment of \$40,000 to the university by the state as compensation for free state scholarships.

Neither Rhode Island nor Brown University had realized in 1862 or at any time in the thirty years that followed an opportunity for both to make Brown University a state university. A comparatively small annual state appropriation would have sufficed to start in the university a genuine department of agriculture or college of agriculture, complying with the Morrill law, as the beginning of a genuine adventure in providing collegiate education "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes." Brown University lost its opportunity to obtain support from the state, which must have been forthcoming had the university acted to promote agricultural education. And the State of Rhode Island lost thirty years in the development of its own public college. Whether the result reached in 1892—the establishment of a distinctly state college and the continued maintenance of the university as an independent, privately endowed institution—was the wisest solution of the problem is debatable, with little prospect of substantial agreement. With the continued progress of the Rhode Island State College, the debate tends to become academic rather than practical. Against the cost of duplication of plants in part must be set the advantage of having two institutions of collegiate rank in the state, one of them the state's own college, and the other a university guaranteed by its charter the broadest possible liberty in teaching.

Very few of the young men who received free scholarships in Brown University under the Morrill grant became farmers. They took their places in the life of Rhode Island in various services, usually attaining high rank in the professions. Among them, in later life, were one chief justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, two associate justices of the same court, three or more justices of the Superior Court, several district court judges, clerks of courts, eminent lawyers whose leadership at the bar was undisputed, clergymen and physicians, editors, substantial and successful business men, more than one member of the State Board of Education, two college professors, a mayor of the city of Providence, a mayor of the city of Pawtucket, a secretary of state, many members of the General Assembly. These were men who did not "have the means of obtaining an education for themselves." Their records in after life are indisputable proof that the income of the Morrill fund was used well by the State of Rhode Island and Brown University, even if not for the purpose specified in the law and not probably to the best advantage ultimately. The appointments on free state scholarships ended in 1892.

GROWTH OF STATE COLLEGE—Rhode Island State College, to which the name of the institution at Kingston was changed in 1909, grew slowly in its earlier years, in spite of a valiant effort to attract students through offering a great variety of subjects for study. In 1901 the organization of a school of mines was announced, and part of a four-year course was outlined. With the purpose of serving all parts of the state, including towns that did not maintain high schools, preparatory courses were offered, and special short courses for boys from farms were planned. The college encountered, and with difficulty overcame, no little opposition on the

part of some who had little faith in the venture or who feared the new college as a possible rival of Brown University, and indifference on the part of others. President Butterfield in his last report (1905) declared: "For the years 1900-1902 the average number of students entering the freshman class of the college from the high schools was but three. For the past three years (1902-1905) it has been eleven. . . . I hardly see why the high schools of Rhode Island alone should not furnish each year at least twenty-five or thirty students for our freshman class. . . . I fear that there has been a feeling in some quarters, that the college was a burden, and even a nuisance and should be starved to death." The total enrollment at the time was 139, of whom only forty-nine were college students with regular standing, the remainder including fifty-seven students in the preparatory department, fifteen special students, and twenty enrolled for a poultry course of twelve weeks. The faculty consisted of eleven professors and ten instructors. The college estate was valued at \$250,000, including three granite buildings, Davis, Taft and Lippitt Halls. A new man and a new birth came to Rhode Island State College in 1905 in the new President, Howard Edwards.

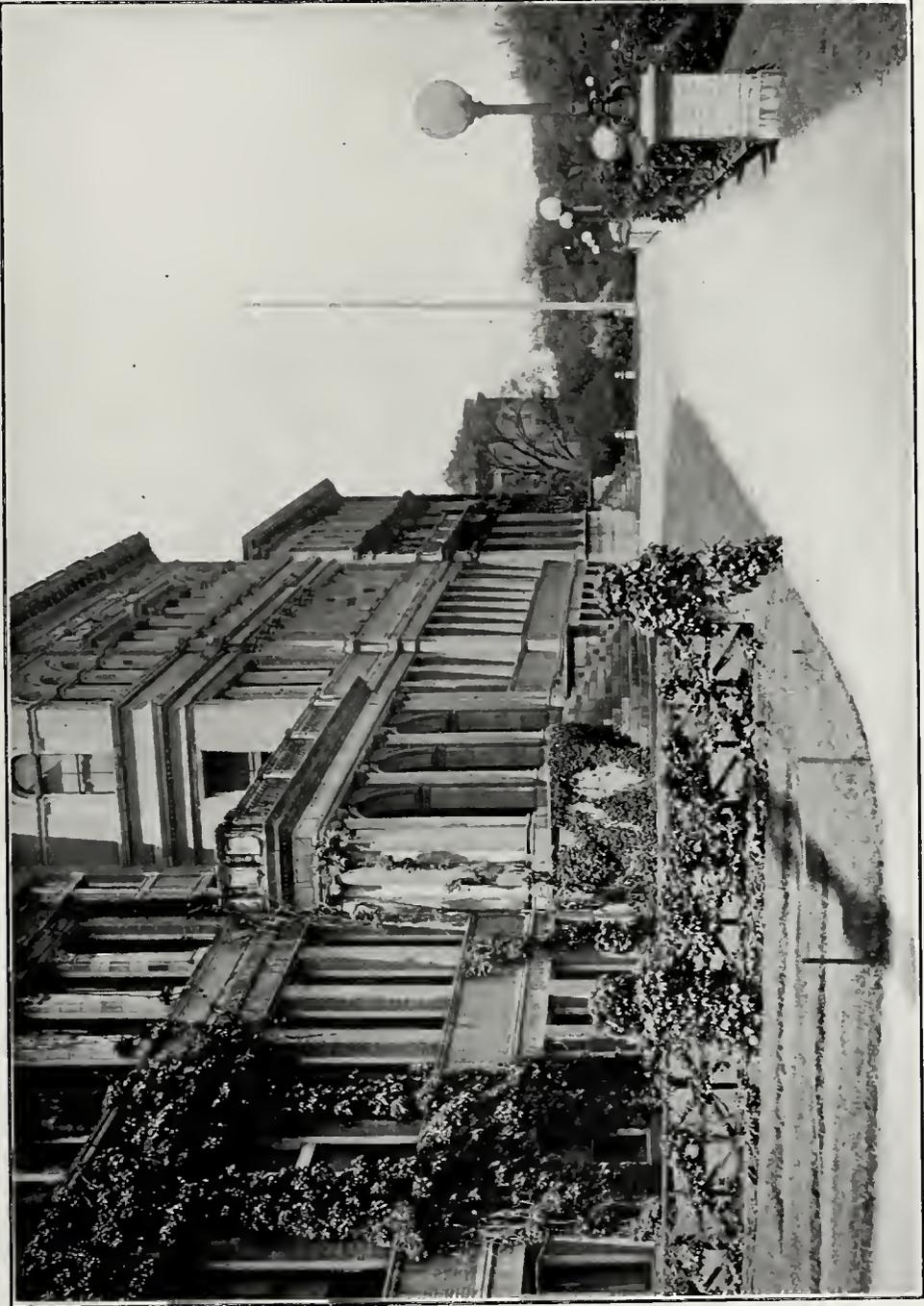
A SURVEY—The General Assembly was scarcely friendly when, in 1908, it made provision for a special investigation of the college by a commission. Fortunately the commission was unprejudiced, and entered upon its labors with an earnest thoroughness that merited this characterization of the report: "It is monumental in its thoroughness, painstaking intimacy of detail, judicial attitude of mind, detached impartiality in the ascertainment and consideration of facts, and comprehensiveness of its conclusions and recommendations. The commission was composed of five representative citizens, prominent in the life of the State, unrelated to the college, and, in the main unacquainted with it. The report of this commission was epoch-making in the affairs of the college. Its cumulative marshalling of facts was overwhelming, and its conclusions were generally accepted as decisive." The commission consisted of Walter E. Ranger, Commissioner of Education; Dr. James E. Sullivan of Providence, Charles H. Ward of Middletown, George F. Weston of Providence, and Hormidas J. Cartier of Warwick. It was directed "to visit the Rhode Island College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts, make a study of its aims, plans and work, determine its educational value to the state, consider ways and means by which its service to the state may be enhanced, and report thereon, with such other suggestions as they may deem proper." The commissioners' report, presented to the General Assembly in 1909, reviewed the legislation of Congress under which the federal-state colleges were established and fostered, the history of federal-state colleges generally, and of the Rhode Island College in particular. While emphasizing the state's "solemn compact with the United States Government" to maintain a college, set forth in the General Assembly's resolution in 1863, accepting the Morrill grant, "that the faith of the state be and hereby is pledged to the United States that, upon receipt of the scrip provided to be issued under the said act of Congress, it will apply the proceeds thereof to the objects and in the manner prescribed by this act," the commission replied with facts to criticisms of the college which had occasioned the inquiry. The commission unanimously advocated the continuance of the college and its extension on the lines already laid down. The report marked the beginning of a new era at Kingston; Rhode Island had adopted its college, and thereafter maintained a more sympathetic attitude, indicated both by the willingness of the General Assembly to appropriate money for buildings and current maintenance, and by the increasing patronage or growth of the student body. The current annual state appropriation exceeds \$150,000.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY STATE COLLEGE—Federal support was increased from time to time, including besides the \$2500 paid annually by the State of Rhode Island as interest

at five per cent. on the first Morrill endowment, that is, the \$50,000 paid by Brown University to the state; for experiment station purposes annually \$15,000 under the Hatch Act, \$15,000 under the Adams Act, and \$60,000 under the Purnell Act; for agricultural extension service annually \$11,680 under the Smith-Lever Act, and \$20,000 under the Capper-Ketcham Act; for "instruction in agriculture, the mechanic arts, the English language, and the various branches of mathematical, physical, natural and economic sciences, with special reference to their application in the industries of life, and to the facilities for such instruction," \$25,000 under the Morrill Act of 1890, and \$25,000 under the Nelson amendment of 1907, a total of \$174,180.

The college estate, land, buildings and equipment, have been provided by the state of Rhode Island and have a value estimated at \$1,500,000. The buildings, for the most part, are substantial structures of granite and steel, the former hewn from a quarry on the college premises, and enclose a broad, open campus close to the crest of Little Rest Hill. The main entrance is west of the old Washington County State House, and the road winds through a memorial gate and passes a simple monument to the alumni, students and members of the faculty who died in the World War. The campus overlooks a broad valley sloping to the west and south toward the ponds that are the headwaters of the eastern branch of the Pawcatuck River. The college land follows the slope of Little Rest Hill to an athletic field, and the experiment station farm in the valley. The granite buildings include Davis, Taft, Lippitt, East, Agriculture, Ranger, Bliss, Edwards and Hammond Halls. Davis Hall, built in 1898, occupies the site of the earliest dormitory. Other buildings were constructed: Lippitt, 1892; East, 1909; Ranger, 1912; Agriculture, 1921; Bliss, Edwards and Hammond, 1928. Edwards Hall is a combined library and assembly hall; Hammond Hall serves as a gymnasium and drill shed for the cadet battalion. Other buildings are South Hall, a practice cottage for home economics, farmhouses, barns, hothouses, poultry sheds, and a central heating plant. The dormitory accommodations provided in buildings owned by the college are supplemented by fraternity and sorority houses erected by associations of students. Fraternity and sorority houses are conducted under strict college supervision.

With the growth of the college as the number of students increased, all except strictly college departments were discontinued; in 1918 the enrollment had passed 250; the current enrollment is 600, that being the number established by the Board of Managers as the maximum consistent with the facilities in classrooms, laboratories, etc., provided. Applications for admission exceed annually the number that may be admitted. The college offers four-year courses in agriculture; in mechanical, electrical, chemical, and civil engineering; in practical applied science; in home economics; and in business administration. Extension courses in agriculture and home economics are provided, and the work by the experiment station is closely correlated with the agricultural interests of the state. The college also offers opportunities for preparation and training for teaching, and is Rhode Island's principal agency for training teachers of agriculture and home economics under the provisions of the federal vocational education act and the state industrial education act. The college is governed by a board of managers of seven members, consisting of the State Commissioner of Education, the State Commissioner of Agriculture and five appointed by the Governor, one for each county. "Our state system of public education is no longer a system of schools alone, but one of school and college," said the Commissioner of Education in an address at the college. "We need to remember that this institution is a vital factor of the state government in its entire educational enterprise; that it is the public's college and that it serves the public's youth, as the elementary school cares for the public's children. Rhode Island State College clearly exemplifies free public education administered by the state government. . . . As the opportunities of high school education, following free elementary school instruction, were



RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION—THE ESPLANADE



made free by the state government to every boy and girl, so in the founding of the Rhode Island State College free collegiate education was offered to every youth, making another advance in free public education. With all its strength and power of the past, the college has hardly passed its formative period; and it yet awaits a higher recognition of its worth, a truer appreciation of its aims and service, a deeper sense of public responsibility for its needs, and that generous support of the people which in good time will enhance its value fourfold to the state and make it a fitting consummation of the system of free public education."

When war was declared against Germany in April, 1917, the Rhode Island State College Cadet Battalion was the only completely trained and equipped body of troops on which the Governor could call for immediate service. The alumni of the college, and the students in upper classes, enlisted in large numbers in various governmental services. The alumni of Rhode Island State College have made an enviable reputation for the college in various walks of life, amply justifying the great faith that Senator Morrill voiced in advocating education of collegiate grade for the people of all classes. In agriculture as farmers applying the most approved and scientific principles to the production of food; as engineers, in all the various range of modern activities in the building of roads, bridges, transportation systems, factories and machinery, electrical transmission systems, and the applications of chemistry in sanitation and production; in science in all its varied fields, as skilled practitioners; in public and private education as teachers, principals of schools and superintendents of systems; in home economics, as housewives and mothers or as demonstrators or teachers of applications of home science; occasionally in the learned professions as lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and editors; in the halls of legislation and in other public offices—Rhode Island State College has abundant reason to feel proud of sons and daughters who have found in the college on Little Rest Hill an inspiration for service. The list of alumni of Rhode Island State College who have achieved position and success is one of which this comparatively young institution of higher education well may be proud. Dr. Edwards died in 1930, after a quarter century of building of a college.

RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION—After three failures to establish a normal school for training teachers in Rhode Island,\* a successful venture was made in 1871. Rhode Island Normal School became Rhode Island College of Education in 1920. The General Assembly provided an initial appropriation of \$10,000, and created a board of trustees, consisting of the State Board of Education and the Commissioner of Education. The state, in 1875, purchased from the city of Providence the high school building on Benefit Street, and remodelled it for occupation by the normal school. Twenty-three years later, in 1898, the older building on the present estate in Providence was completed and occupied; in 1928 the Henry Barnard schoolhouse, constructed at an expenditure of \$660,000, was opened as an observation and training school. The older conception of normal school related it closely to the common schools or elementary school system; it was an essential adjunct of the latter for the training of teachers. Rhode Island Normal School was planned originally to train teachers in two years for elementary school work; advanced standing, permitting completion of the course in one year, was granted to "well-prepared" students. The history of the normal school indicates a steady progress toward a strictly professional school, involving lengthening of the course and advancing requirements for admission. Rhode Island College of Education admits on competitive examination only graduates of high schools or other secondary schools, or persons proving equivalent education, and conducts a course of four years leading to a degree in education. While enrollment in the normal school has been affected from time to time by advancing entrance requirements and the elimination of preparatory classes, the growth has

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been consistent with the increasing size of the public school establishment. Average enrollment was 148 in the first five years, 152 in the second five, 155 in the third five; it reached 200 in 1890; was 218 in 1898, and 400 in 1918. The current enrollment of 600 is established by limitation to the number that can be accommodated comfortably, and to the number that will furnish graduates to fill vacancies and new positions. The trustees have recognized as constraining principles (1) that they have no right to expend public money for training more teachers than are needed to supply the public schools with a complement of efficient instructors; and (2) that it is an injustice to train any person for a service that offers no opportunities for employment.

In the beginning, with the purpose of serving all parts of Rhode Island equitably, the normal school received as students graduates of the school systems maintained by the several towns, few of which included high schools. No little difficulty was experienced in overcoming irregularities of preparation. Of this problem Commissioner Stockwell wrote:

The entire lack of academic preparation which marks so many of the pupils who have never enjoyed better advantages than the district school or the village grammar school has rendered necessary the most strenuous efforts to equip them with the requisite knowledge. But it has been found that the time allotted to the work is altogether too limited; and the practical experience of the past few years has been that for such pupils at least three years are necessary for the proper completion of the course. On the other hand, we are constantly receiving from the best high schools of the state pupils who have been well taught and trained, whose knowledge of the various studies laid down in the course is as a rule excellent, and who are scholarly in their tastes and habits. Now it is manifestly neither just nor wise to put such pupils into the same class of work to which you would assign one to whom the whole subject matter was entirely new. The two elements are not calculated to assimilate, nor can the two derive equal benefit from the work done. It will be too simple for the one or too difficult for the other. It would seem as though a double scheme should be prepared, which shall provide, on the one hand, for the giving of the requisite instruction in the various branches of learning to those who are destitute of this knowledge, and then to also secure a year of specific training in the science and art of teaching for those who come well equipped with the requisite knowledge but without any idea of what to do with it. Such an adjustment will, I think, tend to commend the school more fully to all, and lead many to attend who otherwise would have never thought it necessary or even desirable.

A reorganization followed the Commissioner's suggestion, with two courses outlined, one distinctly preparatory, and the other distinctly professional. The combined courses, with the introduction of observation in model schools and practice teaching in training schools, reached four years in 1894. In that year model and training classes for normal school students were established in the schoolhouse at Benefit and Halsey streets in Providence. With the completion of the building constructed for the normal school and opened in 1898, the lower floor was made available for a model school and training classes. High school graduates were admitted to advanced standing and were permitted to complete the professional course in two years; a special short professional course of one year was maintained for graduates of the Providence high school, who completed preparation for teaching in training schools maintained by the city. Eventually high school graduation was required for entrance, and the special arrangement with Providence was discontinued, and a standard course of two and one-half years was established.

The marked improvement in the physical plant and other facilities in 1898 affected attendance and produced a rapid increase; in turn requirements for admission were raised and courses were strengthened. The college course is four years. When the General Assembly enacted a statute requiring towns to maintain high schools or provide high school education the way was made clear for abandoning the preparatory course, and requiring high school graduation for admission. With increase in the number of students in professional courses the training facilities in the normal school building were outgrown, and recourse was had to

training classes in public school buildings elsewhere. Out of the latter development grew the distinctively Rhode Island system of training teachers, comprising (1) instruction in professional subjects, including the history of education, educational psychology, classroom management, school law, general methods of teaching and special methods of teaching specific subjects; (2) observation of excellent teaching in the model rooms in the training school; (3) practice teaching in the training school; and (4) a half-year of teaching under close supervision in a public school with a critic teacher. The typical organization of training classes outside the college buildings includes an experienced teacher employed as a critic and paid a bonus salary by the state, and two or more college students assigned as classroom teachers. In the development of the plan the college student-teacher teaches half time under the observation and in the presence of the critic teacher, and half-time alone, being responsible in the latter period for the maintenance of discipline and successful instruction. Each day's work is laid out by student-teachers in conference with the critic, the latter directing attention to faults to be corrected and excellencies to be maintained. This cadet or apprentice teaching in exactly the environment of the public school is most valuable, and has attracted attention of educators elsewhere to the Rhode Island system.

The following extracts from a report of the trustees ten years ago on the system as developed may serve the purpose of contrast with the analysis of needs presented by Commissioner Stockwell:

Though generally recognized as one of the most successful normal schools in America, it has by no means reached the limits of its development or realized completely the purposes of its existence. . . . The fact that its scholastic requirements for admission of students are of the same grade as college entrance requirements and that the work of its students is accredited by colleges establishes its academic standing as of collegiate rank among educational institutions. . . . However gratifying may be the high academic rank and educational position of the normal school, the best measure of its usefulness is the recent gain in the relative number of teachers of professional training in our elementary public schools. . . . Steadily, year by year, the relative number of public school teachers of normal or professional training has increased until it is more than two-thirds of the total number of teachers in elementary or common schools. . . . No state has so large a per cent. of public school teachers who have had professional training for their work as Rhode Island, and we are rapidly approaching a time when a teacher of professional rank will be available for every school in the state. . . . The chief duty of the school is to complete the task it set out to do, to make available for every elementary school in the state a professionally trained teacher. When this is done, or as soon as a sufficient number of students are willing to extend their term of professional preparation to four years, the very advantage to be gained by public schools through a better preparation of teachers will justify the proposed advance (to a college). To employ generally in the elementary schools of Rhode Island teachers of professional training and collegiate culture is not only desirable but possible in the not distant future.

The excellence of Rhode Island College of Education has won it recognition within the state and reputation beyond the borders of the state. "No state except Rhode Island," said the Commissioner of Education of Massachusetts, "surpasses Massachusetts in facilities for the training of elementary school teachers." This tribute belongs almost exclusively to Rhode Island College of Education. In a bulletin\* of the federal Bureau of Education, printed in 1916, reporting a special study of state normal schools, Rhode Island Normal School was selected for special distinction and praise. In particular the system of training schools was described as providing facilities for preparing teachers for service unsurpassed and unequalled elsewhere. Rhode Island Normal School was incorporated as Rhode Island College of Education in 1920, with power to grant collegiate degrees. In the reorganization that followed, Dr. John L. Alger, who had been principal, became President; the members of the faculty were designated as professors or instructors, following academic practice, and the course of

\*Bulletin 12, 1916, "Problems Involved in Standardizing State Normal Schools," by Judd and Parker of the University of Chicago.

instruction was laid out as four years, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education, and provision for advanced degrees for further study.

In connection with the normal school and college extension courses for teachers were established in 1911, the first series on Saturday mornings. This service has been amplified by increasing the number of courses on Saturdays and providing others on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, both on the college premises and elsewhere in Rhode Island to accommodate reasonably sized groups of teachers. The first summer session was conducted for four weeks in 1917; and thereafter until 1928, the summer school, extended to six weeks, was a regular division of normal school and college. The enrollment in extension and summer courses reached 1800 annually, or more than forty per cent. of the teachers employed in public schools. Thus both summer school and extension courses contributed to the improvement of the personnel of the profession as teachers sought more education and continued contact with the college as an institution for promoting the advancement of the public schools. In the period of the World War attendance on regular classes decreased, principally because of the economic advantages offered to young people in industry and in other occupations.

With the end of the war and the movement back to school, the college classes were augmented, and graduations were increased sufficiently to overcome a shortage of teachers caused by the war and to supply enough for vacancies and new positions. Lengthening the course to four years, with the change from normal school to college, far from discouraging, tended to promote increased enrollment, with the promise of graduations in excess of the number of teachers needed to supply the public schools. The trustees thereupon took measures to restrain enrollment; for the limited entering classes competitive examination was prescribed as the method for selection. To insure an equitable participation of all parts of Rhode Island in the service rendered by the college, admission is by quotas based upon the number of teaching positions in each town, and the average number of positions to be filled annually. The principle of equalization was incorporated in the statute of 1871 authorizing the reestablishment of Rhode Island Normal School, in the provision for mileage for students residing outside of Providence. Rhode Island College of Education undertakes to train for the public schools of each and every town a number of teachers based upon the probable needs; the courses offered include instruction in educational theory and actual apprentice-training in teaching in public school environment. In addition, through the extension department, it affords opportunities for teachers in service both to improve their knowledge and practice, and to keep abreast of the newest developments in their professions. The college estate is valued reasonably at \$2,000,000; and the annual budget for maintenance is \$200,000, part of which is derived from tuitions paid for children attending Henry Barnard School.

PROVIDENCE COLLEGE—Providence College was chartered by the General Assembly in 1917 as a college "for the promotion of virtue and piety and learning in such of the languages and the liberal arts and sciences as shall be recommended from time to time by the corporation." The initial contribution to the college foundation was a generous gift by Rt. Rev. Matthew Harkins, D. D., Bishop of Providence, who planned an institution of higher education primarily for Catholic young men of the diocese of Providence, which is coextensive with the state of Rhode Island. To the Bishop's gift were added liberal contributions by a small group of priests and laymen honored as "founders," and small contributions by laymen in every parish in the diocese in amount sufficient to warrant the purchase of land and the construction of a building for the college. The procedure with reference to the small contributions was much like that pursued in the instance of the beginnings of Rhode Island College or Brown University, subscriptions for which were taken up in all the Baptist churches, every member urged to give at least six pence sterling annually for the college. The contributions for Providence College were for the most part small amounts from thousands of families, the

college being truly a popular college, in consideration of the large number of benefactors. Withal the endowment, aside from the property owned is meagre, but the college has a unique spiritual endowment in the hearts of the people, and an assurance that their charity never will allow it to want. A secure financial foundation was assured further by the zeal and generous assistance of Rt. Rev. William A. Hickey, D. D., successor to Bishop Harkins, in the period in which Bishop Hickey as Coadjutor was administrator of the diocese, and later in his own right as Bishop. Under the direction of Bishop Hickey a "drive" was conducted, which yielded over \$400,000, principally in small sums contributed by thousands of Catholic men and women in all parts of Rhode Island. Providence College thus owes its foundation to the vision of Bishop Harkins, the zeal of Bishop Hickey and the generosity of more willing contributors, probably, than any other college in New England.

To the work of organizing the college and supplying a teaching faculty Bishop Harkins called the Order of Preachers, better known popularly as the Order of Saint Dominic, a society world-famous for the piety and learning of its members. The order accepts for the novitiate young men who have completed the work of education leading to and including two years of college; the required course thereafter is seven years additional, and it is supplemented in the instance of members who become teachers by additional preparatory studies in the Catholic University and other American and European universities. In other words, the college training of a Dominican professor extends over ten years, or three years beyond the time ordinarily assigned to achieving the doctorate in secular college and university. The first Dominican assigned to Providence College was Rev. Albert Casey, O. P., who became the first President. Under President Casey's direction Harkins' Hall, the first college building, was constructed on an estate of seventeen acres at Eaton Street and River Avenue, in the northwestern section of Providence. Subsequently other land was acquired, the college estate including thirty-seven acres. Harkins Hall has been enlarged to double its original capacity, and the old Bradley house on Eaton Street has been remodelled and enlarged as Guzman Hall, which serves as a dormitory for ecclesiastical students. During President Casey's administration, with the assistance and coöperation of Bishop Hickey the original college estate was cleared of debt, and money was obtained for extension, including the laying out, adjoining the college, of an athletic field, called Hendricken Field, in honor of the predecessor of Bishop Harkins. Under the charter the college estate is exempt from taxation, in consideration of which the college is open to students of all denominations and creeds without restriction, and liberality of teaching is assured. The charter expressly provides that "no person shall be refused admission to said college as a student, nor shall any person be denied any of the privileges, honors or degrees in said college on account of the religious opinion he may entertain."

Providence College opened in September, 1919, with an initial enrollment of eighty students and a teaching faculty of eight professors, including Rev. D. M. Galliher, O. P., J. C. D., designated as Dean of Studies and Discipline.\* To Dean Galliher's zeal and ability as an organizer has been due much of the success that has attended the enterprise, he furnishing, besides, the element of continuity through three administrations. President Casey's successors have been Rev. William Noon, O. P., D. D., and Rev. Lorenzo C. McCarthy, O. P., Ph. D. President McCarthy is a native of Providence, and was a teacher in the public schools of Rhode Island before entering the Order of Preachers. At the time of his appointment he was probably the youngest college president in America. The growth of the college in ten years has been remarkable. The enrollment of students in regular courses exceeds 800, and the teaching faculty includes twenty-five professors and three instructors. The regular courses of study in this liberal arts and scientific college lead to the degrees of bachelor of arts, bach-

\*Became Dean of Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, 1930.

elor of letters, bachelor of philosophy, and bachelor of science. The college has facilities also for advanced studies leading to the degrees of master and doctor. In addition to regular courses, the college conducts a summer course and extension courses, which, together enroll over 400 students additional to the 800 in day courses. Entrance to any course requires completion of a standard high school course or its equivalent. With the completion of the addition to Harkins Hall the college has a splendid auditorium with seats for 800, science laboratories (additional to the original provision) with most modern equipment, and a splendid library, in which an increasing collection of books is made available for students. A new science building is planned as the next construction to be undertaken, with a new dormitory in prospect. The early enrollment was principally from Rhode Island; in recent years the college has drawn an increasing patronage from beyond the borders of Rhode Island.

A COLLEGE OF ART—Rhode Island School of Design was chartered in 1877 as a private institution "to furnish such instruction in freehand and mechanical drawing, painting, modelling and designing as is required by artisans generally, that they may more successfully apply the principles thereof to the mechanic arts and industries, and to give such systematic training to students as shall enable them to become successful art teachers, and to promote the general advancement of art and culture." In the administration of the school the three purposes indicated in the charter—(1) the training of artisans; (2) the training of artists; and (3) the general advancement of art education—are treated as of equal importance. The third purpose is promoted by exhibitions of art and art studies, and by lectures on art. Rhode Island School of Design is properly classified with "higher education," both because of its unique contribution to the cultural life of Rhode Island and because its *regular* courses leading to graduation with the diploma are open only to persons who have completed previously the equivalent of a high school education. Thus its work is post-secondary as it falls into the years of school education beyond the twelfth. Diplomas are granted in eight departments—freehand drawing and painting, decorative design, modelling and sculpture, architecture, mechanical design, textile design and textile chemistry, jewelry design and silversmithing, and normal art. The administration of the institution is committed to a self-perpetuating corporation, in which the State of Rhode Island is represented by the Governor, two members of the State Board of Education, and the Commissioner of Education.

Rhode Island School of Design was made the beneficiary in 1882 of an annual state appropriation for reasons indicated in a commentary by the administrative body in its report for 1883: "The state of Rhode Island is dependent in an unusual degree upon its manufacturing industries. The most successful manufacturers are those who keep abreast of the times. The most skilled workmen still come to us from abroad. The action of the legislature last year shows that it sees no reason why the inventive Yankee should not take his place beside them." Free state scholarships, appointments to be made by the State Board of Education, were provided through the appropriation, thus linking up the School of Design with the free public school system, and making available opportunities for study of subjects not included in the public school curricula. Remarkable as Rhode Island has been for the volume of products of its manifold industries, state leadership in manufacturing has been maintained more through quality than through quantity production. Quality and versatility have been characteristics that have maintained Rhode Island's industrial prosperity. Seat in the late colonial and early state period of a thriving iron and steel manufactory, Rhode Island, in spite of the movement westward of the centre of gross production of ferric metals, continues to maintain a world wide reputation for the excellence of the fine tools and accurate measuring devices, screws and bolts, files, textile and other intricate and accurate machinery produced in busy and thriving factories. The inventive genius of native sons and the highly trained skill of

artisans and operatives have achieved this distinction. In jewelry and silversmithing Rhode Island holds high rank for artistic design and fineness of product. In textiles Rhode Island has conceded to other states the production of coarse cloth in quantity; whereas one who seeks a glorified fabric in fineness of yarn, beauty of weave, artistic design and pattern, in finish through bleaching, dyeing, printing and coloring, whether in cotton, wool, silk or rayon, may find, and probably will find it to be a product, in whole or in part, of a Rhode Island factory. The contribution of Rhode Island School of Design, through more than half a century of training artisans and designers, to Rhode Island's achievements in industry is incalculable; since 1883 thousands of young people and workers have received in Rhode Island School of Design, many through state free scholarships, education which has helped them to improvement and advancement in trades and industries requiring skill and technical knowledge, and particularly the application of art and design. Nowhere are there finer facilities provided for training jewelers or textile workers than have been installed at Rhode Island School of Design.

The state's original provision for free scholarships has been increased from time to time; the annual appropriation of \$25,000 in 1930 was apportioned \$3000 to current maintenance, \$10,000 to the textile school, and \$12,000 to free state scholarships. The number of appointments made by the State Board of Education, variable because of the tuition charges for day and evening classes, averages 500 annually. Service always has been an ideal at the School of Design. During the World War the school took an active part in training mechanics for the army and navy, and in training others for skilled employment in the war industries developed at home. Following the war it received a large number of veterans for training in the rehabilitation service set up by the federal government. With all the emphasis placed upon industry and service, however, the School of Design never has neglected art for art's sake, and has not failed "to give such systematic training to students as shall enable them to become successful art teachers, and to promote the general advancement of art and culture." The School of Design has continued to be an art school, and has contributed abundantly to maintaining Rhode Island's distinctive prestige as the native state of a host of excellent artists, beginning with Stuart and Malbone, and continuing into the twentieth century. Art in all its phases and manifestations is cherished and taught.

The resources of the School of Design include six buildings. The main building contains the museum, the offices of administration, the library, rooms for the departments of drawing, decorative design, and architecture, and a students' social room. Memorial Hall contains rooms for the department of sculpture, and other classrooms and a large hall seating 800 people. The Mechanical building is occupied by classrooms of the mechanical department and the machine shop. The Jesse Metcalf memorial building, a remarkably fine structure of steel and brick, contains the department of textile design and the laboratories of textile chemistry and dyeing. The jewelry building houses the departments of jewelry and silversmithing, and normal art. It is of reinforced concrete, four stories high, with a total floor area of 19,700 square feet, most carefully designed in every way for its purpose. The machinery equipment was chosen for its practical value, and presented by the New England Manufacturing Jewelers and Silversmiths Association and other friends.

The museum consists of eight galleries, three of which contain oil and water-color paintings, and engravings; two, a large collection of casts of the masterpieces of classic and Renaissance sculpture; one, a fine collection of autotypes illustrating the history of painting; one, collections of Japanese pottery, metal work, lacquer, and textiles; one, a collection of Greek vases and peasant pottery. The art collection has been referred to as "one of the most important in the country." The Colonial house forms a continuation of these galleries, and houses the Pendleton collection of antique furniture, china, textiles, and paintings. One of

the rooms of this house contains a collection of paintings, china, glass, and silver. In addition to the permanent collections in the museum, more than 500 special loan exhibitions have been shown in the galleries. These exhibitions have given the people of Rhode Island an opportunity to see representative collections of painting and sculpture by many American artists, besides the work of great French and Dutch artists, and architectural work. For the use of students, exhibitions of the work done in the leading art schools, and exhibitions of drawings in line and color, have been held from time to time. Owners of etchings and engravings have made possible exhibitions of these beautiful arts. In the industrial arts there have been arts and crafts exhibitions, an international exhibition of posters, and exhibitions of furniture, of metal work and jewelry, of medieval and modern textiles and embroideries, of Persian ceramics, textiles and miniature paintings, of Japanese stencils and prints, of bookplates, of pottery, carvings and coins. The library contains over 5000 volumes, 4000 lantern slides, 4000 post cards, and 20,000 mounted photographs, and reproductions, all in charge of a trained librarian. The collections are the accumulation of half a century of carefully planned acquisitions by purchase and generous gifts. The Colonial house was erected expressly for the Pendleton collection, that the latter might be exhibited in proper setting.

On the death of the owner, Marsden J. Perry, the School of Design will receive also the John Brown house, erected in 1786, and described in 1789 by John Quincy Adams as "the most magnificent and elegant private mansion that I have ever seen on this continent." The John Brown house is the finest among the many splendid Georgian houses built in Rhode Island between 1775 and 1825. Mr. Perry, after purchasing it, restored the house in all details as nearly as possible to the original design. With the house Mr. Perry's gift includes the finest private Shakespearean collection in the world. The purpose of the gift is to preserve the John Brown mansion for posterity; with the house is an ample endowment to assure perpetual maintenance.

Rhode Island School of Design is one of the largest educational institutions in Rhode Island, with a registration of approximately 2000 students, and a faculty of regular instructors and lecturers that numbers close to 100. In addition to persons under regular instruction, large numbers attend Sunday lectures on art, and particularly upon the collections; groups of children from the public schools visit the museum and are guided through, and visitors are admitted daily. The number of visitors registered annually tends to exceed 75,000.

COLLEGE OF PHARMACY—Rhode Island College of Pharmacy and Allied Sciences was chartered in 1902, and opened October 7 in the same year. The pioneer in the movement to establish a training school for pharmacists was Norman N. Mason, who conducted a class in the Fountain Street evening school in Providence in 1870, the same year in which the General Assembly enacted the earliest legislation requiring the registration of pharmacists. A committee of the Rhode Island Pharmaceutical Association reported in 1876 that there was an opportunity in Rhode Island for a successful school, but no further action was taken. Professor Edwin E. Calder, who later became Dean of the college, gave lectures on pharmaceutical chemistry to proprietors and clerks of drug stores in the years between 1880 and 1888. Professor Calder was a skillful teacher, and was for years a member of the faculty at Brown University in the department of chemistry. Other ventures were a private school for the study of theoretical pharmacy and pharmaceutical chemistry, organized in 1885, by John E. Groff; a private school for similar purposes, organized in 1890 by Charles H. Daggett, and a laboratory and school for practical demonstration, organized in 1899 by Franklin N. Strickland. All of these men later became professors in the College of Pharmacy. Another concerted movement to establish a college, beginning in 1896, resulted in an arrangement for a prelimi-

nary course in botany and chemistry at Brown University in the extension department. The work at Brown was discontinued after a year, not because it had not been successful, but because of changes in university policies incidental to the resignation of President Andrews and the election of President Faunce. Four years later an association of pharmacists launched the College of Pharmacy, for which accommodations, consisting of lecture rooms and laboratories were provided. The College of Pharmacy, as established, resulted from initiative of Rhode Island pharmacists, who recognized the need of a training school as an assurance of satisfactory service in compounding medicines, and the advantage to the profession arising from public confidence. Within three years the rapid growth of the college so taxed the original quarters that removal was necessary, and the college has moved twice since for the same reason. At the present time it occupies its own building, specially constructed for the purpose of the college with reference to classrooms and laboratories. The teaching faculty has been distinguished throughout the quarter-century of the existence of the college, and the reputation of the college has drawn to it an enrollment from all parts of New England and even from New York and other Middle States. Since 1916 the General Assembly has made an annual appropriation for free state scholarships at the College of Pharmacy, appointments being made by the State Board of Education. The college requires completion of a standard high school course for entrance, and grants the first degree in pharmacy on completion of three years of regular courses. Through an arrangement with practising pharmacists, students who complete one year at the college may be employed on part-time in drug stores with the purpose of learning the practical aspects of the business through actual experience. The laboratories at the College of Pharmacy are complete in detail, and are not surpassed in the United States.

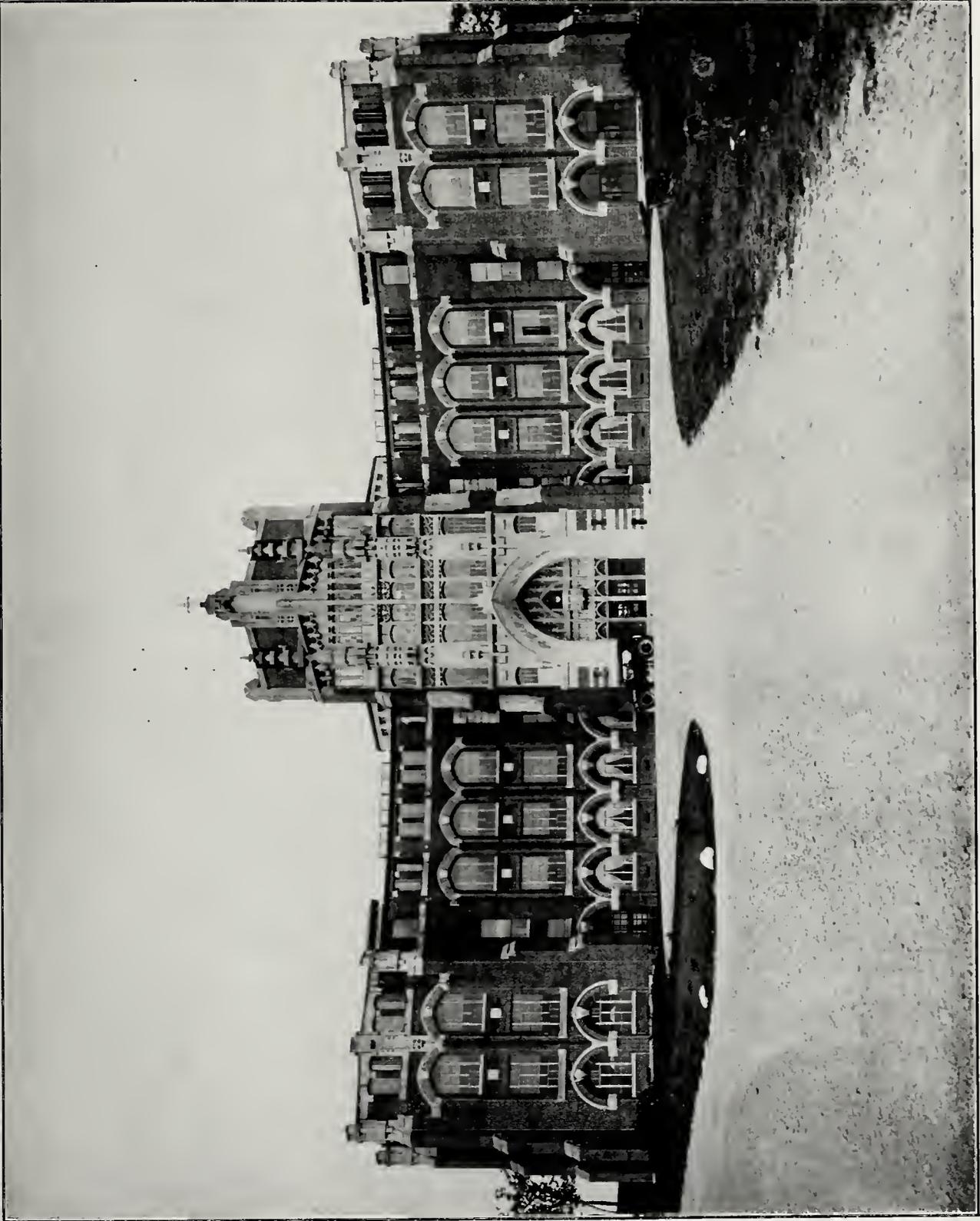
**BUSINESS COLLEGE**—Bryant-Stratton College of Business Administration was chartered in 1916, and offers post-secondary courses leading to the degrees of bachelor of business administration, bachelor of accounts, bachelor of secretarial science, and bachelor of commercial science. The institution was established in Rhode Island in 1863, with the purpose of training youth for business and commerce, and has a long history of efficient and satisfactory service in its chosen field. The organization of a college department, and the granting of degrees in recognition of scholastic attainment conformed to a progressive program of extending service, and modern practices in vocational institutions offering post-secondary instruction. Bryant-Stratton College, additional to collegiate instruction leading to degrees, offers also instruction in business practices and commercial education available for all youth who have suitable educational preparation for admission. The State Board of Education recognizes courses of secondary classification as meeting the requirements for approval under the high school law, which authorizes school committees in towns not maintaining public high schools to send pupils to Bryant-Stratton for high school commercial education. Operation is practically continuous throughout the year, day and evening; and the program of studies is so adaptable that admission may occur at the convenience of the student, and progress be made at a rate to suit the individual. As an institution for training youth for business and commerce the college has a splendid reputation, and numbers among its graduates hundreds of men and women prominent in the commercial life of the State of Rhode Island.

**OTHER COLLEGES**—Catholic Teachers' College of Providence was incorporated by act of the General Assembly in 1929, "to promote virtue and piety and learning in such of the languages and of the liberal arts and sciences, including particularly the science of education and the art of teaching, as shall be recommended" by the corporation. The incorporators included Rt. Rev. William A. Hickey, Bishop of Providence, and a number of Catholic priests, and the purpose of the new college is to provide a more liberal education for Catholic sisters of the

orders of nuns teaching in Catholic schools. The college is authorized to grant suitable degrees. As the work is intended principally for teachers already in service, to supplement the preparatory training for teaching which is prescribed for novices in the teaching orders of nuns, it must be conducted in summer courses, or on Saturdays, and late afternoons. A beginning was made in the summer of 1929 in the lecture rooms and classrooms of St. Xavier's Academy in Providence, with an enrollment of 180. The annual summer session continues five weeks of six days, thirty days altogether, and is under the direction of Rev. Thomas A. Cassidy, assigned by the Bishop as Diocesan Superintendent of Catholic Schools.

St. Dunstan's College of Sacred Music was incorporated by act of the General Assembly in 1930. The incorporators include Rt. Rev. James DeWolf Perry, Bishop of Rhode Island. The college will carry on and amplify the work in sacred music already undertaken by the choir school at St. John's Episcopal Church, designated by Bishop Perry as the cathedral church for his diocese. The college will emphasize church music and will be extended to include liberal studies. An arrangement for coöperation and exchange of students and courses between Brown University and St. Dunstan's was announced in January, 1930.

Rhode Island in the twentieth century is wealthy in resources for higher education through the opportunities offered by Brown University and Providence College in the liberal arts and sciences; by Rhode Island State College, Rhode Island School of Design, Rhode Island College of Pharmacy, and Bryant-Stratton in the occupations and business of life; by Rhode Island College of Education and Catholic Teachers' College as teacher-training institutions; and by Brown University, Rhode Island School of Design and St. Dunstan's in art and the cultural applications of art. For practical purposes it may be assumed, and it could easily be demonstrated by accurate statistics, that the number of students in Rhode Island colleges who are attracted from beyond the borders of the state, does not exceed the number from Rhode Island who are enrolled in collegiate institutions in other states and in some foreign countries. The enrollment in Rhode Island colleges may, therefore, be taken as a measure of the number of Rhode Island youth receiving college education, in round numbers 4500, including 2000 at Brown University, 800 at Providence College, 600 at each of Rhode Island's State College and Rhode Island College of Education, and 500 students of collegiate ranking in Rhode Island School of Design, Rhode Island College of Pharmacy, and Bryant-Stratton. To these may be added as persons enrolled for collegiate education on a part-time basis 5500, reported as follows: Brown University, 2400; Rhode Island College of Education, 1800; Providence College, 400; Catholic Teachers' College, 180; Rhode Island State College, 500; evening and other extension classes elsewhere, 220. Ten thousand Rhode Islanders are "going to college" in the twentieth century, which means a steady increase in the education common to all, and in the number of citizens profiting individually from liberal, cultural and vocational education, yet no more than ought to be in order that Rhode Island democracy may be maintained. The abundance of opportunity and the response, which fills up collegiate institutions to capacity, as witness the remarkable growth of Providence College in ten years to numbers equalling the enrollment at Brown University after 130 years, indicate the strength of the movement for higher education. To the suggestion by President Faunce that "all who want education should have it, but the vast majority would benefit by some other kind of education than that given in the traditional American college, which is based upon the English model," the answer was given by Wayland, Robinson and Andrews in the development of Brown University on lines suggested by Wayland's "new system," and is still given by Rhode Island State College, Rhode Island College of Education, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence College, Catholic Teachers' College, Bryant-Stratton, Rhode Island College of Pharmacy, all of which have undertaken the new college education demanded by the twentieth century, with particular regard for the provision of the type of education that is wanted.

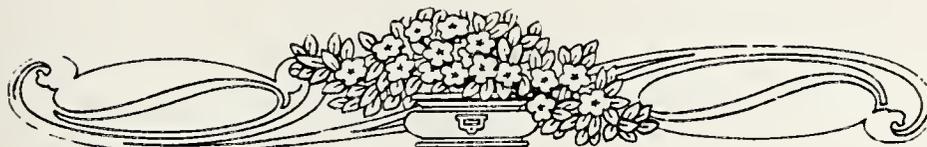


HARKIN'S HALL, PROVIDENCE COLLEGE



The future for college education is suggested in the remark of the Commissioner of Education, Walter E. Ranger, that a community cannot in provision for education surpass its own aspirations for better things. An exuberant, enthusiastic member of Dr. Ranger's official family added: "And the time will come in which an American without college education will be as rare almost as the dinosaur and the mammoth. We are going on steadily in the faith that education is essential to our democracy. Our aim and purpose is to educate everybody."

Announcement was made in June, 1930, of preparations under way for the inauguration of a new Catholic college for young women, to be located in Rhode Island, and conducted by the order of Sisters of Mercy.





## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### PAROCHIAL AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS.



THE material for what might be a fascinating chapter in the history of Rhode Island—the story of private schools conducted in the colonial period in towns that made no provision for public education and in other towns to supplement the public schools or quasi-public schools promoted by public assistance—for the most part is not available. Of dame schools for teaching small children the alphabet, reading and common arithmetic; of schools conducted by migrant masters whose promises of “accomplishments” to be imparted resembled those made by the Sophists in ancient Athens; of pretentious “finishing” schools in which were instructed the cultured youth of the first families of old Newport and Kingstown, gracing a society that used its wealth to promote “the cultivation of a taste for books, pictures and architecture” and that was preferred by George Berkeley, brilliant Dean of Derry, during his sojourn in America—of all of these and others, perhaps, there is no mention in the public annals, because they never asked for and never received a public grant, favor or exemption; and because there was no registration of private schools, as in this century of rigid compulsory education and strict “child accounting.” Following are gleanings from various sources concerning private schools in Rhode Island before the Revolutionary War: St. Michael’s Church, Bristol, shared with Trinity Church, Newport, the provision in the will of Nathaniel Kay, 1741, for Latin grammar schools; at Newport the school was required “to teach ten poor boys their grammar and the mathematics free.” Samuel Sewall, in 1696, devised 500 acres of land to the town of Exeter for a school; the gift was not accepted until 1766. Edward Scott, grand-uncle of Sir Walter Scott, conducted a Latin grammar school in Newport for twenty years from 1710. Matthew Rentz taught a school established in Newport later than 1749 by Moravians. Mrs. Mary Brett kept a school for negro children in Newport in 1773; the school was supported by a society of “benevolent clergymen of the Church of England in London, with a handsome fund for a mistress to instruct thirty negro children in reading, sewing, etc.” Peleg Barker, Jr., conducted a “morning and afternoon school for young misses” in Newport, 1773; probably he conducted a school for boys in regular hours. Francis Vandeleur, in 1774, advertised in the “Newport Mercury” that “he is ready to teach French and Italian to young ladies at their dwellings.” Providence also had a few private schools additional to the society schools for which the town granted land. Samuel Thurber recalled: “There were in my neighborhood three small schools, perhaps about a dozen scholars in each. Their books were the Bible, spelling book, and primer. One was kept by John Foster, Esq., in his office; one by Dr. Benjamin West. Their fees were 7s. 6d. per quarter. One was kept by George Taylor, Esq., for the church scholars. He, it was said, received a small compensation from England. Besides these, there were two or three women schools. When one had learned to read, write and do a sum in the rule of three, he was fit for business.” George Taylor taught school in the town schoolhouse, and at another time occupied one of the chambers in the Colony House. A school for “young ladies in writing and arithmetic” was advertised in Providence in 1767; the hours, 6 to 7:30 a. m. and 4:30 to 6 p. m., suggest that it was conducted “out of school hours for boys.” Four years earlier a correspondent of the “Providence Gazette” lamented that Providence had no dancing teacher and started an acrimonious controversy as to the merits of dancing master and spinning wheel. Providence supported a teacher of French in 1773. John Sims, in 1759, advertised in the “Newport Mercury” that he taught “reading, writing, arithmetic, both vulgar and decimal, geometry, trigonometry, and navigation, with several

other' branches of mathematics." He also advertised a "separate school" for instruction of young ladies in writing and arithmetic, the hours being 6:30 to 8 a. m. and 5 to 6:30 p. m. Sims was a teacher far in advance of his time; his advertisement suggested attention to "individual differences" thus: "As he endeavors to study the genius of his scholars, whether of exalted or inferior capacities, and conducts himself accordingly, he hopes to receive the greater encouragement." Sarah Osborne, "schoolmistress in Newport," proposed, in 1758, "to keep a boarding school. Any person desirous of sending children may be accommodated and have them instructed in reading, writing, plain work, embroidery, tent stitch, samplers, etc., on reasonable terms." Thomas Greene, "In Barristers' row," Newport, informed the public in 1766 "that he proposes to open a school . . . to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts—the Italian method—and as he *don't* incline to undertake for more than twenty (besides a very few small readers), they that favor him scholars may depend on their being taught with the greatest alacrity." Greene certainly was a Sophist. The preparatory school in connection with Rhode Island College, later called the University Grammar School, opened at Warren in 1764. James Mitchell Varnum taught a school in East Greenwich before he joined the Revolutionary army. Elisha Thornton established Thornton Academy in Smithfield in 1773. The proprietary or society schools conducted in Providence at the town schoolhouse and at Whipple Hall are classified by several writers as private schools, and as both subsequently were incorporated in the free public school system of Providence, classification as private or quasi-public is debatable. The Revolutionary War marked a hiatus in private education as definite as that in public education.

SELECT SCHOOLS—The Rhode Island General Assembly achieved the distinction, in 1800, of enacting the first characteristically American free public school legislation, out of which emerged the system of free schools in Providence. Elsewhere in the state for half a century following the Revolution a quasi-public school system was in process of development; this system the General Assembly undertook to amalgamate under public administration in 1828. The following discussion excludes the quasi-public schools serving communities, treating only select schools under the general classification of private education: Bristol Female Charitable Society provided education for poor girls. The General Assembly granted a lottery to aid an academy at Bristol, 1797, and chartered Mount Hope Academy, 1806. A private school, on the Lancaster plan, was conducted in the academy building at Bristol in 1826; the instructor, Mr. Storrs, became a teacher in the town school in 1828. Kent Academy, afterward East Greenwich Academy, was chartered in 1802 and opened in 1804. Frenchtown Academy, to be located in the western part of East Greenwich, was chartered in 1803, 1806 and 1820. "Frenchtown Catholic Seminary" advertised for pupils in 1804. Rev. George G. Channing described a private primary school kept by Mrs. Sayre and her daughter at Mary and Clarke Streets in Newport, as "a low, square chamber on the second floor having no furniture, no desks, nor chairs, excepting a few for teachers or visitors. The children, boys and girls (the former dressed the same as girls), were furnished by their parents with seats made of round blocks of wood of various heights." Evidently some attention had been paid to adapting furniture to the physical needs of pupils; and the furniture was "movable" rather than of the "screwed-down" type criticised by "modern educators." "At the close of the school on Friday afternoons," wrote Mr. Channing, "we were sent to a vacant room below stairs, where we recited the 'Commandments,' repeated the 'Lord's Prayer,' and received commendation or censure according to our good or bad conducts during the week." Newport thus furnished an eighteenth century precedent for early afternoon dismissal for attendance on religious instruction. The desks in a more advanced type of school were described as fitted with "leaden ink-stands." "The only classical school in Newport," 1794-1804, "was kept in New Church Lane, by John Frazer, a Scotchman. He was a good teacher, especially in Greek, Latin and mathematics. . . . Mr. Clarke Rodman, a Friend, had, in his own house in Mary Street, quite a

large school, devoted to the education of a class of boys and young men living at the South End, who were styled the 'roughs,' . . . . A Mr. Knox, with remarkably long feet and an ungainly appearance, devoted most of his time to teaching very poor children their A B C's in a small building in the rear of Trinity Church." Other private schools in Newport were conducted by "Miss Vinal, lately from Boston," 1794; James Wallace, a "morning school for young ladies in reading, writing and arithmetic," and regular instruction for boys in navigation and bookkeeping, 1797; William Bridges, for "young ladies and gentlemen," with "private rooms for young ladies and board if required," 1805; Mrs. La Salle and daughters, 1807; J. Rodman, "the elegant art of writing" and also arithmetic, 1811; Thomas Berkenhead, "organ, harpsichord and forte-piano," 1796. Mr. Francisquy offered lessons in dancing "to children and persons more advanced in life," his mode of instruction "founded upon reflection and long professional experience"; and M. Nugent taught French and dancing. Other Newport teachers advertised instruction in music and dancing, including several French gentlemen who had suffered "by the unfortunate circumstances of the war," referring, of course, to the war between France and England. Washington Academy, at Wickford, was chartered in 1799, and endowed with a lottery in 1803; it was sometimes called Elam Academy because of a gift from Samuel Elam. Samuel Slater opened a Sunday secular school for children employed in his factory at Pawtucket in 1793, and Pawtucket Union Academy was chartered in 1801 and 1805.

Besides the public schools maintained by the town of Providence from 1800 onward, there were six academies and eighty private schools in Providence in 1828. The Society of Friends voted in 1777 to establish "a free school among Friends." President Manning's plan for a public school system in Providence, 1791, included a proposal that the public school money be shared with the Society of Friends in the proportion of the number of children enrolled in the town schools and in the school maintained by the Society of Friends, because the latter then had a convenient school of their own in which children of the society were instructed. The Manning plan was approved in general town meeting, but failed of fruition because the town council did not carry it into effect. The explanation made later that the plan failed because of vigorous opposition to public aid for a sectarian or parochial school seems scarcely warranted, in view of the willingness of the general town meeting to approve it. The town schoolhouses constructed by vote of the town in 1800 followed the plan of Friends' School, which was then located on George Street in Providence.

Kingston Academy in South Kingstown started in 1781 from a foundation of fifty acres of land conveyed in special trust in 1695 by Samuel Sewall. The first location was on Tower Hill; the second in Kingston. Warren Academy was granted a lottery in 1803. Pawcatuck Academy, 1800, and Union Academy, 1816, were chartered for Westerly. Just at the close of the eighteenth century both private and quasi-public schools in large numbers were taught by Irish schoolmasters, many of whom had left the old country to escape the oppression that followed the unsuccessful revolution of 1798. Some were skilled teachers who were constrained by economic reasons to leave Ireland during a régime in which the penal laws forbade teaching Irish children and youth to read and write; with schools closed, the schoolmaster's occupation was gone and he emigrated to America to teach the children of the new republic. A tradition in Coventry relates the coming of a teacher known only as "Mr. A. B.," his true name being concealed. "He came like a phantom, proved himself a superior teacher, received no compensation, furnished his scholars with books, won the hearts of old and young, and at the close of his school disappeared as mysteriously as he came." The "Rhode Island Register," an almanac, 1819, listed thirteen academies in Rhode Island, located two each in North Providence (Pawtucket), Providence, Smithfield and Westerly, and one each in Bristol, East Greenwich, North Kingstown, South Kingstown, and Warren. The "Register" also reported 192 schools in Rhode Island, omitting East Greenwich, Newport, New Shoreham, Tiverton,

Westerly and West Greenwich, from which no answer to a letter of inquiry has been received. Except the four free public schools in Providence and perhaps a dozen other schools, the schools of 1819 were quasi-public or private; eventually most would be absorbed into the public system. The "American and Gazette," Providence newspaper, 1828, reported sixteen academies, located six in Providence, two each in Smithfield and Westerly, and one each in Bristol, East Greenwich, North Kingstown, North Providence (Pawtucket), South Kingstown and Warren. Other schools reported by the "American and Gazette" numbered 294. A report made by Oliver Angell in 1831 on the operation of the school statute passed in 1828 reflected the progress of absorption of quasi-public schools into the public school system. Angell reported 323 public schools, with 465 teachers and 17,034 pupils, and 269 private schools with 7847 pupils. In many instances the schools counted by Angell as "private" were conducted as extensions of the public schools by the same teachers employed in the public schools, who were hired for a term longer than the public school term by parents of children attending the town public schools. In another place in the same report Angell mentioned 118 private school teachers and 3403 pupils, which was probably an accurate measure of the status of private education at the time. In the field of elementary education the shift from private to public instruction was progressive thereafter, particularly in periods following improvements in the public schools. Public school enrollment in Providence increased twenty-five per cent. in two years following a reorganization in 1828, and the number of private schools was reduced from over eighty to fifty-six in the same period. In the nineteenth century enrollment in select private schools relative to total enrollment dwindled to barely one per cent.; very few private schools offer the elementary curriculum. Primary schools for very small children, and academies offering education beyond the elementary curriculum survived. Of the former little information has been preserved; the latter thrived until the opening of public high schools relieved the necessity for them; only a few of the old-time academies have survived the competition of public high schools. The service of academies as finishing schools was significant and merits at least brief mention of these secondary schools, because so many men who rendered distinguished service in Rhode Island affairs, who were prominent in political and civic life, and who helped to make Rhode Island history were educated in the old-time academies.

RHODE ISLAND ACADEMIES—University Grammar School, established in Warren, 1764, was removed to Providence, 1770, and located first in the town schoolhouse on Meeting Street, and in 1772 in University Hall, Rhode Island College. The school was a Latin preparatory school, offering instruction additional to Latin in "spelling, reading and speaking English with propriety." President Manning, in his announcement dated 1772, offered to board pupils "in common" for six shillings per week, and to pay such attention "to their learning and morals as will satisfy all who send their children." The school was closed with the college during the Revolution. In 1786 it was advertised as located in the town schoolhouse; two instructors were employed, and Greek had been added to the curriculum. A suggestion by the President that a grammar school was a desirable adjunct of the college and subsequent action by the corporation of the college in 1794 indicate that from 1786 to 1794 the school was independent of the college. A building for the school was erected by the college corporation in 1809 on the southwest corner of College and Prospect Streets, the site at present occupied by the Administration building of Brown University, and there it continued until 1898. Dr. Merrick Lyon was principal, 1845-1886; Dr. Emory Lyon from 1886 until, in 1898, the University Grammar School and the English and Classical Schools were merged as the University School. Both were removed to the old Providence High School building at Benefit Street, between Angell and Waterman Streets, which had been vacated by Rhode Island Normal School, for which a new building had been constructed. The University School was discontinued in

1904, 140 years after William Rogers was enrolled as the first pupil by Dr. James Manning. It had been consolidated with Moses Brown.

Moses Brown School was first opened at Portsmouth in 1784 as Friends' School and discontinued after four years. Twenty years later the Friends' School was revived through the interest of Moses Brown. Moses Brown gave to the school forty-three acres of land in Providence, and added approximately \$10,000 to the endowment, making the latter \$20,000. From Moses Brown the Friends' School received also another tract of land and a legacy of \$15,000. Obadiah Brown, son of Moses Brown, left the school a legacy of \$100,000 in 1822. The new Friends' School opened in Providence in 1819 as a denominational institution. Primitive beginnings were thus described by Walter S. Meader: "The building was unfinished and unfurnished. The large, high-studded, bare and cold rooms were littered with shavings and builders' rubbish. No teacher could be procured in the society, and no funds were available for expenses. All had advised postponing the opening till teachers could be procured from abroad. But Moses Brown, now over eighty years of age, could no longer forego his cherished project, and with a faith and energy worthy of a young enthusiast, resolved it should begin. Others caught the patriarch's spirit. Friends at Nantucket turned out generously at sewing bees, and produced sheets and bedding in abundance. Since none others appeared fitted for teachers, wealthy and cultured Friends offered their services without pay, till young people might be graduated who would be glad to teach for hire. Food also was furnished in the same generous manner. One person freely supplied the school with milk, another brought apples, another samp, and Moses Brown himself furnished many vegetables. Surely school never opened on more unworldly and Utopian principles." The school progressed, and in 1833 had an unusually excellent faculty and more than 200 students. President Jackson visited Friends' School in 1833 on his visit to Providence; with him were Martin Van Buren, afterward President, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. An announcement in 1891 described Friends' School as "an institution for both sexes, upon an eminence in the city of Providence 182 feet above tidewater. Most of the State of Rhode Island, and a large district of Massachusetts are in view from its cupola. . . . Moses Brown of Providence, founded it in 1784. An endowment of \$100,000 came to the school in 1822 from Obadiah Brown, son of Moses, which money was produced at the Slater Mill, and was the largest bequest to any school in the country at that date, . . . A thoroughly practical education for business life and the most approved preparation for college are furnished. . . . The school has a large number of experienced teachers, and, as far as practicable, they are specialists, limited to their departments. The fine arts receive special attention. Excellent instruction in music is given. Wood-carving has recently been added. It has an astronomical observatory, valuable apparatus for chemical and physical work, and a rich mineral cabinet. The library contains about 6000 well-selected volumes." Like the older type of New England Academy, Friends' School, while emphasizing the field of secondary education in college preparatory and "finishing" departments, has clung tenaciously to its "lower school," in which the elementary studies are offered. It is under denominational control, but many years have elapsed since Friends comprised a major fraction of the enrollment; it makes no appeal for patronage on denominational lines. The name was changed to Moses Brown School in 1905, both as a recognition of the founder and benefactor, and to remove the suggestion of denominationalism from the name. Moses Brown School and Wheeler School united under joint administration in 1928.

East Greenwich Academy was founded in 1802 as Kent Academy. Kent Academy was purchased by the Providence Methodist Conference in 1841 and was renamed Providence Conference Academy, 1841; Providence Conference Seminary, 1848; Providence Conference Seminary and Musical Institute, 1863. Boston University succeeded to control in 1873 and named the institution Greenwich Academy. There have been two reorganizations since 1873, a corporation controlling from 1884 to 1888, and thereafter a board of trustees including six

representatives of the corporation, six representatives of the New England Southern Methodist Conference, and one representative of the alumni. Though under nominal control by Methodists, the academy appeals for a wider patronage without regard to denomination, and offers the advantages of a reasonably priced boarding school of secondary grade, with provision also for elementary studies. The secondary courses assist the town of East Greenwich and neighboring towns to meet the requirements of the state high school law, East Greenwich Academy being almost alone of old-time academies in profiting from that legislation.

Three other eighteenth century academies were not so long-lived. Kingston Academy was established on Tower Hill, South Kingstown, in 1781; removed to Little Rest Hill, 1819; chartered as Pettaquamscott Academy, 1823; renamed Kingston Academy, 1826. The original endowment, provided by Samuel Sewall in 1695, was forfeited by the academy in 1840. Twelve years later the old building at Kingston was sold to school district three of South Kingstown; it was destroyed by fire in 1882. A new building for the academy was erected in 1852. The academy had long since passed its period of greatest prosperity; it had 137 students in 1833. Enrollment dwindled, and in 1855 Kingston Academy catered exclusively to girls and young women. It was closed finally as an academy in 1863, although a private school was conducted in the same building for several years thereafter. Washington Academy, at Wickford, chartered 1800, and opened 1802, was an active institution for a quarter of a century thereafter. After a pause, interest was reawakened in 1833, the forfeited charter was revived, the buildings were repaired and renovated, and a fresh start was made. The patronage proved to be unsatisfactory, and the corporation, in 1848, leased the property to school districts three and four for ninety-nine years, at an annual rent of one cent. The academy building was destroyed by fire in 1874, and was replaced by the public school authorities for use as a public school building. Thornton Academy, founded in 1773, by Elisha Thornton, was located near Slatersville, and was continued for thirty years by the founder. This academy was a personal venture. Several other institutions bearing the name "academy" were absorbed into public school systems with proprietor and school society undertakings.

Several academies named in charters granted by the General Assembly died in the borning; their promoters were not successful in obtaining money enough to provide buildings and to warrant opening. In the instance of lottery grants several were made to prospective academies, which never opened. Two academies established in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were exceptions. Smithfield Academy, incorporated, 1808, as Smithfield Academic Society and again, in 1810, as Smithfield Academy, was granted a lottery in 1810 and opened in 1811. It had a precarious existence until James Bushee became principal in 1830, but thereafter for twenty-three years was prosperous under his administration. It had become a personal venture and was closed when Mr. Bushee retired in 1853. Greene Academy in Smithfield was chartered, 1812; granted a lottery, 1812, and opened, 1814. The charter was revived in 1819 after forfeiture for failure to elect officers. The academy continued to 1843, when the estate was sold to school district fourteen in Smithfield.

Two academies for young ladies achieved distinction. Young Ladies' High School, founded in 1828 in Providence by John Kingsbury, was known as Young Ladies' School in 1858 and as Dr. Stockbridge's School for Young Ladies after 1867. John Kingsbury, who opened the school two years after his graduation from Brown University, conducted it for thirty years as a secondary school for young women. The purpose of the school was declared to be "to afford young ladies such facilities for education they will be under less necessity for spending abroad the most important period of their lives, a period in which a mother's judicious care is so necessary to the formation of character. In this undertaking we look for support only among those who wish their daughters to acquire a thorough education. No attempt will be made to gain the approbation of such as would prefer showy and superficial accomplishments to a well-regulated mind." Under John Kingsbury's administration the



JENCKS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, PAWTUCKET



MAIN STREET FROM THE BRIDGE, PAWTUCKET



number of pupils never was permitted to exceed the forty-three for whom accommodations were available. John Kingsbury became Commissioner of Public Schools in 1858. Professor John L. Lincoln succeeded John Kingsbury; during his service of nine years the school had fifty regular pupils, and others who "came in for lessons." The school was continued another decade by Dr. Stockbridge, closing finally in 1877. The first home of Pembroke College was in the building on Benefit Street once occupied by this private high school. Rhode Island College of Pharmacy also occupied the same building at a later date. Warren Ladies' Seminary was founded in 1837 as a boarding school offering a regular course of three years and a curriculum that afforded a "finished" education. The institution was prosperous for twenty years, but was not reopened after the building had been destroyed by fire in 1857.

Smithville Seminary was founded in 1839 by the Rhode Island Association of Free Baptists. The seminary offered instruction in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, German, Hebrew and Italian, the various branches embraced in English literature, the different natural sciences, mathematics, metaphysics, etc., besides conducting a "primary department." The curriculum afforded college preparation or a "finished" education. The enrollment reached 320 in 1845, but dwindled thereafter until it reached 20 in 1854. Rev. Hosea Quimby, the first principal, retired in 1854, and after a revival of two years under Samuel P. Coburn, the seminary was closed. It was reopened in 1863 as Lapham Institute, so named in honor of Benedict Lapham, who purchased the property on condition that the Free Baptist Association repair it. Lapham Institute offered a college preparatory course, a ladies' collegiate course, an English and scientific course; and instruction in painting and drawing, and in music. Lapham Institute closed its doors in 1875. To the same period belongs Fruit Hill Classical Institute, opened in 1835 as a boarding school principally for boys; it was a personal venture and was discontinued in 1861. Greene Street School, Providence, opened in 1837 as a private school devoted to "ideal standards" derived from Greek education, continued for five years, and is remembered principally because Margaret Fuller, later Margaret Fuller d'Ossoli, taught there for two years at the beginning of her brilliant but ill-fated career. Hopkinton Academy, founded in 1858 by citizens of Hopkinton who were residents of Ashaway and Potter Hill, was closed in 1869.

The end of the Civil War witnessed the launching in Providence of two successful academies. Mount Pleasant Academy was established in 1865 in North Providence, later Providence, by Jencks Mowry. Two years later, Joseph E. Mowry became a teacher in the academy, and in 1872 a new building was erected. The academy offered a general course and a college preparatory course. Joseph E. Mowry retired in 1885 to become a grammar master in the public schools of Providence, and the academy was continued for five years longer by Jencks Mowry. Mount Pleasant Academy had an enviable recognition in its day because of the reputation of Jencks Mowry and Joseph E. Mowry as teachers. English and Classical School was established in Providence in 1864 by William A. Mowry and Charles B. Goff, and was sometimes called the Mowry and Goff School, for its proprietors. It developed into a boys' academy with 250 pupils. Military drill was emphasized. Two general courses, English and classical, were offered, and boys from eight years of age were received in the preparatory department. The school removed three times to obtain accommodations adequate for its membership, occupying eventually a building of its own on Snow Street. William A. Mowry retired in 1884, and Charles B. Goff died in 1898. The English and Classical School continued, and in 1898 was combined with the University Grammar School as the University School. It removed then to the new quarters of the University School in the old Providence High School building on Benefit Street. The University School was discontinued in 1904; it had been consolidated with Moses Brown.

Albert G. Scholfield founded Scholfield Commercial College in June, 1846, and through it introduced the double-entry bookkeeping system in Rhode Island, the first students being

business men. The scope of the college was extended gradually to include other commercial courses. A branch of the Bryant and Stratton Business College was inaugurated in 1863, and was developed into a college offering complete courses in business practices; it survives after nearly seventy years of service in the present Bryant-Stratton College. Other business schools and colleges were established as follows: In Providence—Spencerian Business College, 1862; Max Magnus School of Shorthand, 1892; Rhode Island Commercial School, 1898; Child's Business College, 1906; Gibbs Secretarial School, 1910; in Pawtucket—Pawtucket Business College, 1894; Kinyon's Commercial School, 1901; in Woonsocket—Woonsocket Commercial School, 1897; in Newport—Newport Business College, 1898.

Berkeley School, so named for Dean Berkeley, was opened in September, 1883, in Providence, by Rev. George H. Patterson, and was removed in the following year to larger quarters at Infantry Hall. It was a secondary school conducted under Episcopalian patronage, and was continued for a decade. Morris Heights School, another secondary school, was opened in 1900 in the old Homeopathic Hospital building on Morris Avenue in Providence, and continued for fifteen years. St. George's School, Middletown, established in 1896, is under Episcopalian patronage; it is a secondary school. St. George's occupies an attractive site in Middletown from which its splendid buildings present an imposing appearance as seen from the Newport cliffs and beaches. Providence Country Day School, 1923, is located in East Providence. It is well-equipped with buildings and offers training leading to admission to college. It is a boys' school. The Mary C. Wheeler School, established in 1900 in Providence, is a secondary school for girls. The Wheeler School and Moses Brown School became associated in administration in 1928.

**OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS**—Other private schools included a number of kindergartens organized originally as demonstration schools with the purpose of introducing kindergarten principles; among these were the Froebel School, Providence, 1876; Stepping Stone Kindergarten, Peacedale; St. John's Kindergarten, Providence, 1886; Hope Nursery Kindergarten, Providence, 1896. Eventually the kindergarten was accepted by the public schools, and demonstration schools were discontinued. Lincoln School for Girls, Providence, established in 1889; and Gordon School, 1910, continue. The Bronson School, established in 1897, had a long career, as did also the Fielden-Chase School, 1871. South Kingstown High School was organized as a private school in 1880, and continued as such until the town adopted it as a public high school in 1904. Eastern Nazarene College, 1902, incorporated as Pentecostal Collegiate Institution in 1903, was conducted at the old Lapham Institute for several years. The Lapham Institute buildings are occupied in 1930 by the Watchman Industrial School, an institution for the improvement of the negro. The total enrollment in select private schools has never, within the twentieth century, exceeded two per cent. of the total for the state, the trend being toward, and the average nearer one per cent.

Of private schools teaching arts and accomplishments there have been many additional to single-teacher establishments offering individual instruction, the long list of these private ventures including colleges, academies, schools and studios of vocal and instrumental music, solo and social dancing, elocution and dramatic art, riding, boxing, fencing, skating, swimming, general gymnastics, painting and other types of decorative art, modern and ancient languages, etc. Private teachers of music have been legion in number including artists so well known as Jules Jordan, Hans Schneider, David W. Reeves, Joseph Green, Claude B. Spary, Bowen R. Church and Lucy Marsh Gordon. The names of Spink and Haas are associated with dancing, Haupt with riding, Ashton with boxing, Servatius with fencing. Most of the long line of Rhode Island painters have been teachers as well. A free school for teaching German was maintained for several years in Providence by the German School Society; open only on Saturdays, it was conducted with permission of the school committee in the Richmond Street schoolhouse. A more pretentious school of languages was opened in Providence in

1881 by Messrs. Berlitz, Larcher, Dubois, and Lecliqmann, and called first the Berlitz School of Languages. Known later as the Providence School of Languages, it offered instruction in French, German, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Sanscrit. The school was advertised as "conducted in a manner wholly new and original, and calculated to give all who wish fluency, ease and correctness in the use of a foreign language," but not by "an easy road lightly tripped over in a few weeks." This venture suffered, as did other private schools, from competition by graduates who undertook rival ventures, and by instructors who came and established reputation and then withdrew to start new schools with a clientage recruited in the old school. The manager of the school of languages devised a remedy in the form of a contract for employment which purported to bind instructors not to teach in Rhode Island within a year after leaving the school. Alas, the Supreme Court found the contract void\* as a restraint of occupation contrary to public policy, because the restriction exceeded the necessity for what the court called reasonable protection!

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS—Vastly more significant for Rhode Island than the activities of select private schools has been the rise of the system of Catholic schools, established and maintained by the Roman Catholic Church, and extending through every grade of instruction from primary elementary, to secondary and college. The Roman Catholic Church teaches that education without instruction in religion is incomplete. Inasmuch as it is not feasible to include the teaching of dogmatic religion in a system of public schools supported by indiscriminate public taxation, and open to all the children of all the people, attendance being compulsory for some, the Church has felt constrained to provide its own schools, in which religion may be given the attention and emphasis deemed necessary or desirable by the Church. The first Catholic school in Rhode Island was organized by Right Reverend William Tyler, in 1845, in the basement of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, which occupied a part of the site of the present Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. The teachers were pious women who served without salary or other payment, anticipating the time when the Bishop might be able to bring to his diocese as teachers nuns of the order of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, with whom he was negotiating. Bishop Tyler died in June, 1849, and was succeeded, November 17, 1850, by Right Reverend Bernard O'Reilly. Bishop O'Reilly invited the Sisters of Mercy to establish a community in Rhode Island, and on March 12, 1851, a temporary convent was opened formally in a small cottage on Weybosset Street (then High Street) in Providence. In October the sisters removed to the Stead House, Broad and Claverick Streets, on the same site now occupied by their convent and St. Xavier's Academy. The community, numbering five sisters at first, had increased by admission of novices to twenty within six months. Within the same period it had undertaken four distinct projects: (1) The school in the basement of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, removed later to a schoolhouse constructed on Lime Street; (2) a new school at St. Patrick's Church in Providence, replaced in 1871 by a brick schoolhouse, and again in 1928 by a new brick schoolhouse; (3) a select secondary school, St. Xavier's Academy, located first in the convent building; (4) an orphan asylum, in a frame building on the convent estate. Three years later, 1854, a fifth charge was accepted, a school located temporarily in the vestry of St. Joseph's Church in Providence, later in a brick building on John Street, known as Cleary School. In May, 1854, a Mercy convent was established in Newport, and with it a school and academy, in connection with the Church of Our Lady of the Isle. The land for this venture was given by Mrs. Goodloe Harper and Miss Emily Harper, respectively, daughter and granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. A new building for St. Xavier's Academy in Providence was constructed, 1855-1856, on Claverick Street, near the convent. Meanwhile requests for sisters for service in Little Rock, Arkansas, and Buffalo, New York, had been complied with; in 1858 Mother Xavier Warde, who had been the first

\*Herreshoff vs. Boutineau, 17 R. I. 3.

superior in Rhode Island, opened a new Mercy house in Manchester, New Hampshire. In seven years, the order had extended its work in Rhode Island to include two convents, two secondary schools, four elementary schools, an orphan asylum, besides Sunday school teaching, and other religious activities.

The Sisters of Mercy came to Rhode Island quietly and without public announcement. To the credit of Rhode Island it should be noted that the vast majority of the people of city and state, and public officers maintained Rhode Island's reputation for tolerance. The country at the time was seething with bitter sectarianism, but Rhode Island was quiet, in spite of a strong organization of Know Nothings, soon to establish itself as the controlling influence in state politics.† Two drastic compulsory attendance bills, which if enacted into law and enforced would have closed Catholic schools for want of pupils, were defeated in the General Assembly in 1853;\* Elisha R. Potter, who was then Commissioner of Public Schools, opposed both as not consistent with Rhode Island's love of religious liberty. An irresponsible movement to incite a mob attack on St. Xavier's Convent in 1855 was discouraged by the public press,‡ as well as by the Mayor and police of Providence. The convent was well guarded by vigilant Catholics, who had gathered to protect the Sisters of Mercy. The "Providence Journal," in 1853, accused the Democratic party, then led by Governor Philip Allen, of planning to divide public school money betwixt public and Catholic schools. Stokes attributed a change in the tax exemption statute, in 1855, to opposition to Catholic schools; the "Journal" reported the change as merely incidental to general revision. The change, limiting tax exemption to three acres in each instance, affected select private schools more seriously than Catholic schools at the time; and it was repealed a few months after its enactment.

The first general exemption statute, enacted in 1769, covered "all lands and other real estate granted or purchased for religious uses or for the uses of schools within this colony." In the Digests of 1798 and 1822 the language of the statute was practically similar: "All estates, real or personal, granted or appropriated to religious uses or to the use of schools and seminaries of learning within this state . . . are exempted from taxation." In 1829 tax exemption was limited to buildings and land actually occupied by buildings owned by incorporated bodies, thus: "So much property as now is or hereafter may be invested in houses for public religious worship, or in houses for schools, academies and colleges established or owned by any town, company or corporation, and the land on which they stand, together with such other property as now is or hereafter may be specially exempted by a charter granted by the General Assembly . . . are hereby exempted from taxation." Thus the law appeared in the revision of 1844, and so it remained until 1855. Section 18 of the revised general tax law of 1855 limited the exemption of land to three acres, but in May of the same year the limitation was removed, and it was enacted that "the land occupied by the buildings for schools, academies and colleges shall be exempt from taxation so long as the same shall be occupied and used for educational purposes, and the limitation of the land so occupied and used to a quantity not exceeding three acres, in the eighteenth section of the act to which this is an amendment, is hereby repealed: Provided, that this act shall not be so construed as to exempt from taxation any property that is leased to or occupied by persons who pay rent therefor for the use or support of any school, academy or college." The proviso was repealed in 1857, property exempt including "houses for schools, academies and colleges and all the appurtenances thereto belonging, owned by any town, company or corporation, and the land used in connection therewith, so far as the same is held, occupied and used for, and the rent and profits thereof applied to . . . educational purposes." And thus the matter rested for a generation.

Bishop O'Reilly sailed for Europe in 1855, one of his purposes being to persuade the

†Chapter XXI.

\*Chapter XX.

‡Chapter XXI.

Brothers of the Christian Schools to undertake the education of Catholic boys in his diocese. Bishop O'Reilly never returned; it is believed that he was lost in the wreck of the "Pacific," steamer, which sailed from Liverpool, January 23, 1856. Under his successor, Right Reverend Francis P. McFarland, 1858-1872, there was a further development of Catholic schools. New schools were opened by Sisters of Mercy in St. Mary's parish, Pawtucket, 1861; Immaculate Conception parish, North Providence (now Providence), 1862; an academy at St. Mary's, Pawtucket, 1868; an academy in St. Bernard's Convent, Woonsocket, and a school in St. Charles parish, Woonsocket, 1869. St. Xavier's Academy was enlarged to double its original accommodations in 1865. A new building for the Orphan Asylum, St. Aloysius, on Prairie Avenue, Providence, was occupied in 1862. A primary school, to accommodate children residing at a distance from the Lime Street School, was erected on South Street, Providence. The Christian Brothers opened La Salle Academy, a secondary school for boys, 1871; and the Madames of the Sacred Heart established the Academy of the Sacred Heart, a boarding school for girls, at Elmhurst, North Providence (now Providence), 1872. Until 1872, Rhode Island and southeastern Massachusetts had been included in the diocese of Hartford, of which the seat was Providence. Bishop McFarland's request that his diocese be divided was granted; in 1872 he removed to Hartford as Bishop of a diocese including only Connecticut. Right Reverend Thomas F. Hendricken became Bishop of the new diocese of Providence.

St. Mary's Academy, in connection with St. Mary's Church, Broadway, Providence, was opened in 1873. St. Mary's Seminary, sometimes called Bayview because of its location on a high bluff in East Providence overlooking Narragansett Bay, occupied the Howard homestead as a boarding school for girls in 1874, and an additional building, newly constructed in 1875. In his zeal for education and with the hope that the system of elementary and secondary schools in his diocese might be completed by a college, Bishop Hendricken invited the Society of Jesus to take charge of St. Joseph's Church in Providence. The Jesuits came in 1879, remained twenty years, became convinced that there was then no likelihood of establishing a Catholic college in Rhode Island, and withdrew in 1899. The Society of Jesus is a teaching order, and may not continue parish work otherwise than in association with college. Other Catholic schools were established as follows: St. Patrick's, in Valley Falls, 1878; Cleary School (new building), St. Joseph's, in Providence, 1879; St. Edward's at Geneva, in Providence, 1881; Precious Blood, Woonsocket, 1880; an academy in the Convent of Jesus and Mary, Woonsocket, 1884; St. John the Baptist, Pawtucket, 1886.

Discussion of tax exemption had been resumed; in 1870 exemption of property held for religious purposes was limited to \$20,000. In the following year the people rejected a proposed amendment to the Constitution providing that "no sectarian or denominational school or institution shall receive any aid or support from the revenues of the state, nor shall any tax be imposed upon the people or property of the state in aid of any such school or institution." Four years later, in 1875, the subject of tax exemption was investigated by a committee of the General Assembly, which held four public hearings. For exemption appeared, among others, Bishop Hendricken of the Roman Catholic diocese of Providence, Bishop Clarke of the Episcopal diocese of Rhode Island, and President Robinson of Brown University. Bishop Hendricken, the committee reported, "showed that in the city of Providence the Roman Catholics provided their own schools, and thus saved a large sum annually to the city. These schools were free. . . . Bishop Clarke took the ground that churches were of so much public benefit that it is just to exempt them from taxation. It might be irregular, but there was no unfairness. . . . Dr. Robinson claimed that the exemption of church property is recognized by all the civilized nations upon the globe, by all Christian nations on the ground that morals and religion must be cultivated in order to obtain a firm foundation for intellectual strength." Several other clergymen were reported as favoring exemption "on the general ground that churches and educational institutions were doing a good work in this common-

wealth." The committee was impressed by an argument that the exemption of any property from taxation tended to increase the burden of taxation distributed on other property; and that the increased taxation on other property might be construed as a tax levied on that property for the benefit of the institution exempted, and thus become unconstitutional as a conflict with the provision that forbids taxation for sectarian purposes. The committee in its report argued: "There is really more reason why educational institutions should be exempted from taxation than churches, on the ground that the help obtained from the state reduces the cost of education; and education should be within the reach of all. The state provides for the common school education, and many of the towns provide the higher branches at the public expense. All do not do this, however, and therefore private schools are a necessity. It does not follow, by any means, that these should be exempted." The argument should be read and reconciled, if possible, with the attitude of Rhode Island at a later date in offering tax exemption to manufacturing enterprises as a privilege to induce location in Rhode Island. In the hearing it was pointed out that some private schools had been undertaken in consideration of tax exemption as a factor in estimating the possibility of success financially, and that gifts to private education had been made in the form of endowments with the expectation that the income, without being diminished by taxation, might be applied exclusively to education. The committee itself apparently was hostile to exemption or had been converted by arguments against exemption, and reported to the General Assembly a compromise reducing exemptions. The General Assembly rejected the committee's recommendation, but limited the exemption of educational institutions to *free public schools*, and of churches to buildings and the land surrounding the same to the extent of not exceeding one acre. What was the meaning of "*free public school*?" The Supreme Court, in 1878, held that "*free public schools*," exempted from taxation, meant only the schools which "are established, maintained and regulated under the statute laws of the state." Hence realty held by a religious corporation and used by ecclesiastics to furnish gratuitous instruction in parochial schools was not relieved from taxation, although it had been shown in evidence that no tuition had been charged, and that pupils were admitted without discrimination.§ The court also held that a dwelling including within it a chapel used for devotional services is not exempt as a building devoted to religious purposes;\* and (1902) that land and a building thereon used in part for a chapel for religious worship and in part for a residence of Sisters of Mercy who serve as teachers in a free parochial school in the schoolhouse on an adjoining lot is not exempt from taxation, because exemption applies only to land and buildings used exclusively for religious or educational purposes.† In 1883 the court held that a building used for religious purposes is exempt from taxation, although used for educational purposes, so long as the use is merely incidental or occasional, or so long as the use, if habitual, is purely permissive and voluntary and does not interfere with the use for religious purposes, there being no alienation of the building in whole or in part for educational uses as, for example, by lease.‡ In the particular instance a religious edifice was used also for school purposes. In 1894 a new statute restored tax exemption of private schools not conducted for profit, and the land surrounding them to an extent not exceeding one acre, so far as the same is used exclusively for educational purposes. Tax exempt schools may be visited by public school officers, on penalty for refusal to permit visitation, of forfeiture of tax exemption. The purpose of visitation is suggested as inspection to determine whether or not the school meets requirements for approval for attendance under the compulsory law in lieu of attendance on public instruction.

Right Reverend Matthew Harkins became Bishop of Providence in 1887. Three years later the Tyler School, Providence, replaced the Lime Street and South Street schools pre-

§*St. Joseph's Church vs. Assessors*, 12 R. I. 19.

\**St. Joseph's Church vs. Assessors*, 12 R. I. 19.

†*City of Pawtucket for an opinion*, 24 R. I. 86.

‡*St. Mary's Church vs. Tripp*, 14 R. I. 397.

viously conducted by SS. Peter and Paul's Cathedral. The Tyler School, aside from being completely modern in construction, introduced two novelties in elementary education in Providence—a manual training department for boys and a domestic science department for girls. A new St. Xavier's Academy began to rise on the site of the older buildings in 1894, and was completed in 1896. Other Catholic schools established included: St. Joseph's, Pawtucket, 1887; St. Charles, Providence, 1887; St. John the Baptist, Arctic, 1889; Sacred Heart, Pawtucket, 1890; Hazard Memorial, Newport, 1891; St. Teresa's Providence, 1891; St. Ann's, Woonsocket, 1891; Our Lady of Lourdes, Phenix, 1892; Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Central Falls, 1892; St. Ambrose, Albion, in Lincoln, 1893; St. James, Manville, in Lincoln, 1893; Our Lady of Consolation, Pawtucket, 1896; St. John Baptist, Warren, 1897; Sacred Heart, Woonsocket, 1898; Holy Family, Woonsocket, 1900; St. James, Arctic, 1902; Holy Trinity, Central Falls, 1905; Notre Dame de Lourdes, Providence, 1906; St. Matthew's, Central Falls, 1908; Notre Dame, Phenix, 1908; Sacred Heart High School, Central Falls, 1909; St. Aloysius, ¶ Woonsocket, 1910; St. Augustine's, Newport, 1912; St. Cecelia's, Pawtucket, 1912; Holy Name of Jesus, Providence, 1912; St. Joseph's, West Warwick, 1915; St. Mary's, Bristol, 1915; St. Anthony's, Providence, 1916; Our Lady of Good Help, Burrillville, 1916; St. Ann's, Providence, 1917; Sacred Heart, East Providence, 1917; St. Joseph's, Central Falls, 1917; Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Central Falls, 1918. St. Mary's Seminary, East Providence, was partly destroyed by fire in 1906, and the loss was replaced by a fireproof building in 1908. Providence College§ was chartered in 1917 on the initiative of Bishop Harkins, to crown the system of Catholic elementary and secondary schools, and the work of building Harkins Hall was carried forward under his direction and that of Right Rev. William A. Hickey, who had been appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Providence and Apostolic Administrator of the diocese.

Right Rev. William A. Hickey, Coadjutor Bishop and Apostolic Administrator of the diocese of Providence from April 10, 1919, became Bishop of Providence in his own right by succession on May 25, 1921. Because of the age and infirmities of Bishop Harkins, Bishop Hickey for more than two years had been carrying the burdens of administration of the diocese, including promotion of Catholic schools. On his shoulders had fallen the task of carrying Providence College through to successful inauguration, and one of the new Bishop's first services for education was a diocesan drive to collect \$400,000 to reduce the debt resting on the college estate and to provide money for additional accommodations and equipment. The drive was so enthusiastically conducted and so generously responded to that half a million dollars were poured into the college treasury. A new athletic field, which was an extra project made feasible by an oversubscription, was named, at Bishop Hickey's suggestion, Hendricken Field for Bishop Hendricken, first Bishop of Providence. The college later purchased the Bradley house on Eaton Street and remodelled and enlarged it as a home for ecclesiastical students; and in 1928 completed an addition to Harkins Hall, the original building, including an auditorium, a library, laboratories and classrooms, which practically doubled the capacity. The teaching faculty includes twenty-five professors, all members of the Order of Preachers. The initial enrollment was eighty in 1919-1920; in ten years it has increased to 800 in 1929-1930. The work of building and opening new Catholic schools and replacing old buildings with modern and finely designed, constructed and equipped school-houses went forward steadily. The following new Catholic schools were opened: St. Basil's, Central Falls, and St. Paul's, Edgewood, in Cranston, 1920; Holy Ghost, Providence, 1923; St. Edward's, Pawtucket, St. Raymond's, Providence, and St. Stanislaus, Woonsocket, 1924; Assumption, Blessed Sacrament, and St. Michael's, all in Providence, 1925; St. Teresa's, Nasonville, and Immaculate Conception, Westerly, 1926; St. Patrick's, Providence, the third

¶Afterward called (1) St. Joseph's, and (2) St. Louis.  
§Chapter XXXIII.

building for this school in three-quarters of a century, 1928; St. Pius, St. Sebastian's, and St. Thomas, all in Providence, and Presentation of Mary, Marieville, 1929; Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Natick, 1930. The building for St. Pius combines school, church and convent for the Sisters of St. Dominic, who teach in the school, all constructed in such manner that the building may be remodelled as a school by installing partitions, to meet the need for increase in accommodations after a separate church edifice has been constructed. For St. Sebastian's School Father James A. Craig purchased and remodelled the Slater Avenue schoolhouse, which had been abandoned by the school committee of Providence with the construction of a larger type of public school building.

The foundation for elementary education had been securely laid by Bishop Hickey's predecessors; his own particular contributions to elementary education in the diocese of Providence were (1) emphatic insistence on architectural design conforming to the most approved standards of schoolhouse construction, and (2) maintenance of excellent quality of instruction. In the parish of St. John in Clinton, Massachusetts, from which Pope Benedict had called him to undertake a greater responsibility in Rhode Island, as Father Hickey he had built a schoolhouse and had maintained in it schools that, schoolhouse and schools, were models for excellence. To assure good instruction Bishop Hickey created the office of Diocesan Superintendent of Catholic Schools, held first by Reverend Cornelius J. Holland and later by Reverend Thomas V. Cassidy, the latter especially trained in anticipation of the service to which he was appointed. This diocesan supervision supplemented that consistently maintained by the religious orders whose members taught in the Catholic schools. For many years Sister Mary Bartholomew of the Order of Mercy had served as visiting teacher and supervisor in the many schools taught by the Sisters of Mercy.

Bishop Hickey's zeal for the education of youth led him also to anticipate an increasing interest in schools beyond the elementary grades, which has followed the World War and which has perplexed and almost bewildered public school administrative agencies for more than ten years, as they have attempted to persuade the people to build new high schools to accommodate youth who no longer are content with common school education. Catholic youth felt the same urge for more schooling that was common in America, and Bishop Hickey wished not only to provide Catholic high schools for ambitious boys and girls, but also to encourage them to go to high school by providing convenient facilities. There were Catholic high schools in Rhode Island, including La Salle Academy, Providence, conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, for boys; St. Xavier's Academy, Providence, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, for girls; Sacred Heart Academy, Providence, a boarding and finishing school for young ladies, conducted by the Madames of the Sacred Heart; St. Mary's Seminary, at Bayview, in East Providence, a boarding school for girls, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy; and other smaller high schools in Newport, Pawtucket, Providence and Woonsocket. Not less than \$1,000,000 would be needed to carry the magnificent project planned by Bishop Hickey into effect. The Bishop was resourceful; indeed, the magnitude of the task rather intrigued than deterred one who had chosen for his motto "Dominus Regit Me." Bishop Hickey proposed a drive to obtain cash and pledges, the latter to be redeemed within three years, to the amount of \$1,000,000, and rallied to his support a band of clergy and laymen from all parts of the diocese, who went out under the name of Crusaders to arouse the interest of Catholic people in every parish. The appeal was modelled on the plan of war-time drives, in which, as Father Hickey, the Bishop had been a prominent four-minuteman. The result was never in doubt after returns for the first day reached drive headquarters; within the ten days allotted the million dollar high school drive had "gone over the top." Then came the fruition: In Woonsocket a monumental pile crowning a towering hill houses the new Mount Saint Charles Academy, which was opened in 1924. A new and larger La Salle Academy, in Providence, was completed and occupied in 1925. It affords ample accommo-

dations for a thousand students comfortably, with a large assembly hall, a gymnasium, a library and laboratories; a residence for the Christian Brothers serving as teachers, a series of athletic fields and an estate ample for expansion. St. Xavier's Academy was enlarged, the combined buildings closing three sides of a city block and fronting a partly enclosed quadrangle, and including new classrooms and a fine auditorium. A large estate in Newport was purchased, and there the Christian Brothers opened a new De La Salle Academy for boys; similarly in Pawtucket, St. Raphael's Academy was opened. These with Elmhurst Academy in Providence and the boarding academy for boys at Portsmouth Priory, at the north end of the Island of Rhode Island; two parish high schools in Central Falls, one in Newport, two in Pawtucket, and one in Providence, bring the total of Catholic high schools or academies in Rhode Island to fifteen, with an enrollment in 1930 of over 2300 pupils. Other educational projects promoted by Bishop Hickey included the construction of an industrial school building at the House of the Good Shepherd in Providence. The first diocesan teachers' institute was conducted in the summer of 1920, with members of the religious orders teaching in the Catholic schools of the diocese attending; out of the summer institute has grown the Catholic Teachers' College, incorporated by the General Assembly in 1929, a special project planned by Reverend Thomas V. Cassidy, Diocesan Superintendent of Catholic Schools, for the training principally of Catholic teachers in service. For the time being the Teachers' College is conducted in the classrooms and halls of St. Xavier's Academy. Providence College also has conducted a summer school for Catholic teachers since 1925, offering college credit and recognition in college degrees; and the summer school has been supplemented since 1926 by extension courses for teachers conducted on Saturdays. The summer school and extension courses have brought to the college teaching nuns from all sections of New England; the combined enrollment totals 350.

The Catholic school organization in Rhode Island in 1930 included: Two colleges—Providence College, liberal arts, for men, with summer school and extension courses for Catholic teachers; Catholic Teachers' College, teacher training, for Catholic teachers. Fifteen high schools—La Salle Academy, St. Xavier's Academy, St. Mary's Academy, Sacred Heart Academy at Elmhurst, all in Providence; Notre Dame High School and Sacred Heart High School, Central Falls; St. Mary's Seminary, Bayview, in East Providence; De La Salle Academy and St. Joseph's High School, Newport; St. Raphael's Academy, St. John's High School, and Sacred Heart High School, Pawtucket; Portsmouth Priory, Portsmouth; Jesus-Mary Academy and Mount Saint Charles Academy, Woonsocket. Sixty-eight elementary schools, including parish schools, several of which included junior high school departments, schools in orphanages and asylums, and lower schools in academies, as follows: Albion—St. Ambrose; Arctic—St. James and St. John's; Bristol—St. Mary's; Central Falls—Holy Trinity, Notre Dame, Sacred Heart, St. Basil's, St. Joseph's, St. Matthew's; Cranston—St. Paul's; East Providence—Sacred Heart and St. Mary's Seminary; Manville—St. James; Marienville—Presentation of Mary; Nasonville—St. Teresa's; Natick—Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St. Joseph's; Newport—St. Augustine's, St. Joseph's, St. Mary's, Mercy Home and School; Pawtucket—Our Lady of Consolation, Sacred Heart, St. Cecelia's, St. Edward's, St. John's, St. Joseph's, St. Mary's; Phenix—Notre Dame; Providence—Assumption, Blessed Sacrament, Cleary, Elmhurst, Good Shepherd, Holy Ghost, Holy Name, Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Lourdes, St. Aloysius Home, St. Ann's, St. Anthony's, St. Charles, St. Edward's, St. Mary's, St. Michael's, St. Patrick's, St. Pius, St. Raymond's, St. Sebastian's, St. Teresa's, St. Thomas, St. Vincent de Paul Home, Tyler; Valley Falls—St. Patrick's; Warren—St. John's; Westerly—Immaculate Conception; Woonsocket—Holy Trinity, Jesus-Mary, Mount Saint Charles, Precious Blood, St. Ann's, St. Charles, St. Francis Home, St. Joan of Arc, St. Louis, St. Stanislaus. Over 31,000 children and youth were attending regular day school instruction in the Catholic schools in Rhode Island in 1930.



## CHAPTER XXXV. RHODE ISLAND CHURCHES.



THE Rhode Island Charter of 1663 was the most remarkable document of the seventeenth century, because (1) it established a republic, and (2) it proclaimed "full liberty in religious concerns." Politically it was the act of an imperialist, and therefore much more to be wondered at than the Declaration of Independence, which was the work of the representatives of a people, or Magna Carta, which King John was constrained to yield consent to by a rebellious nobility. From the religious point of view, the Rhode Island Charter synthesized the practical philosophy of Roger Williams and of John Clarke, as agents for Rhode Island, and of Charles II himself. Than his unfortunate father, Charles I, perhaps no monarch at the time appreciated more keenly than did the King of England the distress to which religious controversy could carry a nation, particularly if and when the civil power were exercised either to enforce or to suppress religion. The King's promise to his subjects in the edict of toleration published at Breda, the faith of John Clarke, and the language used by Roger Williams in explaining the doctrine of soul liberty were embodied in the following words of the Charter: "No person within said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion, who does not actively disturb the civil peace of our colony." Rhode Island, before 1663, had become a haven of refuge for those whose consciences could not abide orthodox Puritanism, and whom the Puritan theocracy would not suffer to abide peacefully in Massachusetts or Plymouth. The Pilgrim tendency to liberality was restricted by the dominating neighbor at the Bay, wherefore Plymouth warned Roger Williams away from Seekonk and joined in the exclusion and persecution of Friends. The Puritan commentators, to whom it was not given to understand soul liberty, saw in Rhode Island little except what they called irreligion and ungodliness, when they did not use more emphatic language. Irreligion and ungodliness, as the words were used by Puritans, might mean no more than heterodoxy in doctrine, neglect to attend and participate in the Puritan religious rites and exercises, and relaxation of the drastic suppression of human instincts that prevailed under Puritanism. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were banished for heterodoxy, John Clarke and Obadiah Holmes were prosecuted by civil authority for not going to the Puritan church on Sunday, Mary Dyer was hanged, and a servant maid in Samuel Gorton's family was threatened with exile from Plymouth as an immoral person because she smiled in church. Rhode Island was neither irreligious nor ungodly, in spite of the failure in the earliest years to support a settled ministry or to build church edifices. Religious meetings were conducted in quiet groves, or in private houses. Samuel Gorton's stay at Plymouth was shortened because of objection of a neighbor to attendance of the neighbor's wife on evening prayers led by Gorton. The Joshua Verein incident in Providence—the rebuking of a citizen who sought to curtail his wife's liberty of conscience by forbidding her to attend religious services conducted by Roger Williams—confirms the falsity of the Puritan accusation of irreligion. Roger Williams and others were Christian missionaries, and Williams lived several years of his life among the Indians with the purpose of converting them to Christianity. Paradoxical in his inconsistency throughout his long life, amending his views so frequently that he abided not long with any sect, Roger Williams was thoroughly religious in his search for "truth." John Clarke, Anne Hutchinson, Samuel Gorton, Obadiah Holmes and Mary Dyer suffered persecution for religion's sake. None of them would use the power of the civil state to enforce his or her view upon another, though all were militant exponents of

what they believed to be true. Because of so many and so wide differences of opinion in early Rhode Island, there was no cohesion of sufficient numbers in any instance to establish strong religious sects. Very much to the credit of Rhode Island and Rhode Islanders, there was no disposition on the part of any group to control the civil government for the accomplishment of its own sectarian purposes. Toleration had become precious to most because they had seen or experienced intolerance elsewhere. "*Rara temporum felicitas ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.*"

**TOLERATION**—The genius of Rhode Island was and is toleration, and toleration is only another name for a liberal charity which reconciles illimitable faith with respect for the faith that abides in other men and women, if for no other reason than a recognition of the fallibility of the human understanding. Toleration did not mean that there was no religious controversy in Rhode Island; the early settlers were far too contentious to permit that. The relations betwixt the Friends of Rhode Island and such of their predecessors as Roger Williams afford an illustration and exemplification of the Rhode Island doctrine of toleration or soul liberty as it was understood in the seventeenth century. Roger Williams and the men of Rhode Island would do nothing to interfere with the soul liberty of Friends, although many, like Roger Williams, abhorred the doctrines preached by George Fox. So early as 1657 Rhode Island refused to exclude Friends, in spite of a peremptory demand from others of the New England colonies, and the firm stand taken at that time by the least numerous group of settlers illuminates one of the most glorious pages in the history of colony and state. Yet when George Fox visited Newport in 1672 to attend the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Roger Williams challenged him to debate, proposing fourteen points as issues, and traveled with utmost haste to Newport in a canoe. Fox had departed—"slily," as Williams alleged later—but the debate, with three Friends pitted against Roger Williams, continued three days at Newport and one at Providence. The parties confirmed their own faith and failed to convince the opposition; the elation of victory felt by each was indicated by the broadside of pamphlets that followed. Roger Williams published his "George Fox Digged Out of His Burrowes," and Fox and Burnyeat replied with "A New England Firebrand Quenched." The complete title of the Williams pamphlet is suggestive: "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes, or an offer of disputation on fourteen proposalls made this last summer 1672 (so called) unto G. Fox then present on Rhode Island in New England, by R. W. As also how (G. Fox slily departing) the disputation went on, being managed three days at Newport on Rhode Island and one day at Providence, between John Stubs, John Burnet and William Edmundson on the one part, and R. W. on the other. In which many quotations out of G. Fox and Ed. Burrowes Book in folio are alleged; with an appendix of some scores of G. F. his simple lame answers to his opposites in that book, quoted and replied to by R. W. of Providence in N. E." Men who were capable of such controversy and who, after the fashion of the times, did not mince words in emphasizing expression, could live nevertheless together in the same civil state without persecuting each other. That was toleration of the Rhode Island type in the seventeenth century. A fine exemplification of toleration of a later type, developed in Rhode Island from the first, occurred on an occasion when the Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island was one of the guests at a reception in honor of the Catholic Bishop of Providence. After dinner the two great churchmen paid eloquent tributes to each other. "If we never pray together," said Bishop McVickar of himself and Bishop Harkins, "God forbid that we should never pray for each other." At a thanksgiving service in 1928 at Rhode Island State College minister, priest and rabbi spoke for religion with farmer for agriculture, manufacturer for industry and others for varied state interests.

**EARLY CHURCH SOCIETIES**—Roger Williams was alone when he slipped away from Massachusetts in midwinter of 1635; when, in the spring of 1636, he began building and planting in Seekonk he was accompanied by others from Massachusetts, who had accepted

his doctrines for the time being. The formal organization of a religious society, probably the first in Rhode Island, occurred in 1638, when Roger Williams, rejecting the validity of infant baptism and accepting the Baptist doctrine that baptism is a rite reserved for believers, was rebaptized by Ezekiel Holliman, and in turn rebaptized Holliman, William Arnold, William Carpenter, Robert Cole, John Green, William Harris, Thomas James, Thomas Olney, Richard Waterman, Stuckley Westcott and Francis Weston. The society continues as the First Baptist Church in Providence, and by American Baptists is recognized as the beginning of the Baptist Church in America, with Roger Williams as the first American Baptist. Roger Williams withdrew from the society within a short time, variously reported as six months to four years, because of doubt as to the validity of his baptism by Holliman, who had not the regularity of authorization, besides dissent in doctrine. A second Baptist society was organized in Newport in 1644, the original membership including John Clarke and wife, Thomas Clark, Mark Luker, John Peckham, John Thorndon, William Vaughan, Samuel Weeden, William Weeden, and Nathan West and wife. Other Baptist societies established in Rhode Island before 1700 included one in Providence, which, led by Thomas Olney, separated from the First Church in 1653-1654; the Second Baptist Church of Newport, separated from the First in 1656; a third Baptist church in Newport, separated from the Second in 1671; and churches in Hopkinton, 1680, and Tiverton, 1685. The division and separation of Baptist societies in Providence and Newport in the seventeenth century occurred because of differences in doctrine, some of which persist in the Baptist denomination in the twentieth century, with the distinctions of Six Principle, Seventh Day and Free Will Baptists. The first Seventh Day society was organized at Newport, and the Seventh Day society at Hopkinton was first of the Sabbatarian churches in the southwestern section of Rhode Island. The second Baptist society in Providence did not continue; eventually its members returned to the First Baptist Church or joined other churches, probably.

Members of the Society of Friends, sometimes called Quakers, who emigrated from England to Massachusetts and Plymouth, were persecuted by Puritans and Pilgrims, and many, as compulsory exiles or as seekers for relief from persecution and for freedom to worship as they were persuaded, came to Rhode Island. The frenzy of persecution in Massachusetts extended to hanging, and Mary Dyer of Rhode Island suffered the death penalty for returning to the Commonwealth after having been excluded once. Other Rhode Island Friends who visited Massachusetts were abused or maltreated while fanaticism continued. The Friends in Rhode Island increased steadily in numbers, because of fresh arrivals from England, exile from neighboring colonies, and the accession of Rhode Islanders, including William Coddington and Nicholas Easton of the original settlers at Portsmouth and Newport. Both of these were Governors of Rhode Island under the Charter, and other Governors before 1700 who were Friends included Walter Clarke and Henry Bull. The former, as Governor, by astute diplomacy avoided open conflict with Andros when the latter demanded surrender of the Charter, but saved the Charter. He it was who issued the call for resumption of government under the Charter after the collapse of the Andros usurpation. Henry Bull became Governor when Walter Clarke, who had ventured much that savored of and approximated treason to the English government, declined reelection. The Friends became a powerful influence in Rhode Island; the Rhode Island policy of neutrality or pacificism during King Philip's War has been attributed to them. Yet the Friends were not invariably pacifists. The Newport Wantons were glorious sea fighters, and Nathanael Greene was a Friend. The Yearly Meeting at Newport, the earliest organization of the Society of Friends in New England, began as early as 1659 probably, the exact date and year being indeterminable because of loss of early records. Subordinate to the Yearly Meeting were Quarterly Meetings by sections, and Monthly and Preparative Meetings, which were local. The details of the organization

were completed with the development of groups sufficient in membership to warrant extension; the meeting of Friends embraced what in other denominations might be called a society or church.

Of the facts of Congregational, or Puritan, and Episcopal, or Church of England, preaching and teaching in Rhode Island, and, perhaps, the organization of societies, there is less doubt than exists as to the times at which beginnings were made. Congregational societies were established at Newport and Kingston earlier than 1695 in both instances, although in each the name of the first minister is recorded as of 1695. William Blackstone, ordained minister of the Church of England, settled by 1635 on Study Hill near what is now Lonsdale, visited Providence to preach and teach until he died in 1675. He also visited the house of Richard Smith at Wickford monthly. Episcopal services were conducted with some regularity at Newport as early certainly as 1698, the development leading to the establishment of Trinity Church. Besides the four denominations—Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal and Friend—thus organized in Rhode Island before 1700, other groups, whose identification with modern religious societies has not been demonstrated, met "for godly edifying themselves and one another in the holy Christian faith and worship, as they were persuaded." Among these were the followers of Samuel Gorton in Warwick. There were others also, who, like Roger Williams, found no abiding place in any sect or denomination, though professing Christianity or faith in God and praying sometimes alone and sometimes in company.

**EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHURCHES**—There was much less of controversy in the religious life of Rhode Island in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century, and a growth in the number of persons enrolled in organized church societies that might be expected in view of the steady growth in population. The increase in the number of churches does not warrant the assumption that the people of Rhode Island were more religious in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century, however. Baptist societies were formed in Coventry, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Exeter, Hopkinton, North Kingstown, Scituate, Smithfield, South Kingstown, Westerly and Warwick in the first half of the century, and others at Cranston, Foster, North Providence and Warren before the Revolution. The thirty-eight Baptist churches in 1790 supported thirty-seven ministers, and enrolled 3500 members. The Friends, including by 1700 not less than half the population of the Island of Rhode Island, besides many who had established homes on the mainland, built meeting houses at Greenwich, in 1700; in the part of Smithfield which is now the town of Lincoln, in 1704; in Union Village, Woonsocket, in 1719; in Warwick, 1721; in Providence, in 1724-1725; and in Cranston, at Oaklawn, in 1730.

When, in January, 1746-1747, the eastern boundary line claimed by Rhode Island was confirmed by royal decree, Barrington, Bristol, Cumberland, Little Compton, Tiverton and Warren were restored to Rhode Island. With the acquisition of territory and population came several churches, including Congregational churches at Barrington, founded probably before 1660; at Bristol, after the Massachusetts fashion by order in town meeting, in 1680; at Little Compton, 1704. A Congregational society in Tiverton, in process of formation, was organized in August, 1746, after the town had been restored to Rhode Island. The Congregational Church in Newport divided in 1728, the parts thereafter until the Revolution being known as, respectively, the First and Second churches. The first Congregational church in Providence was established in 1728, after labor of five years, on the initiative of Connecticut and Massachusetts societies. A second Congregational church in Providence, the Beneficent, was organized in 1743 by secession from the First Church. The two Congregational churches in Newport were closed during the Revolutionary War, as was the Congregational Church at Bristol. The Second Church in Newport was so weakened by loss of membership that after a vain effort at continuance, it joined with the First as the United Congregational Church in 1833.



CATHEDRAL OF SS. PETER AND PAUL, PROVIDENCE



The movement to establish an Episcopal Church at Newport was initiated by Sir Francis Nicholson, agent of the crown, and supported by resident British officers and by Gabriel Beron and Pierre Ayrault, French Huguenots, who had been members of the party which had settled in Rhode Island in 1686. Reverend John Lockyer,\* the first Episcopal clergyman resident in Newport, built a church. He was succeeded in 1704 by Reverend James Honyman, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, during whose rectorship a second building, the historic Trinity Church of 1725, was erected. The church lost membership by the exile of Tories, and was closed temporarily after the British withdrew from Newport. Other Episcopal churches established before the Revolution were St. Paul's of Narragansett, the edifice for which was built at Kingstown and removed in 1800 to Wickford; St. Michael's of Bristol, 1720, the edifice for which was burned in 1778 by a British raiding party, who mistook it for the Congregational Church; and St. John's of Providence, first called King's Church, which was established in 1722. The Episcopal Church, as the American branch of the Church of England, suffered more than any other because of the Revolution. Besides the destruction of the edifice at Bristol, the three other churches were closed for want both of rectors and active members. A revival was undertaken in 1790, when the Episcopal Church in Rhode Island organized a union and practically "declared its independence" by recognizing Bishop Samuel Seabury of Connecticut as its Bishop, instead of the Bishop of London.

The wealth of Newport, its flourishing trade, and the religious liberty for which Rhode Island had become well known throughout the world attracted Hebrew merchants to Newport in considerable numbers early in the eighteenth century. They not only contributed to the development of commerce and industry in the seaport town, but established their own congregation for worship, thus exercising the priceless privilege of religious liberty. They built in 1762 a synagogue, which was dedicated in 1763. The Hebrew merchants departed early in the Revolution because of the interruption of commerce, and they returned not to Newport after the war. The synagogue was closed for a long period of years, although provision for care of the property was made by pious Hebrews resident elsewhere. Under the will of Abraham Touro, who died in 1822, liberal endowment was provided for permanent care of the synagogue; and of the Hebrew cemetery under the will of Judah Touro, who died in 1856. Newport had also, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a society of Moravians which was affiliated with the society at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania and which endured for almost an even century.

The Revolution in its later stage brought a French army to Rhode Island and a French fleet to the waters of Narragansett Bay. The French were Roman Catholics, and their chaplains were Catholic priests. The Mass and other rites of the Catholic Church were celebrated on shipboard, in camps and in buildings which were made available for use by the French, including the State House at Newport and the college edifice at Rhode Island College, now University Hall at Brown University. There had been Catholics in Rhode Island in earlier times, including priests who visited Newport and were mentioned by Reverend Ezra Stiles in his diary, but for the most part the people of Rhode Island, until the French came as allies in arms, had little contact with Catholics. Under the liberal polity of Rhode Island, Catholics could come and stay or go without question, whereas elsewhere Catholics were subject to disabilities. The French officers, many of them members of the French nobility, mingled with the best Rhode Island society of the time; the French soldiery left only pleasant memories of exemplary behavior and excellent discipline. Not all the French returned to France; besides those whose bodies lay in cemeteries on the island of Rhode Island and in the North Burial Ground in Providence, others chose to remain in America. It was fitting, as well as gracious, that the Rhode Island General Assembly, at almost the first opportunity after independence

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\*Died in Newport the Thursday before April 22, 1704.—"Boston News Letter."

was assured, repealed a statutory record of doubtful validity, and abolished political discrimination because of religion, if indeed, it ever had been practiced in Rhode Island. The number of Catholics in Rhode Island after the sailing of the French was not such as to lead to the establishment of congregations and churches, and the eighteenth century closed with no permanently organized Catholic worship.

Except the visits of John Burnyeat and George Fox to the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends at Newport, which were in their purpose partly missionary, and the positive effort to inaugurate a branch of the Church of England under the patronage of Sir Francis Nicholson, the organization of religious societies in Rhode Island previous to 1700 was for the most part spontaneous, in the sense that the movement was from within. The eighteenth century witnessed more of missionary effort and the preaching of several revivalists in Rhode Island; the century was notable also for the number of distinguished clergymen who ministered to Rhode Island churches. Besides the Reverend James Honyman, who came to Trinity Church in Newport, the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent other missionaries to Narragansett, Bristol and Providence, and expended the equivalent of \$100,000 to promote its purposes in Rhode Island. The Missionaries included Reverend James MacSparran, whose parish included practically all of what is now Washington County and whose memory is associated with the finest traditions of the Narragansett country. Reverend George Berkeley, Dean of Derry and afterward Bishop of Cloyne, during the three years, 1729-1732, which he spent at Newport, preached frequently at Trinity Church and was influential in attracting to it many of the brilliant society with which he surrounded himself. The eighteenth century Congregational ministers at Newport included Reverend Ezra Stiles, who became President of Yale College, and Reverend Samuel Hopkins, author of a "System of Theology" and nearest rival to Jonathan Edwards for the title of greatest American theologian of the period. Tradition relates that George Whitefield preached at Bristol in 1740; Rhode Island participated in the religious awakening of the middle of the eighteenth century. "New Light" churches were established, and conventions of "New Light" societies met in Exeter in 1753 and 1754. The movement was not permanent. Neither was the society led by Jemima Wilkinson of Cumberland, who after temporary residence at the Old Abbey on the estate of Judge William Potter of South Kingstown, founded "Jerusalem" in New York. Jesse Lee visited Westerly in 1789 and there preached a Methodist sermon. He preached subsequently at Bristol, Cranston, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Newport, Providence, Warren and Wickford as part of a tour of New England. Other Methodist preachers were heard, and Methodist churches were established at Bristol, Warren, East Greenwich, Portsmouth, Phenix, Wickford, Providence, Cumberland, Newport and Centreville within fifteen years.

The initiative for the founding of Rhode Island College in 1764 rested with Rhode Island Baptists, and to them control of the corporation was given by a preponderance of members of the governing body. Otherwise the enterprise belonged to the colony of Rhode Island, as indicated by representation in the corporation of the religious denominations then established in Rhode Island, by provisions for liberal teaching of the sciences and arts, and for the exclusion of religious tests in determining admission to the privileges of the college. While the Baptists undertook the work of raising money for the new enterprise, the kindly interest of the colony and its purpose to promote an institution for liberal education appeared in exemption from taxation, and unusual privileges granted to college, teachers and students. The assistance of the most prominent and influential men of the period was assured by the inclusion of so many of them in the original membership of the self-perpetuating corporation. The Baptist wish to use the college as an institution for training ministers for the denomination was conserved in the provision that private teaching of doctrine was not excluded. In its development the college trained ministers for many denominations, even among the earliest classes graduated. To the same period and to similar initiative belongs also the

building of the historic First Baptist Church edifice in Providence as a place for worship and for "holding the public commencements in." The Rhode Island General Assembly in the years following 1733 frequently granted licenses for public lotteries to promote the building of churches; as aid for the new church and commencement hall a lottery was granted.

It happens infrequently that the accession of one member becomes of transcendental importance to a church; yet such was the effect upon the fortunes of the Society of Friends in Rhode Island when Moses Brown became a member in 1774. Moses Brown brought to the society the prestige of a great family, wealth for the promotion of the society's purposes, and leadership. His wisdom equalled the adventurous daring of his brother, John Brown. He became a Friend at the age of thirty-five, and for sixty-two years thereafter was one of the most prominent figures in the denomination. The eighteenth century closed with five outstanding denominations established in Rhode Island—Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Friend and Methodist. In the period following the war the Episcopal Church had become American by separation from the Church of England.

**EXTENSION OF CHURCH SOCIETIES**—The nineteenth century witnessed further extension of religious denominations previously settled in Rhode Island, and the appearance of new sects. Older societies divided in some instances, but the reasons for division and separation less frequently were dissension than in the more contentious period of the preceding century and a half. Church edifices became too small for congregations, and were replaced by larger buildings, or it was found expedient to divide societies and build new churches at locations more convenient for some who had traveled long distances to attend services at the old establishments. Thus in 1805 two new societies of Baptists were projected from the First Baptist Church in Providence, as the Second Baptist Church, first located on Pine Street in Providence, and the First Baptist Church at Pawtucket. The Pine Street church removed later to High Street, and was known as the Central Baptist Church. Another removal, incident to the gradual retirement of church societies from locations within the compact business section of the city, carried the Central Baptist Church to its present handsome edifice on Wayland Avenue, in the new section of the East Side of the city of Providence, north of Angell Street. Baptist churches were established at Pawtucket in 1806, at Bristol in 1811, at Olneyville in 1830, and the Roger Williams Baptist Church in Providence in the same year. By 1813 the Baptists had thirty-six churches in Rhode Island, and the membership was 5000. The number of Baptist churches reached seventy-nine in 1890, and the membership at that time exceeded 12,000. Ten years later there were seventy-seven Baptist churches with 13,772 members. At the same time, 1900, the enrollment in Baptist Sunday Schools was 12,854, and there were 1655 teachers.

Among the Friends the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century in Rhode Island was the founding of Friends School, in 1819, after an unsuccessful first trial at Portsmouth in 1784. Moses Brown was the most influential factor in assuring the ultimate success, and he gave liberally of his wealth to assure a permanent foundation. The Friends attained their largest membership during the century in 1836, when there were eighteen local meetings, and an enrollment of 1339. The meetings were at Burrillville, Cranston, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Jamestown, Little Compton, Portsmouth, Providence, Tiverton and Warren, with two each in Hopkinton, Newport, Smithfield and South Kingstown. The Society of Friends declined during the second half of the nineteenth century. In later years the distinctive dress and language usage, except between themselves, were abandoned. By 1900 the membership of the Society of Friends in Rhode Island was less than 1000, and the local meetings had been abandoned in several places.

Five of the nine Congregational churches in Rhode Island before the Revolution were in Rhode Island's "restored provinces," in the towns of Barrington, Bristol, Little Compton, Tiverton and Warren; the four others were located two each in Newport and Providence.

The Newport churches recovered slowly from the effects of the Revolution; the Providence churches were more fortunate. The denomination, because of its relation to the Puritan organization in Connecticut and Massachusetts, grew slowly in Rhode Island, and up to 1813 only two additional churches had been established, one each in East Greenwich and Providence, and the total membership of the eleven churches was approximately 1000. New Congregational societies were established at Pawtucket, 1829; at Providence, 1834, the High Street Congregational Church; at Elmwood, 1851; at Providence, 1852, the Central Congregational Church; at Peacedale, 1857. The Central Church of Providence, located on Benefit Street in the building now known as Memorial Hall, in Rhode Island School of Design, was removed to a fine new edifice on Angell Street. The Newport churches consolidated in 1833 as the United Church. Richmond Street and High Street churches in Providence consolidated as Union Congregational Church with a brick edifice on Broad Street, near Stewart Street. Congregational churches numbered twenty-five in 1869, and the membership at that time was estimated as 4000; in 1900 the membership was 9400 and there were forty-two Congregational churches in Rhode Island.

The Unitarian movement which divided Congregationalists as Unitarians and Trinitarians, the latter retaining the name of the older denomination, affected Rhode Island churches. William Ellery Channing, one of the outstanding leaders in the Unitarian movement, was born at Newport, April 7, 1780. The one hundredth anniversary of his birth was observed in Newport by laying the cornerstone of Channing Memorial Church, for what had been the First Unitarian Church of Newport, founded in 1835. The First Congregational Church in Providence had become Unitarian by 1815; the church edifice, the building with double bell-towers seen in old pictures of Providence, was destroyed by fire in 1814, and replaced by the present structure, on the same site at Benefit and Benevolent Streets, in 1816. Other Unitarian societies in Providence were the Westminster Congregational Church, 1829, which built an edifice on the site now occupied by the Rialto Theatre on Mathewson Street, and the Olney Street Church, 1878.

The first resident Bishop of the Rhode Island Episcopal Church was Right Reverend Alexander V. Griswold, who was rector of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, before he was elected head of the diocese, which then included New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts. The extension of Episcopal worship was retarded by the Anglican tradition, in spite of the separation from the Church of England in 1790. New churches were established as St. Paul's of Pawtucket, 1816, and at Tower Hill, 1818. The Tower Hill Church eventually was united in 1840 with the Church of the Ascension at Wakefield. Between 1829 and 1839 a dozen new parishes were established, including Grace Church, Providence; St. Mark's, Warren; St. Paul's, South Kingstown; Trinity, Pawtucket; St. James', Woonsocket; St. Luke's, East Greenwich; Christ Church, Westerly; Christ Church, Lonsdale; St. Stephen's, Providence; St. Andrew's Church, Providence, 1847, which became All Saints' Church. Bishop Griswold was succeeded by Right Reverend John P. K. Henshaw, 1843-1852, whose diocese was Rhode Island; and by Right Reverend Thomas M. Clark, 1854-1903. Right Reverend William N. McVickar had been elected as Bishop Coadjutor in 1897 with right of succession. In 1900 the Episcopal Church included fifty-three parishes, twenty chapels and missions, and a membership of 12,392.

The Jesse Lee mission, which had resulted in the establishment of ten Methodist churches in Rhode Island in fifteen years, had spent its effort in 1805. Fifteen years later a fresh movement began, and churches were established in Little Compton, Newport, Pawtucket and Westerly, and three in Providence. Other churches followed, and the Methodist societies in 1900 numbered forty-one, with 5900 members. East Greenwich Academy, which had been founded in 1802 as Kent Academy, became a Methodist school in 1841.

Other Protestant denominations establishing churches in Rhode Island in the nineteenth

century included Adventist, African Methodist Episcopal, Christian, Presbyterian, Primitive Methodist, Swedenborgian, Swedish Lutheran, and Universalist. Evangelist Adventists had churches in 1900 at Bristol, Charlestown, Hopkinton, North Kingstown, Providence, Scituate, South Kingstown, Warwick and West Greenwich; Advent Christians, at Exeter, Providence and South Kingstown; and Seventh Day Adventists, at South Kingstown and Westerly. The largest Adventist church then was the Church of the Yahveh in Providence. Christians, separatists from Methodist churches in Southern states, sent a missionary to Rhode Island in 1813. Churches were established in Bristol, at Rice City and Summit in Coventry, at Foster Centre and Moosup Valley in Foster, in Little Compton, Middletown, Portsmouth, and Providence, at Rockland in Scituate, in Tiverton and Westerly. Of these, the Bristol, Little Compton, Middletown and Tiverton churches had disappeared at the end of the century, and the Coventry, Foster and Scituate churches had no ministers. The Broad Street Christian Church, survivor of two in Providence; the Portsmouth and Westerly churches were still active. The Congregational Church was called Presbyterian by some persons before the Revolution; the Presbyterian Church, not Congregational, had two societies in Providence and one each at Newport and Narragansett Pier in 1900. The movement was then a quarter-century old in Rhode Island. The Church of the New Jerusalem, Swedenborgian, was established in Providence in 1839; other churches of the denomination in 1900 were located at Pawtucket and Warwick.

The First Universalist Church of Providence was organized in 1821; the brick edifice, at Westminster and Union Streets, was one of the earliest in the business district of Providence to yield to commerce. The society sold the building in 1871 to the proprietors of a retail dry goods store, who demolished it and built upon the site an extension of their establishment. The society removed to a new church building at Greene and Washington Streets. The Second Universalist Church in Providence, at Broad and Eddy Streets, now Weybosset and Eddy Streets, also went the way of down-town churches; the building was sold and used for commercial purposes. The society, as the Church of the Mediator, removed to a new edifice on Cranston Street. The High Street Universalist Church of Pawtucket, founded in 1827, disbanded and sold its building to Baptists. The society was revived later, built a temporary church on Exchange Street, and in 1868 returned to High Street. The Pawtucket society had changed its name to Church of Our Father. With the Universalist church at Woonsocket, the largest in membership in 1900, the Universalists had ten churches and 1200 members.

The total membership of Protestant churches in Rhode Island was estimated in 1900 as 54,500, with 51,500 teachers and scholars enrolled in Sunday Schools. Church edifices numbered 330, and ministers of various titles 390. The Newport Hebrews, who had scattered when the British occupied Newport during the Revolution, had left a synagogue without a congregation; nearly a century elapsed before the synagogue was reopened with Abraham Mendes as rabbi. Community observance of Hebrew holidays began in Providence after 1840; the society became the Reform Temple Beth El in 1854. Hebrews came to Rhode Island in large numbers after 1875; by 1900 three synagogues had been built in Providence, on Chalkstone Avenue, Friendship Street and Orms Street.

CATHOLIC CHURCH BEGINNINGS—"Tuesday last, being the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Reverend Abbe de la Poterie,\* French Roman Catholic priest and doctor of divinity, celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass in this town at the request of several Catholics of the Roman Communion and addressed to the Almighty his humble prayers for the constant and permanent prosperity of the state of Rhode Island."

\*Claudius Florent Bouchard de la Poterie. He had been, by appointment of Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, whose see included all of the United States, curate of the Church of the Holy Cross at Boston, but had been relieved by Bishop Carroll in midsummer of 1789, and in December was an unassigned priest. He came to Providence from Quebec.

The event was reported thus in the "Providence Gazette" of Saturday, December 12, 1789, and also in the "United States Chronicle." The Catholic population of Rhode Island was increased in 1793 by French refugees from Santo Domingo and Guadaloupe; for some of these the General Assembly made provision for relief from the public treasury as a gracious gesture of gratefulness and memory of French assistance during the Revolution. There was Irish immigration following the Emmet Revolution of 1798, including both Catholic and Protestant Irishmen, and with the development of textile factories further immigration of Irish, many of whom came to Rhode Island after a sojourn first in English or Scotch industrial towns, where they acquired trade skill and learned of the opportunities in America. The Irish in Providence were sufficient in number in 1814 to volunteer their labor as a group in the building of forts to defend the town against capture by British. Before that the Catholics in Rhode Island were visited by priests from Boston, among them Father Thayer and Father Tisseraud. Bishop Carroll passed through Rhode Island on his way to dedicate the Church of the Holy Cross in Boston in 1802, and on the return trip stopped at Newport while his vessel was "wind bound" in the harbor.

As the number of Catholics increased, visiting priests came with greater regularity to baptize children, celebrate Mass, and otherwise minister to the religious needs of groups in Bristol, Newport and Providence. Among those who came thus to Rhode Island were Right Reverend Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus,† Reverend Francis A. Matignon,‡ and Father Patrick Byrne. On one such visit to Bristol, Bishop Griswold invited Bishop Cheverus to preach a sermon in St. Michael's Episcopal Church, and the invitation was accepted.§ The earliest Masses in Providence were celebrated in the old schoolhouse on Sheldon Street, known as Sheldon's, which was so decrepit that it collapsed during the September gale of 1815. In the years that followed Masses were celebrated in private houses or other places as these were made available. Rhode Island continued to be a mission field without an establishment until 1828.

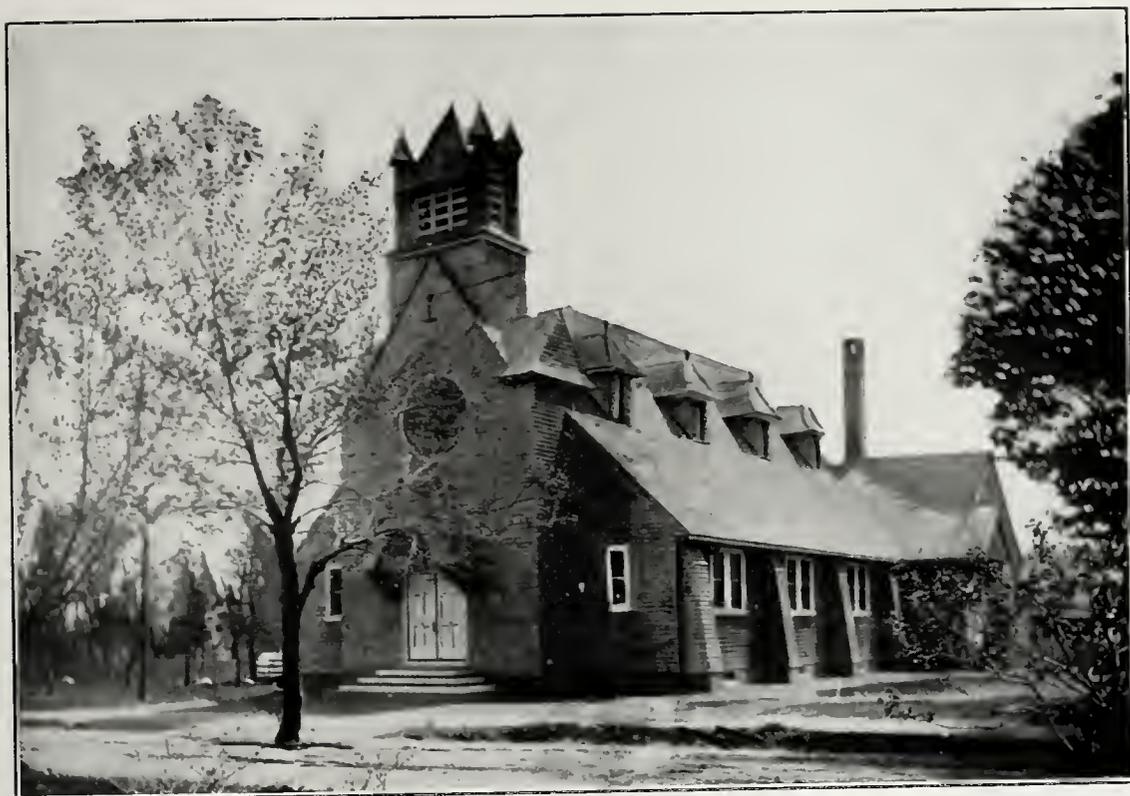
Bishop Fenwick of Boston, designated Reverend Robert Woodley, on January 4, 1828, as pastor of Rhode Island, Connecticut and southeastern Massachusetts, the *parish* including essentially the four original southern New England colonies of Rhode Island, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven. Father Woodley was pastor without church edifice or rectory, his flock scattered over an area of some 8000 square miles. He found at Newport the nucleus for a congregation among those employed in the construction of public works for the United States government, and others working in the coal mines at Portsmouth, and felt encouraged to purchase for use as a temporary church building Trevett's private schoolhouse, on what is now Barney Street. Eight years later a wooden building was constructed, and in 1852 the brown stone edifice on Spring Street, known as Our Lady of the Isle, was opened. The construction of the third building had proceeded under the direction of Lieutenant Rosecrans,\* who was then stationed at Fort Adams. At Pawtucket, Father Woodley found another

†First Bishop of Boston. French emigre, who after residence in England reached Boston in 1796, and was curate with Father Matignon. Consecrated Bishop of Boston, November 1, 1810. Recalled to France as Bishop of Montauban, 1823; Archbishop of Bordeaux, 1826; Cardinal, 1836; died 1836.

‡By appointment of Bishop Carroll, pastor of the Church of the Holy Cross at Boston, 1792-1818. Declined appointment as Bishop of Boston, 1810, urging appointment of Bishop Cheverus.

§Both Bishop Cheverus and Father Matignon accepted similar invitations to preach from Protestant pulpits in Massachusetts. Of Bishop Cheverus, who was highly esteemed by his contemporaries, William Ellery Channing wrote: "Who among our religious teachers would solicit a comparison between himself and the devoted Cheverus? This good man . . . lived in the midst of us, devoting his days and his nights and his whole heart to the service of a poor and uneducated congregation. We saw him declining in a great degree the society of the cultivated and refined that he might be the friend of the ignorant and friendless; leaving the circles of polished life, which he would have adorned, for the meanest hovels; bearing with a father's sympathy the burdens and sorrows of his large spiritual family . . . and never discovering by the faintest indication that he felt his fine mind degraded by his seemingly humble office. . . . How can we shut our hearts against this proof of the power of the Catholic religion to form good and great men? It is time that greater justice was done to this ancient and widespread community. The Catholic Church has produced some of the greatest and best men that ever lived." The bells of the Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston were tolled in 1842 on the occasion of the death of William Ellery Channing, native son of Rhode Island and one of the greatest preachers in the Unitarian movement.

\*Afterward Civil War general.



ST. BRENDAN'S CHURCH, RIVERSIDE



SACRED HEART CONVENT, ELMHURST, PROVIDENCE



group, mostly factory workers, and for these David Wilkinson† gave a lot of land to be used as a site for a church. The land is part of the site now occupied by St. Mary's Church. The deed granted the land to Bishop Fenwick "in trust for the use and behoof of the Roman Catholics of Pawtucket or all those composing the Roman Catholic congregation of Pawtucket, whether resident in the village or its vicinity, said village lying partly in Massachusetts and partly in Rhode Island." A building, the first erected in Rhode Island as a catholic church, was completed in 1829; it was replaced in 1874 by the present church. The people of St. Mary's erected a bronze tablet in 1930 to the memory of David Wilkinson. At Woonsocket, in Union Village, where the road from Providence to Worcester crossed the road from Boston to Hartford, and where the water power of the Blackstone indicated the location of a manufacturing city, Father Woodley found ten Catholics. Walter Allen‡ offered his home, now known as the Osborne house, and Mass was celebrated there for the first time in Woonsocket. Priests visited Woonsocket at irregular intervals until 1841, when the hall of the Woonsocket Hotel was hired for weekly services; a wooden church, St. Charles Borromeo's, was erected in 1844. It was destroyed by fire in 1868, a few months before the completion of the present granite Church of St. Charles.

In Providence Father Woodley and his successors celebrated Mass in Mechanics' Hall for several years after 1828; in the "Tin Top Church," at Richmond and Pine streets, in 1835; in the Town House at College and Benefit Streets in 1836 and 1837, until the Church of Saints Peter and Paul was completed. The "Tin Top" church had been built by temporary seceders from the Beneficent Congregational Church, and after reunion was rented to various congregations for specified hours on Sundays. The Town House was occupied rent free by gift of the town. The new church occupied part of the site of the present Cathedral. Otherwise than in Newport, Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Providence, Father Woodley visited Catholics as he found them. Large numbers had come as immigrants to southern New England to work as laborers on the Blackstone Canal, and on the railroads under construction. Father Woodley visited them in construction camps along the right of way. He was relieved in 1831 to join the Jesuit Order. His immediate successor was Reverend John Corry. Other priests were assigned by Bishop Fenwick to continue the work, the number increasing gradually. The Providence parish was divided in 1841. Masses for the new parish were celebrated in Franklin's Hall and Masons' Hall until Christmas, 1841, when the first Mass was said in the then new St. Patrick's Church. The church was dedicated July 3, 1842, when the first Pontifical Mass was sung in Providence by Bishop Fenwick. St. Patrick's Church continued in use into the twentieth century; a new building was dedicated in 1917. Among the priests who followed Father Woodley was Father James Fitton, who founded Mt. St. James College, which became Holy Cross College.

The territory committed to Father Woodley's care was designated as the diocese of Hartford in 1844, and Reverend William Tyler was appointed as the first Bishop. Bishop Tyler selected the Providence Church of Saints Peter and Paul as his cathedral and thus made Providence the seat of the diocese. During his episcopacy additional land was purchased, and the Cathedral was enlarged to double its original capacity. Bishop Tyler died June 18, 1849. He had, because of failing health, applied for the appointment of a Bishop Coadjutor, and news of the appointment of Reverend Bernard O'Reilly to that office was received in October, 1850. The appointment as Coadjutor carried with it the right of succession, and Father O'Reilly was consecrated as Bishop. Bishop O'Reilly sailed for Europe in December, 1885, and did not return. It is believed that he was lost at sea while a passenger on the steamer "Pacific," which sailed from Liverpool on January 23, 1856, and was not reported afterward. The Vicar General, Very Reverend William O'Reilly, continued as administrator

†Episcopalian; brother-in-law of Samuel Slater.

‡Not a Catholic; probably a Friend.

of the diocese for four years while tidings from Bishop O'Reilly were awaited anxiously, and as time passed, sorrowfully. The vacant see was filled by the appointment of Reverend Thomas McFarland as Bishop.

In ten years Bishop McFarland became convinced that his diocese ought to be divided, and after a visit to Rome in 1870, during which the matter was discussed, he made preparations for a division on the state boundary line between Rhode Island and Connecticut. For himself he chose to continue as Bishop of Hartford and removed to the Connecticut city as head of a diocese comprising the state of Connecticut. For the new diocese of Providence, including, besides the state of Rhode Island, part of southeastern Massachusetts, Reverend Thomas F. Hendricken was appointed as Bishop. Bishop Hendricken was consecrated as first Bishop of Providence in the old Cathedral at Providence by Archbishop McCloskey of New York on April 28, 1872. The consecration sermon was preached by the famous Dominican, Reverend Thomas Burke, O. P.

When the diocese of Hartford was created in 1844, there were in Rhode Island five Catholic churches, one each at Newport, Pawtucket, and Woonsocket, and two in Providence. At Crompton in the same year land was bought for the first of the Pawtucket Valley churches; the building was completed in 1845 and dedicated as Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The parish continues as St. James of Arctic since 1892; St. James was a mission from Crompton, to which the church was transferred with the change of population centre. The famine years in Ireland were close at hand, and with them an unprecedented migration, almost that of a people. Catholic Irish immigrants poured into industrial New England states. The population of Rhode Island increased thirty-five per cent. in the ten years from 1840 to 1850. The organization of the new Catholic parishes paralleled the extension of manufacturing in location, and kept pace with the increase in population. St. Joseph's parish in Providence was set off from St. Patrick's in 1851, and a slate stone Gothic edifice with brown stone trimmings was completed in 1853. Both this church and the Church of Our Lady of the Isle at Newport, the two the oldest existing Catholic edifices in Rhode Island, were designed by Keely. The exteriors of both are practically unchanged after three-quarters of a century, but the interiors of both have been remodeled. Other parishes organized by Bishop O'Reilly were St. Ann's, at Cranston Print Works; St. Mary's, of Warren, which for a time served both Warren and Bristol; St. Mary's, of Bristol; the Church of the Holy Name (afterward Our Lady of Mercy), at East Greenwich; St. Francis, of Wakefield; St. Patrick's, of Harrisville; St. Michael's, of Georgiaville; St. Mary's, the Immaculate Conception, and St. Bernard's, afterward St. Michael's, of Providence. The granite edifice for St. Mary's, on Broadway, Providence, remarkable for both exterior and massive interior architecture, was the second building for the parish of that name, and was completed in 1869. In the Pawtucket Valley the church at Crompton established a mission at Phenix in 1853, which became the Church of Saints Peter and Paul. For the mission Rock Chapel was purchased from Episcopalians, found too small, sold in 1853 and replaced by purchase of an edifice built for Baptists. The latter gave way to a new building in 1892. St. Patrick's Church at Valley Falls, completed in 1861, was the last until the Civil War was over. After the war the parishes of St. John at Slatersville, and of St. Edward, St. John and the Assumption in Providence were organized and edifices were erected during the episcopacy of Bishop McFarland.

Latin is the language of the Catholic Church for ritual and ceremony, thus to preserve uniformity in the universal church. The Gospels and Epistles are read,\* prayers are said, lessons are taught, and sermons are preached in the vernacular for understanding by the people. Bishop Hendricken was confronted almost immediately after his consecration by the problem of providing for immigrants who did not speak and understand English. Bishop McFarland's effort to solve the problem by attaching as pastors or curates to existing parishes priests who spoke

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\*After reading in Latin as part of the Mass.

other modern languages than English and by requiring novices to learn other languages as preparation for the priesthood, had not proved entirely satisfactory. Separate churches were requested, and the requests were granted by Bishop Hendricken and his successors under circumstances in which sufficient numbers warranted it. French parishes were established as St. Charles Borromeo in Providence, St. Jean Baptiste at Woodlawn in Pawtucket, Notre Dame de Sacre Coeur in Central Falls, Precious Blood in Woonsocket, St. James at Manville, St. Jean Baptiste at Arctic, and St. John's in Warren. The Church of the Holy Rosary in Providence was established for Portuguese. Other new parishes founded by Bishop Hendricken were the Holy Name, St. Thomas and St. Teresa, in Providence; Sacred Heart and St. Joseph, in Pawtucket; St. Joseph, in Newport; Sacred Heart, in East Providence; St. Joseph, at Pascoag; Immaculate Conception, in Westerly; St. Joseph, at Ashton. Bishop Hendricken built the present episcopal residence on Fenner Street in Providence.

Because the Cathedral, although enlarged by Bishop Tyler, was inadequate, Bishop Hendricken continued the policy of his predecessors of buying adjoining land, and undertook construction of a new edifice. Purposing to maintain the original location, on the principal city street and also almost central as the city developed, a procathedral for temporary occupation was erected on Broad Street. The old Cathedral was razed after use for the last time on May 5, 1878, forty years after its completion. The present Cathedral, the largest religious edifice in Rhode Island, was designed by Keely, architect of many churches, including the brownstone church at Newport and old St. Joseph's in Providence. Except the cornerstone, which is of Kilkenny marble, the structure is of brownstone, 198x136 feet, occupying a city block, which imposed limitations on the dimensions. With two massive towers, it rises majestically, fronting upon a broad open plaza. Its own height, plus the elevation of the hill on which it stands, makes the Cathedral a conspicuous landmark. Bishop Hendricken collected funds as the work progressed, avoiding indebtedness, and had carried the project forward almost to completion when he died, June 11, 1886. The solemn requiem for Bishop Hendricken was the first ceremony conducted in the new Cathedral, which was his sepulchre; he was buried in the crypt in the Cathedral. Reverend Matthew Harkins was consecrated as Bishop of Providence in the Cathedral, April 14, 1887. To him had fallen the task of raising one-fifth of the half-million of dollars which the work had cost. The Cathedral was opened for regular services in November, 1887, and was consecrated June 30, 1889.

Bishop Harkins carried forward the work of founding new parishes to meet the needs of increasing congregations. The new parishes in Rhode Island included St. Adalbert's, St. Ann's, St. Anthony's, St. Agnes', St. Bartholomew's, Blessed Sacrament, Holy Ghost, St. Hedwig's, St. George's, Our Lady of Lourdes, St. Raymond's, St. Sebastian's, all in Providence; Our Lady of Good Help, Mapleville; Holy Trinity, St. Matthew's and St. Joseph's, Central Falls; St. Matthew's and St. Paul's, Cranston; St. Brendan's, St. Margaret's, and St. Francis Xavier, in East Providence; St. Brigid's, St. Rocco's, Our Lady of Grace, in Johnston; St. Ambrose's, Albion; St. Lawrence's, Centredale; Our Lady of Presentation, Marienville; St. Cecilia's, St. Edward's, St. Leo's, Our Lady of Consolation, Pawtucket; St. Aloysius, St. Anne's, Holy Family, Our Lady of Victories, Sacred Heart, St. Joseph's, St. Stanislaus, Woonsocket; Holy Angels, Barrington; St. Elizabeth's and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Bristol; St. Casimir's, Warren; Our Lady of Czenticowa, Quidnick; Our Lady of Good Counsel, Phenix; St. Benedict's, Conimicut; St. Mark's, Jamestown; St. Augustine's, Newport; St. Andrew's, Block Island; St. Anthony's, Portsmouth; St. Philomena's, Narragansett Pier; St. Bernard's, Wickford. The new churches included French, Italian, Polish, Portuguese and Lithuanian, besides others for English-speaking Catholics. For many of these new parishes, permanent edifices of brick or stone were constructed, these including among others, St. Ann's, Blessed Sacrament, and Holy Ghost of Providence, and Holy Trinity of Central Falls. New buildings were dedicated for St. Charles Borromeo's and Holy Name, Providence; St. Joseph's, Pascoag; St.

John's, Arctic; St. Joseph's, Natick, as part of a program for replacing older with modern, fire-proof edifices. These extensions in Rhode Island were part of a diocesan work, which included similar developments in southeastern Massachusetts.

By 1904 the diocese had attained proportions which warranted division; the diocese of Fall River, including the Massachusetts territory, was set off from the diocese of Providence, and Reverend William Stang was consecrated as the first Bishop at the Providence Cathedral on May 8, 1904. Rev. Austin Dowling,\* rector of the Cathedral, was consecrated there as first Bishop of Des Moines, Iowa, April 25, 1912. With the new organization the Diocese of Providence had become coterminous with the state of Rhode Island. The weight of years rested heavily upon Bishop Harkins as his labors neared completion, and in 1915 Very Reverend Thomas F. Doran, who had been Vicar General, was appointed as Auxiliary Bishop. Bishop Doran died within a year, on January 3, 1916. Reverend Daniel M. Lowney was consecrated as Auxiliary Bishop, October 23, 1917, and died in August, 1918. Reverend William A. Hickey was consecrated as Bishop Coadjutor, with right of succession, on April 10, 1919, and on the same day became active administrator of the diocese. Bishop Harkins died May 25, 1921. In the period from 1828 to 1920 the membership of the Catholic Church in Rhode Island had increased from less than 5000 to 275,000, and in 1920 included half the population of the state of Rhode Island.

Other new parishes, organized mostly during Bishop Hickey's administration, are: St. Augustine's, St. Casimir's, St. Pius, and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Providence; St. Anthony's and St. Teresa's, Pawtucket; St. Basil's, Central Falls; St. Joan of Arc, Cumberland; St. Anthony's, Woonsocket; St. Phillip's (a mission), Greenville; St. Mary's, Cranston; Little Flower of Jesus, Nasonville; St. Catharine's, Apponaug; St. Christopher's, Tiverton; Jesus Savior, Newport; Our Lady of Loretto, East Providence; Sacred Heart, Natick; St. Anthony's, Riverpoint; St. Catharine's, Little Compton; Holy Ghost, North Tiverton. The 110 Catholic churches, except a few small missions, are filled repeatedly on Sundays by successive congregations of worshippers, sometimes as many as six Masses being said on hourly schedule from six o'clock or earlier in the morning until noon, to accommodate 350,000 Catholics. Besides the churches, chapels in charitable and other institutions are maintained by Catholics. On feast days on which Catholics attend Mass as well as on Sundays churches open as early as five o'clock to accommodate those whose attendance later is inconvenient because of occupation. The Catholic churches vary in size from the massive Cathedral, with eight times the floor area of the First Baptist Church, and other large churches in cities and compact population centres, to mission chapels built as part of the program inaugurated by Bishop Harkins of locating churches so conveniently that no Catholic may have a valid reason for not attending Mass on Sunday. The small churches are invariably temporary structures with provision for enlargement and permanent construction, the latter to be undertaken as soon as the growth of the parish warrants it. The modern type of city or compact town Catholic church tends to large size, although the problem of providing for increasing attendance of parishioners in growing parishes is solved by provision for more Masses or by division of parishes and the construction of new churches. The architecture is usually Gothic or Roman, and in permanent edifices varies from the early stone structures designed by Keely through the era of red brick with granite or limestone trimmings to the modern vogue of cream brick, cement or beautifully matched stone. The staid type of ecclesiastical architecture of the nineties has given way noticeably to beauty of design in classical basilica or Gothic temple recalling the finest traditions of mediaeval art.

Questions involving (1) interpretation of the statute under the provisions of which parish corporations within the Catholic Church are organized in Rhode Island, and (2) the purpose for which parish funds may be appropriated were carried to the Supreme Court of Rhode Island in 1928. The immediate causes alleged for controversy were the methods employed by

\*Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota; died November 29, 1930.

Bishop Hickey to assure an equitable distribution of the burdens of supporting diocesan and general undertakings, including Catholic high schools, a diocesan newspaper, and the National Catholic Welfare Council. The opposition to the Bishop's policy was among a group styling themselves Franco-Americans, claiming to represent Catholics of French Canadian origin and alleging a patriotic purpose of preserving French Canadian solidarity in the United States, and particularly the French language. The nationalistic movement was not new; Bishop McFarland had dealt with the language aspect of it by training priests as bi-linguists, and Bishop Hendricken had organized separate parishes on nationalistic or language bases. Neither was Bishop Hickey's plan to allocate to parishes irreducible quotas of funds to be raised for diocesan purposes new or novel. In the support of the Rhode Island Catholic Orphan Asylum, the first diocesan charitable institution, voluntary gifts, occasional church collections, and annual fairs and picnics had been found unsatisfactory; Bishop Harkins sought a solution of the problem of adequate support in an assessment levied upon parishes, to be met by payment from parish funds if necessary. Again, in an instance in which a parish had been divided, the Bishop had not hesitated to apply the rule of apportioning property which in public administration is applied when new municipalities are created by the division of older ones; the statute providing for dismemberment redistributes public property. It has happened that the location of a new boundary line has placed so much more property in one than in the other of the municipalities affected that one has been ordered to assess a special tax to reimburse the other. The state of West Virginia, years after the Civil War, paid a claim presented by the commonwealth of Virginia for public property acquired by the new state when it was created within the territory of the Old Dominion. Bishop Harkins created a new parish by setting off a part of an older parish, and apportioned to the new parish part of the fund accumulated in the older parish before the division. The justice of the action must appeal to one who recognizes the right to an accounting and a division of partnership assets after dissolution. The state court to which a test case was carried found technical, legal and equitable reasons for sustaining the Bishop.\*

The assertion that the opposition to Bishop Hickey's plan was nationalistic rests upon statements made in public meetings and editorials printed in a public newspaper published by one of the leading spirits in the Franco-American movement. The nationalistic or linguistic issue had arisen several times earlier. The Church of St. Anne in Woonsocket objected in 1914 to the appointment of Marist Fathers from Belgium as pastor and curates; the objection was nationalistic rather than linguistic, inasmuch as the Belgian priests spoke French. Bishop Harkins yielded, gave St. Anne's Church a French pastor, and placed the Church of St. Charles Borromeo in Providence in charge of the Belgians. Again in 1922, there had been widespread opposition, most emphatic among Franco-Americans, to a new school statute, which transferred from town and city school committees to the State Board of Education the function of approving private and parochial schools for attendance. The reasons for opposition urged at public hearings were principally belief and opinion that the statute had been aimed at suppression of the teaching of the French language. The legislation was made an issue in the political campaign of 1922, and agitation was continued until the function of approving schools was restored to school committees.

Bishop Hickey's plan for Catholic high schools,† to be maintained as diocesan instead of parochial institutions, was received coldly by pronounced nationalists, who interpreted it as a new movement to weaken French; the project was supported so enthusiastically otherwise that the results of the drive for funds surpassed Bishop Hickey's fondest expectations. When the Bishop observed that the opposition had been successful to the extent that a few parishes had neglected the raising of the quotas suggested in the first instance as equitable, he ordered the quotas paid from parish funds. For the support of the "Providence Visitor," the Diocesan

\*Enos vs. Church of St. John the Baptist, 187 Mass. 40.

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weekly newspaper, and for the raising of the parish quotas for the support of the National Catholic Welfare Council, assessments were levied upon parish funds. The nationalistic and linguistic objection to the "Visitor" was that it was printed in English. To the Welfare Council opposition had been aroused because its work emphasized the importance of acquaintance with the principles of American government and with the English language for better citizenship, its publications including a pamphlet in question and answer form dealing with general information about the American political system.

The three assessments—(1) for high schools, (2) for the "Visitor," and (3) for the Welfare Council—were made the basis for ten bills in equity filed against the trustees constituting the legal corporation in each of ten parishes. The bills alleged that the payments by parish corporations on order of the Bishop were "*ultra vires* and illegal for the purposes for which said payments were directed," and prayed for an accounting and restitution. The respondents named in each bill were the five members of the parish corporation as organized under the statute of 1869—that is, the Bishop, the Vicar General, the pastor, and two laymen. The complainants alleged that they were, in each instance, members in good standing of the parish. The question reached eventually in the pleading was the right to appropriate parish funds for purposes that "did not concern the immediate interests of the local parish corporation, but were for the advancement of the Roman Catholic Church in general." The Supreme Court ruled that a question as to the court's jurisdiction to entertain a suit in equity, in view of the provision by the Catholic Church of a procedure for adjudicating issues arising in internal administration, had not been properly raised in the pleading.\* Interpreting section three of the statute of 1869, which reads: "Such body corporate [the parish corporation] shall have powers to receive and hold, by gift, grant or purchase, all property, real or personal, that may be conveyed thereto for the purpose of maintaining religious worship according to the doctrine, discipline and ritual of the Roman Catholic Church, and for the support of the educational or charitable institutions of *that church*," the court held that the words "that church" refer to the Roman Catholic Church in general and not exclusively to the particular parish church held by the corporation, thus: "The natural meaning of the paragraph is that the uses to which the general funds and property of the local parish corporation may be put are such as are connected with the Roman Catholic Church in general. The uses of corporate funds naturally will be made largely for the maintenance and advancement of the particular corporation, but a construction of the language of the act as so confining the uses of the funds and preventing their employment in part, at least, if properly authorized, for the advancement of the general policies of the Roman Catholic Church, for the carrying out of which the several respondent corporations exist, is too narrow."

The court dismissed appeals from final decrees in the Superior Court dismissing the bills, thus sustaining the Bishop.† The complainants previously had carried appeals through ecclesiastical procedure to Rome, without success, however. On the dismissal of the civil suits in equity, the complainants were formally excommunicated for violation of canon law, the declaration of excommunication having been withheld, though actually in effect earlier, until the termination of the procedure in the civil courts, lest it be misinterpreted inadvisedly as intended to affect the parties or to prejudice their cause. In February, 1929, the excommunicants took advantage of the conditions for reinstatement announced by Bishop Hickey, made public retraction of error, and were reinstated to membership in the Catholic Church. The reconciliation was complete. As further indications of the restoration of good feeling throughout the diocese the Bishop, returning from an *ad limina* visit to Rome, brought appointments as Monsignori for pastors of French churches, and decorations of the Church Order of St. Gregory for Franco-American laymen. The French Government bestowed the star of the Legion of Honor on two Franco-Americans.

\*It is held ordinarily that a member of a society must exhaust methods and measures for relief within before appealing to judicial courts.

†The Church Suits, 49 R. I. 269.

TWENTIETH CENTURY CHURCHES—One hundred Baptist churches in Rhode Island in 1930 were organized in four associations known as Narragansett, Providence, Roger Williams and Warren, and were united in an annual state convention. The membership of Baptist churches, including a few small churches not affiliated, was reported to the convention as 20,500, of whom nearly 16,000 were resident and active. The Sunday school enrollment was reported as exceeding 18,600. Of the 100 Baptist churches, ninety were supplied with pastors; the number of ordained pastors in service was eighty, this count excluding assistants and pastors emeritus, unordained pastors and ministers serving more than one church, the last being counted only once. The state convention was dealing in 1930 with a "rural church problem," involving loss of supporting membership, which was ascribed to the migration of young people from country to city, by aiding rural churches financially and by combining neighboring rural churches under one minister. The Baptists were aggressive in missionary work among immigrants and in supporting foreign missions. The twentieth century had witnessed a rapprochement among Baptists, without, however, a surrender of doctrinal distinctions within the denomination. The state convention was chartered in 1826; it accomplished, early in the twentieth century, a union for common purposes of two wings of the denomination. The Baptist attitude toward further church unity was indicated in the convention's answer to a message of greeting sent by the Episcopal convention, thus: "With pleasure we recognize the growing spirit of fellowship and good will that is manifested on the part of our great religious bodies throughout the land and around the world. It is increasingly evident that Christian people are far more tolerant, fraternal and Christlike than were some of their fathers in past generations. While this may not signify the surrender of religious convictions nor the abandonment of foundation truths, it does indicate that believers today are more willing to respect the beliefs of their neighbors and the principles for which they stand. And, while we do not see that church union is near or perchance is desirable, we do appreciate this willingness to respect and honor the sacred convictions of other men and to grant them the right to interpret God's truth and human obligations according to the best light we have. We are fully persuaded that this spirit of unity is acceptable in the sight of our common Lord, and that it will go far toward hastening the coming of His kingdom among men in all lands. This kind and fraternal message brought to us from the Protestant Episcopal convention by one of their own number we heartily appreciate, and return to them our sincere best wishes for success in all the efforts they are making to honor God in the important service committed to their hands." Besides the Baptist churches united in the state convention, Seventh Day Baptists maintained churches, principally in the southwestern section of Rhode Island; and five Six Principle Baptist churches had 125 members. Otherwise the Baptist churches were so distributed in 1930 that almost every town in Rhode Island had at least one Baptist Church.

The Episcopal Church in Rhode Island in 1930 maintained fifty-four parishes, of which eleven were rated as missionary parishes, besides twenty-two chapels or mission stations. The clergy included the Bishop, eighty-two priests and six deacons; there were fifty-two lay readers. The membership was stated in various ways as 12,600 families, 23,000 communicants, 24,500 confirmed persons, 37,750 baptized persons. The churches and chapels provided seats for 21,000 persons. Sunday school membership was almost 10,000. Bishop McVickar, who died in 1910, was succeeded by Right Reverend James DeWolf Perry, a descendant of the Rhode Island Perry and DeWolf families. Bishop Perry was elected in 1930 as Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America. St. John's Church in Providence was transferred in 1929 to Bishop Perry to become the Cathedral of St. John. The Bishop organized St. Dunstan's College for sacred music. The Episcopal Church had been aggressive in establishing and supporting missions in Rhode Island, but had not penetrated the distinctly rural western and southwestern towns. Among immigrants it had appealed particularly to members of national Episcopal churches in Europe.

The Methodist Episcopal Church maintained thirty-two churches in Rhode Island in 1930, all of which except one at Little Compton were included in the Providence District of the New England Southern Conference. The membership of the churches was reported as 7500, of whom 6200 were resident and active. The enrollment of pupils in Sunday school was 5050. The strength of the denomination in Rhode Island lay in the cities of Providence, Pawtucket, Newport, Central Falls and Woonsocket, in the town of East Providence and in the Pawtuxet Valley. Of other churches using the name Methodist but not affiliated with the Conference, there were Primitive Methodist churches in Newport and Providence, and six African Methodist Episcopal churches in the same cities.

Thirty-two Congregational churches were affiliated with the Rhode Island Congregational Conference in 1930. The membership of Congregational churches was reported as 10,300, and the Sunday school enrollment as 6400. Overtures for the merger of Congregational churches and churches of the denomination called Christian had proceeded so far in 1930 that delegations from Christian churches were seated in the Congregational Conference, and the yearbook of the conference carried a "list of Congregational and Christian ministers in Rhode Island." Two Christian churches—the church of Westerly and the Elmwood Christian Church in Providence—were represented by delegates. Two other Christian churches—at Clayville and Rice City—were reported as served by one minister. From two others—Moosup Valley and South Portsmouth—no delegates or reports were received. The merger was accomplished and announced at a conference in November, 1930. Seven Congregational churches were reported as supplied by ministers of other denominations.

The Friends maintained their meetings in Newport, Providence, Woonsocket and Central Falls in 1930, the last continuing the old South Smithfield meeting. Other denominations with churches in Rhode Island in 1930 included Adventists, Latter-Day Saints, Lutheran, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Scientist, Swedenborgian, Unitarian, Universalist, and branches of European national churches and orthodox churches in Greece, Syria and Ukrania. The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Providence rises conspicuously on Prospect Hill, with dome and lantern visible over a wide area. There are, besides, denominational, interdenominational, and non-denominational missions, and the stations of the Salvation Army and Volunteers of America. The increasing population of Hebrews had been paralleled by a corresponding number of congregations, synagogues and temples, orthodox and reformed, of which there were a dozen in Providence, besides those at Newport, Pawtucket and Woonsocket.

Radio adopted the church to popularize Sunday broadcasting, but the church was as quick, almost, to grasp an opportunity to use radio as a means whereby to convey religious messages to people who do not attend church services on Sunday. Religious programs have been extended from sermons and church music to instruction periods and broadcasting in which doctrines are explained and questions are answered. Radio preaching and teaching, though conciliatory in form because addressed to a multitude of listeners assumed to include a great variety of opinion and belief or disbelief, has been remarkably clear and logical in presentation, thus to insure understanding of the doctrines expounded.

**CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS MAINTAINED BY CHURCHES**—The independence of churches generally among Protestant denominations has not fostered the development and maintenance of charitable institutions, although church members have given liberally for charity, and few churches have not a committee or an auxiliary organization that dispenses alms in some form. The Episcopal Church, an exception to the general rule because of its thorough diocesan organization and discipline, and because also of generous endowments for charity, maintains St. Andrew's Industrial School, for boys, in Barrington; St. Mary's Home for Children, in North Providence, which replaced St. Mary's Orphanage, formerly located in East Providence; and St. Elizabeth's Home, in Providence. Hebrews maintain a home for the aged, an orphanage and a hospital, all in Providence.

The Catholic Charity organization is commensurate with the resources of the diocese and the number of members of the Catholic Church in Rhode Island. A Catholic Bishop, at his consecration, is pledged by solemn vow to care for the poor; and Catholic charitable institutions have had an intensive development in Rhode Island because of the zeal of successive Bishops. Bishop O'Reilly founded St. Aloysius Orphan Asylum, housing it first in a small wooden building on Claverick Street. A larger building was completed and occupied in 1856, and in 1862 the orphans were removed to a building on the present estate on Prairie Avenue in Providence, erected under the direction of Bishop McFarland. Two wings were added to the building by Bishop Harkins in 1889, and a later addition provided a separate school building, with classrooms and shops for manual training. The institution was chartered as Rhode Island Catholic Orphan Asylum, and is in charge of the Sisters of Mercy.

The success achieved by Joseph Banigan as a captain of industry in rubber was no more remarkable than his generosity; while other institutions, including Brown University, were beneficiaries of his estate, Catholic charities received most. His last act as a business man was signing a contract for the construction at his expense of a building for a Catholic charitable institution. His will carried legacies for the institutions he had assisted in his lifetime, and his daughter, Mrs. Alice Banigan Sullivan, was generous also, particularly with gifts as memorials of her father and her mother, Mrs. Margaret Holt Banigan. Joseph Banigan built for the Little Sisters of the Poor the four-story brick building at Woodlawn in Pawtucket known as the Home for the Aged of the Little Sisters of the Poor; the Banigan gifts to the institution amounted to \$160,000. St. Vincent de Paul Society, lay members of which anticipated generations ago what is now called "social service," by assisting their pastors to investigate appeals for aid and in adapting charity to curing poverty, undertook in 1892 to support an infant asylum, which was located for a time in a house on Davis Street in Providence. Joseph Banigan donated \$22,500 in 1895, the purchase price of an estate of seven acres on Regent Avenue in Providence, and left the Infant Asylum a legacy of \$25,000. A new building in charge of the Sisters of the Divine Providence, was opened in 1898. Villa St. Rose, at Greenville in Smithfield, was acquired through the initiative of Bishop Hickey, as a country annex for the Infant Asylum. Joseph Banigan built also, at a cost of \$80,000, St. Maria's Home for Working Girls, located on Governor Street in Providence. The institution is conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, and supplies board and home environment for working girls at reasonable rates. St. Margaret's Home for Working Girls, on Friendship Street in Providence, is conducted by the same order of nuns as an annex of St. Maria's Home.

The founding of St. Joseph's Hospital and of St. Francis Home for Consumptives is related in the following chapter. For boys of working age, many of them boys from the Orphan Asylum whose approach to youth and manhood suggested the desirability of another environment, the house on Davis Street vacated by the Infant Asylum was opened as the Rhode Island Working Boys' Home. Later the boys' home was removed to the larger house on Park Street, occupied in 1930. This institution offers room and board and home life environment at rates commensurate with the earnings of boys. The directors have been the late Reverend James Ward and Reverend Martin Reddy; zealous coöperating laymen included Andrew Martin and John J. Hoey, both deceased. Through their alertness opportunity was grasped to obtain by gift the Tower Hill House, once a summer hotel, overlooking Narragansett Pier. An association was organized, the Tower Hill House was renovated, and has been used since as a summer vacation home for boys and girls, without discrimination because of race, color, or religion. Hundreds of boys and girls go annually in weekly relays to Tower Hill for a vacation.

When Bishop Harkins purchased the Eaton House on Eaton Street in Providence, it was anticipated that it might be remodelled as a residence for the Bishop, more retired from the bustle of the city and quieter than the diocesan residence on Fenner Street. Shortly afterward

the Sisters of the Good Shepherd came to Rhode Island, and were assigned to the Eaton House temporarily. There they remained, and around it a group of buildings has been erected for the institute conducted by the sisters. Patrick Carter of Providence built the institution on Pine Street in Providence known as Carter Day Nursery; it is what the name indicates, besides being headquarters for the White Sisters whose charitable work consists of visiting and nursing the sick at home. St. Clare's Home in Newport, and the Holy Ghost Convent in Pawtucket, are day nurseries and stations for the White Sisters visiting the sick in those cities. Two other day nurseries are conducted in Providence in St. Ann's and St. Bartholomew's parishes.

Other Catholic charitable institutions in Providence are St. Raphael's Industrial School and St. Dorothy's Home. The latter is a social service station for immigrants landed in Providence from ocean passenger ships. At Woonsocket the Catholic Church maintains two orphan asylums—St. Vincent de Paul Home and L'Orphelinat St. Francois—the latter French, and Hospice St. Antoine, a home for the aged; and at Newport the Mercy Home and School, where the Sisters of Mercy care for eighty orphans.

The volume of the work in Catholic charitable institutions is suggested by the number of persons cared for in a single year. At the House of the Good Shepherd, 479 girls; at two homes for the aged, 384; at Tower Hill House, almost 1000 children; at five orphan asylums, 1502 dependent children; at the Infant Asylum, 496 children; at five day nurseries, 2283 children. The Catholic Church has not the almost \$1,000,000 of endowment and funds with which one denomination in Rhode Island has been provided by generous well-wishers; the income of \$1,000,000 would not support the Catholic charities. Until 1927 Catholic charities were supported by voluntary gifts, by collections in churches, by the income of entertainments and fairs, by money solicited, and by money derived from miscellaneous sources. Bishop Hickey, in 1927, planned to budget the needs of Catholic charities for current maintenance and extension, and make a single annual appeal to Catholics principally, in a charity drive. The returns from four successive annual appeals, 1927-30, exceeded \$300,000 in each instance, and the annual appeal has been established as the method approved. In the reorganization a diocesan bureau of charities was established to correlate the work of Catholic charitable institutions. The Catholic charity drive in 1930 resulted in the collection of \$320,000 for current maintenance and for continuing a program of new construction in the extension of institutions. Besides the long list of charitable institutions maintained by the Catholic Church, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, with a branch in every parish consisting of a small group of laymen, visits the poor in their homes and dispenses charity.

The Holy Name Society, Catholic, with one of its purposes suppressing profane swearing, promoting clean speech, and instilling reverence, enrolls in its membership thousands of Catholic men; on occasion 50,000 have marched in triennial parade. The Episcopal Church began in 1930 organization of the Fellowship of the Sacred Name.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### MEDICINE AND SURGERY IN RHODE ISLAND.



NEWPORT, largest Rhode Island town in the colonial period, was reasonably provided with well-trained, competent physicians and surgeons from its settlement in 1639 to the beginning of the Revolution. The first Newport doctor was John Clarke, one of the original settlers who migrated from Portsmouth, and one of the founders of Rhode Island. His service to the colony included obtaining the Charter of 1663. While practicing his profession as doctor, he also preached in the Baptist Church at Newport. His life in Newport covered a quarter of a century, in two periods, from 1639 to 1651, and from 1663 to 1676, when he died. In the dozen years from 1651 to 1663, while he was engaged in a diplomatic mission to England to accomplish revocation of the commission of William Coddington as Governor and to obtain a charter to replace the Parliamentary Patent, which had become void with the Restoration of the Stuarts, he practiced medicine in England. The town of Newport authorized Robert Jeffreys to "exercise the function of chirurgorie" in 1641. The General Assembly of 1664 granted to Captain John Cranston of Newport a license and commission "to administer physic and practice surgery throughout the whole colony," and dubbed the Captain "Doctor of Phissick and Chirurgery." Possibly and probably Captain Cranston had been relieving the sick and disabled, with little competition, during the absence of Dr. John Clarke from Newport, and the action of the General Assembly expressed a cordial wish that he should continue even after the return of Dr. Clarke. The probability that Newport had no doctor immediately after John Clarke's death is suggested by the offer made to Dr. Thomas Rodman of a grant of land as an inducement to settle in the town. Dr. Rodman accepted the offer, and practiced his profession in Newport forty-seven years, from 1680 to 1727. He was succeeded by his own son, Dr. Clarke Rodman, who probably was trained by his father. Another doctor, Norbert F. Vigneron, educated in France, settled in Newport in 1690, and practiced medicine until his death, nearly three-quarters of a century later, in 1764. Again there was a succession of father and son; Dr. Charles A. Vigneron, trained by his doctor-father, practiced medicine in Newport until 1772, when he died of smallpox. Dr. Clarke Rodman and Dr. Charles Vigneron, each one trained for the profession of medicine by an eminently educated father, were probably the earliest native-born Rhode Islanders who became doctors.

NEWPORT AS AN AMERICAN SALERNO—At the end of the first half of the eighteenth century Newport was the largest, wealthiest and most progressive town on the North Atlantic seaboard: it had become a metropolis, seat of an unusually profitable commerce, as well as a summer resort for the rich, particularly from Southern plantations. Four other doctors, all from Europe, settled in Newport at that period. Dr. John Brett, the time of whose coming was not recorded, was among those listed as giving books to Redwood Library in 1750. Dr. Thomas Moffat, a Scotch physician, was serving as librarian of the Redwood collection at the same time, and teaching medicine privately. Dr. John Halliburton, a fleet surgeon on a British frigate which visited Newport in 1750, resigned his commission in order to remain and marry a fair daughter of Newport. Dr. William Hunter, graduate of Edinburgh, who had served in the British army as a surgeon, also settled in Newport and founded a family that became famous for the beauty of its daughters. The group of European doctors was unusually brilliant, Hunter being an operative surgeon of distinction and an expert on anatomy.

Like Dr. Moffat, he taught medicine, and lectured on anatomy in Newport in the winters of 1754-1756. Dr. Benjamin Mason, also educated in Europe, practiced medicine and trained medical students in Newport during the eighteenth century. There being no medical schools in America at the time, these doctors and others were not only practicing healing arts but also were laying a thorough foundation for continuance by training apprentices. The education was practical, as it was related for the most part to actual experience as the apprentice accompanied the doctor on his round of visits to patients. Lawyers followed similar practices with reference to training youth before the establishment of law schools.

The story of medicine in Newport is not without similarity to the development at Salerno, out of which grew the university of medicine there under the patronage of the monastery of Monte Casino. It is probable that, had there been no serious disturbance of relations between Rhode Island and Great Britain, Newport would have become seat of a school or university of medicine. Brilliant physicians and surgeons as professors for a faculty were available; the town was prosperous and populous, and had a widespread reputation for salubrious climate. Two of the doctors from the British Isles, Halliburton and Moffat, opposed the liberal party in Rhode Island. Dr. Moffat was appointed a stamp collector in 1765, and thereupon his house was sacked by an angry mob of Newport patriots. He did not remove permanently, however, until 1772, when he had become convinced that Newport was not a desirable place of residence for a man who had incurred so much unpopularity. Dr. Halliburton left Newport when the British evacuated the town in 1779, like them never to return; he died in Halifax in 1807.

Dr. Jonathan Easton, Quaker, who began practicing medicine in Newport in 1765, continued through and after the Revolution, and into the nineteenth century; his name appears on the initial roll of members, or Fellows, of the Rhode Island Medical Society, which was incorporated in 1812. He was trained, probably, by one or more of the earlier Newport doctors. Though conservative in politics as became one of his religious convictions, he was progressive in his profession, and was the first Rhode Island doctor to inoculate for smallpox, beginning in 1772. To Newport after the war came Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, who had been born in South Kingstown, and who, on the advice of Rev. James MacSparran, had been sent to Boston to be educated because his frail physique suggested that he never would be sturdy enough to be a farmer. Young Gardiner went to Europe eventually to study medicine, spending eight years in the schools and hospitals of France and England. On his return he settled in Boston. Being a Tory, he fled to Nova Scotia at the beginning of the Revolution, abandoning his property, which was confiscated. After the war, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner returned to Rhode Island and settled at Newport; there he practiced his profession until his death in 1786. Radically different was the story of Dr. Isaac Senter, who came from New Hampshire to Newport before the war to study medicine with Dr. Moffat. Dr. Senter was an ardent patriot, enlisted in the American army in 1775, and was commissioned a surgeon. He accompanied Christopher Greene and the Rhode Island troops on the winter expedition up the Kennebec River and across the divide into the valley of the St. Lawrence with Quebec as the objective, and was taken prisoner with Greene after the decisive battle. After the war Dr. Senter settled in Pawtucket, but soon removed to Newport. He had been only twenty-one in 1775, and he died in 1799, aged fifty-four, after a brilliant career as patriot and physician. Four of the articles in the first volume of transactions of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, published in 1793, were written by Dr. Senter, and he was an honorary member of medical societies in Edinburgh and London, as well as President of the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati. With the passing of Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Senter at the end of the century, Newport still had the reliable Dr. Jonathan Easton and perhaps others, whose names have not been preserved. The town had not recovered its ante-bellum prosperity, though

there was promise of a revival of commerce with the rebuilding of Long Wharf from the proceeds of the lottery granted in 1795.

EARLY PROVIDENCE DOCTORS—John Green, surgeon, who removed from Providence to Warwick in 1641, was the earliest physician in the northern part of Rhode Island. If any other medical doctor came to the northern towns earlier than 1700, he did not tarry long enough to become a freeman. Dr. Richard Bowen settled in Seekonk, two miles from Providence, about 1680, and thereafter visited the sick in Providence and Rehoboth. His grandson, Dr. Jabez Bowen, settled in Providence about 1700, practiced his profession and founded a family, members of which in succession were doctors in Providence for over a century. Dr. Ephraim Bowen, direct descendant of Dr. Richard Bowen, of Seekonk, and of Dr. Jabez Bowen of Providence, died in 1812, leaving two doctor-sons, Dr. William Bowen and Dr. Pardon Bowen. Other early Providence physicians were Dr. John Walton, who entered the Baptist ministry after practicing medicine; Dr. John Bass, who resigned from the Congregational ministry in 1758 to practice medicine; Dr. Robert Gibbs, who was a teacher of medicine as well as a physician; Dr. David Vandelight, graduate of Leyden University, who married a daughter of the Brown family, and with her brothers conducted a commercial manufacturing business capitalizing the doctor's knowledge of chemistry; Dr. Thomas Truman, who was a member of the Providence school committee in 1785, when it included merchant princes and representatives of the learned professions of law, medicine and theology; Dr. Amos Throop, student of Dr. Jabez Bowen and Dr. Robert Gibbs, who began practice in Providence in 1738; Dr. Levi Wheaton, who was instructed by Dr. William C. Bowen after service as an assistant in a Revolutionary military hospital; Dr. Solomon Drowne, graduate of Rhode Island College in 1773, student for a year with Dr. William C. Bowen, and later graduate of the school of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Vandelight died in 1755, Dr. Bass in 1762, Dr. Gibbs in 1769, and one Dr. Jabez Bowen in 1770. Of Dr. Gibbs it was said that he was the first Providence surgeon who dissected dead bodies to demonstrate his instruction in anatomy and to determine the cause of death by postmortem examination.

The Providence doctors maintained the traditions of the profession by educating other doctors to be their successors, but none of them except Dr. John Green and Dr. Vandelight had been trained in any of the European schools of medicine. In this respect they differed from their Newport brethren. With the passing of the older doctors, Dr. Ephraim Bowen and his two doctor sons, William and Pardon; Dr. Amos Throop, Dr. Levi Wheaton and Dr. Solomon Drowne remained to carry on the healing arts past the end of the eighteenth century. All these doctors had part of their medical education from members of the Bowen family of doctors. Dr. Throop was appointed as town physician in Providence in 1774, and helped to organize hospitals for smallpox inoculation. This preventive practice was stimulated later by lessons learned in the war; General Washington, after the trying experiences of early campaigns, was convinced of the utter futility of enlisting soldiers who were not immune to smallpox, and the army regulations required inoculation in detention hospital before departure for the front of men who had not already had smallpox. Dr. Throop, because of fortuitous error, was able to supply medicine for large numbers during the Revolutionary War. Having sent to England an order for medicines by one vessel, following the common practice, he sent a confirmatory order by a second vessel, thus to assure delivery, but did not indicate that the second order was merely precautionary. Both messages were received in England, and the doctor received duplicate consignments. His embarrassment was turned to joy later, when, with war a fact, he was in possession of supplies that were invaluable after the source had been cut off. Dr. Levi Wheaton entered hospital service in 1778, and continued as a student. Four years later, serving as surgeon on a privateer, he was captured by British, and

by them placed in charge of the sick on the prison ship "Falmouth" in New York. Thus he had abundant opportunity for experience, from which he confirmed his belief in the efficacy of bleeding, emetic, cathartic, and opiate—the "four horsemen" of the old school.

Other Rhode Island doctors of the eighteenth century included: Dr. William Bradford, who studied medicine with Dr. Ezekiel Hersey of Hingham, who settled in Warren first and Bristol later and practiced in both towns, and who later studied law, and entered politics; Dr. Joshua Babcock, native of Westerly and graduate of Yale, who practiced medicine in Westerly from 1724 to 1783; Dr. Joseph Torrey, also Congregational minister, who settled in South Kingstown in 1730, and practiced medicine until his death in 1783. Other doctors there were, probably, whose names were not recorded in public records nor preserved in private documents. The number of physicians and surgeons in the eighteenth century was reasonably commensurate with Rhode Island's needs, and the distribution, with emphasis on aggregation in the larger towns, was not widely variant from conditions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Doctors settle in populous centres, and the rural population of Rhode Island was scarcely more remote in the early centuries from access to the services of a physician or surgeon than it is at present. Dr. Amos Throop is credited with being the first Rhode Island physician who included obstetrics in his practice; this function, so significant in modern medical procedure as to suggest specialist and separate hospitalization, was in the eighteenth and earlier centuries relegated to women midwives. Those were times in which natural bone-setters reduced dislocations and fractures, barbers opened veins and applied leeches, charlatans and quacks sold panaceas, old women gathered herbs and roots for curative teas and tonics, and the effectiveness of a concoction was related to its unpleasantness to the taste. The pioneer settlers in America and others who followed them brought with them from the mother country a knowledge of the traditional *materia medica* of herbs and roots, and in America increased their knowledge by what they learned from the Indians, who had a *materia medica* of the same sort almost as extensive as that of Europe. Treatises on medicine were included among the few books occasionally listed in the inventories of estates in probate in Rhode Island, indicating the precaution taken in anticipation of pioneer life remote from a doctor. Yet Rhode Island was well served by physicians and surgeons through the period from 1636 to 1800, and, what is more remarkable, by an unusual number of doctors who had been trained in the best medical schools of Europe. The larger number of the latter among the Newport doctors may be attributed to the facts of population, wealth, social activity and culture which induced the Dean of Derry to tarry in Newport in the golden age in which Newport was a Venice in commerce, an Athens in philosophy, a Florence in the magnificence of its grandees, and a Rome in its assumption of the title of "metropolitan."

**EPIDEMIC DISEASES**—Additional to strange diseases in a new land, including maladies affecting sinus, mucous membrane, tonsil, speech and respiratory organs to such an extent that New Englanders are accused by their English cousins of breathing through the mouth and talking through the nose, colonial doctors encountered epidemics of smallpox and malignant fevers which they were poorly prepared to combat. In this connection it should be remembered that the conquest of smallpox is due principally to Jenner's discovery of vaccination in 1798, and that the microscope and bacteriology have furnished the information necessary for preventing other epidemic diseases only in comparatively recent times. Smallpox was epidemic in 1690-1691, and again in 1716; a mysterious fever called "burning ague" in 1732, and yellow fever from 1795 to 1805. Smallpox was so common in years in which it was not epidemic that public action was taken from time to time to combat it. The General Assembly enacted a quarantine law in 1712, and four years later Newport established a smallpox hospital, or pesthouse, on Coaster's Harbor Island. Bristol in 1732 and Providence in 1751, the

latter with financial assistance from the general treasury, established pesthouses, principally for smallpox. Others were established; Providence had three, one each at North Providence, Field's Point and Tockwotton, in 1776.

Dr. Jonathan Easton of Newport introduced inoculation with a mild type of smallpox as a preventive of the malignant form in 1772. There was serious opposition to proposed legislation authorizing inoculation, the General Assembly took no action, and inoculation continued as a private rather than a public health measure. Public opinion changed somewhat with recognition of the merit of inoculation; it was practiced as a war measure under military authority during the Revolution, and eventually towns established inoculation hospitals. Opposition lingered in Providence; so late as 1789 106 citizens petitioned the town council not to "allow inoculation to be carried on in the hospital in this town." Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Newport, first American physician to use Jenner's discovery, introduced vaccination in Newport. Again, as in the instance of inoculation, opposition yielded to public recognition of merit. Sylvanus Fansher vaccinated 4305 persons in Providence in 1810, charging the town \$233.25 for service, or little more than five cents per capita. Relatively there were few cases of smallpox and no epidemics after vaccination as a public health measure had become firmly established.

The fever epidemic of 1732 continued four months; the disease was fatal in twenty-three of twenty-five cases. The malady of 1795-1805 was called variously malignant fever, putrid fever, and yellow fever. Sporadic cases, afflicting residents of Providence and sailors returning from southern voyages, occurred in 1791, 1793, 1794 and 1795. Forty-nine persons died of the fever in Providence between August 18 and October 9, 1797, and the town was busy with preventive measures relating to speedy and private burial of the dead, removal of infected persons to isolation hospitals, cleaning and disinfection of insanitary places, and the burning of tar, resin and other naval stores making heavy, black smoke. The epidemic reappeared in Providence in the summers of 1798 and 1799. The malady was brought to Newport in 1800 by the United States Frigate "General Greene"; in Providence in the same year 100 persons were treated, of whom fifty died. The epidemic waned in successive summers, and ceased in 1805. Doctors of the period disagreed as to (1) methods of treatment; (2) medication; (3) sources of infection; (4) conditions of contagion. One patient survived the "no less than 125 grains of calomel" administered in two days! The identification of the mosquito as the active agent in carrying yellow fever was not determined until near the end of the nineteenth century. Yet the mosquito was the differential factor that explained the recurrence of the disease as a summer epidemic in Rhode Island, and the reason for the dispute between doctors as to the possibility of contagion "in fine atmosphere," or "pure and freely circulating air." Newport had less yellow fever than Providence because there were fewer mosquitoes in Newport; this, in turn, was due to the higher velocity of air movement near the seacoast than thirty miles inland. The alleged advantage of smoky fires as a preventive lay also in the mosquito's dislike for pungent smoky odors. Dr. Charles F. Bartlett of Newport recommended that the "General Greene," frigate, be sunk "to her lower deck in salt water for at least a fortnight" as "the most likely means of cleansing her from the infection." The doctors who were active during the yellow fever epidemic included Ephraim, Pardon and William Bowen, John Mason, Amos Throop and Levi Wheaton of Providence; and Charles F. Bartlett and Isaac Senter of Newport.

The aged Dr. Levi Wheaton called a meeting of physicians at the State House in Providence on June 19, 1832, to consider the menace of Asiatic cholera, which was then sweeping across the country from Atlantic ports of entry. Drs. Wheaton, Joseph Mauran and Thomas H. Webb were appointed as a committee on precautionary measures, and recommended quarantine against infected localities, removal of filth, suppression of insanitary nuisances, and

isolation hospitals. Drs. Mauran, Webb and Samuel B. Tobey visited New York to study the disease, and reported their observations when, eventually, they reached home. On their return they landed at Seekonk instead of Providence, which was quarantined against New York, proceeded to Pawtucket, were excluded from houses on the way, were kept outside Providence and fumigated before they were permitted to enter. The cholera reached Rhode Island in spite of quarantine, being attributed to "the cholera atmosphere." It did not become epidemic, however, although twenty-five of thirty-six cases in Providence were fatal. In 1849 150 persons died of Asiatic cholera in Providence, and in 1854 159. The study of the disease convinced the physicians of the period that filth and other insanitary conditions establish the location of infection, assuming the presence of "the cholera atmosphere." Similarly an epidemic of malaria in 1880 was related to stagnant ponds, the mosquito escaping indictment for his part in spreading the diseases because he was not suspected. An epidemic of diphtheria in 1876 and 1877 caused more than 600 deaths, and in 1889-1890 influenza was epidemic, affecting not less than one-third of the population. The reappearance of influenza during the World War occasioned many deaths and much suffering; doctors disagreed as to the identity and nature of the disease, as to the methods of treatment, and as to the source of infection. The mosquito could not be blamed for this winter malady. One of the most successful practitioners, who lost no patients during the epidemic, diagnosed and treated it as a tropical fever which he had studied while in service as a naval surgeon.

**MEDICAL SCHOOL**—The fifth American medical school\* was established as a department of Brown University in 1810. The medical faculty included Dr. Levi Wheaton, Dr. William C. Bowen, Dr. Solomon Drowne, and Dr. William Ingalls, although it is not certain that all of them lectured. The instruction in medicine at the beginning was limited to lectures on anatomy and surgery, and on chemistry, which as part of the general college course, led to the degree of doctor of medicine. A more pretentious plan was undertaken following a reorganization in 1822, with Dr. Levi Wheaton as professor of the theory and practice of physic and obstetrics, Dr. John De Wolf as professor of chemistry, Dr. Solomon Drowne as professor of materia medica and botany, and Dr. Usher Parsons as professor of anatomy, physic and surgery. Of these Dr. Wheaton had entered Rhode Island College in 1774, and completed his studies, interrupted by the Revolutionary War, in 1782. Meanwhile he had served as a hospital orderly, had studied medicine with Dr. William C. Bowen, had been surgeon on a privateer and "doctor" in charge of a British prison ship while himself a prisoner. An eminent physician and surgeon† wrote of Dr. Wheaton: "His practice was based upon the theory that diseases in this climate are generally inflammatory, and that when inflammation is controlled the disease subsides as a necessary consequence; hence venesection, tartrate of antimony, epsom salts and calomel were among the remedies upon which he placed the greatest reliance. It was a common remark with him 'that we did not bleed enough; that there was no remedy of equal value in the treatment of our diseases.' He said he had not had occasion to regret bleeding, but in more than two or three instances in the whole course of his practice; but that he had frequently regretted the omission of it. Emetics, cathartics and opium were his favorite remedies."

Dr. Solomon Drowne was graduated from Rhode Island College in 1773, studied medicine for a year with Dr. William C. Bowen, entered the University of Pennsylvania and was graduated as doctor of medicine. He served as surgeon in the Revolutionary War, and was attached to Colonel Crary's regiment at the battle of Rhode Island. After the war Dr. Drowne settled in Providence and practiced medicine until 1784, when he went abroad. In

\*Philadelphia, 1762; New York, 1768; Boston, 1780; Hanover, 1800.

†John W. Keefe, M. D., F. A. C. S. In the preparation of this chapter I have had occasion to refer many times to Dr. Keefe's excellent monograph, "Traditions of Medicine in Rhode Island."

the winter of 1784, he attended lectures in London by Cline and Hunter at St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas' and Guy's hospitals. In 1785, he visited The Hague, travelled through Holland and Belgium, and at Paris visited hospitals and attended lectures by Nelaton, Louis, Brissaud and others. After his return to Rhode Island he resumed practice, removed to Marietta, Ohio, returned to Providence, removed to Virginia because of ill-health, and lived in Pennsylvania seven years. Eventually he returned to Rhode Island and made his home at Mount Hygeia in Foster. His outlook on the practice of medicine was indicated in an address to the Rhode Island Medical Society: "In Simplicitate Salus—Restoration to health depends on simplicity in remedies, or, more literally, there is safety in simple things. On a review of my own practice I have perceived greater advantages from the use of simple, indigenous remedies than of others commonly prescribed. It is to the simplicity and paucity of remedies used, to attention to the natural habit and regimen, that I can with least hesitancy ascribe my success in practice. By this I would not be understood to boast of cures performed, these were effected by the work of nature; the self-preserving energy, by exciting it when languid, restraining it when vehement, in changing morbid action; or in obviating pain or irritation, when they oppose sanitary courses."

Dr. Usher Parsons, after studying with Dr. Hall and Dr. John Warren, of Boston, was licensed as a medical doctor after examination in 1812. He was commissioned as surgeon in the navy in 1812, and was on the "Lawrence" with Commodore Perry at the battle of Lake Erie. During the battle "the wounded were brought down faster than I could attend to them, further than to stay the bleeding and apply bandages and splints," said Dr. Parsons. He amputated six legs during the battle, and spent the entire day and night after the battle in amputating limbs and dressing wounds. Only three of the ninety-six wounded died. Dr. Parsons was some time professor of anatomy and surgery at Dartmouth.

The medical department at Brown University was abandoned in 1827, when the corporation voted "that salaries shall be paid only to such professors, tutors or other officers as shall devote themselves during term time exclusively to the instruction and discipline of the institution, and shall occupy rooms in college during study hours." None of the doctor-professors had served on full time; the university could not afford to pay them such salaries as would be reasonably equivalent to their earnings as practitioners. Curiously, President Francis Wayland, who advocated the action taken by the corporation, later became an advocate of a broad and liberal curriculum and a program for extending the service of the university to the community. In the seventeen years of the medical department eighty-seven graduates of Brown University received the degree of doctor of medicine.

**MEDICAL SOCIETY**—A second movement for the improvement of the profession was undertaken in 1812, when the General Assembly named forty-nine doctors as members of the corporation of the Rhode Island Medical Society, and entrusted to the society authority to examine and certificate doctors, thus: "The president and members of said society . . . shall have full power and authority to examine all candidates for the practice of physic and surgery who shall offer themselves for examination respecting their skill in their profession; and if upon examination the said candidates shall be found skilled in their profession and fitted for the practice of it, they shall receive the approbation of said society in letters testimonial . . ." This authority to examine and certificate was granted by the General Assembly as one of the powers of a professional society; the law did not require license or certificate, or impose any penalty on a doctor who chose not to present himself for examination and certification. Eighty-three years later, in 1895, authority to examine and license doctors was conferred upon the State Board of Health, and the statute excluded unlicensed doctors from practice under penalty of prosecution. There was reason, therefore, in 1848, for the

purposes expressed in the constitution of the Providence Medical Association of "the separation of regular and irregular practitioners," and of "maintaining the union and harmony of the regular profession of the city." The list of members of the Rhode Island Medical Society of 1812 included sixty-four names. The society in 1853 became an agency for collecting statistics of the registration of births, marriages and deaths, continuing as such until the establishment of the State Board of Health in 1877. The society promoted in 1869 a measure "to protect the profession of medicine and the public from the accidents resulting from the ignorance of that class of citizens engaged in the vending of medicines, by a proper examination and license," which resulted in creation of the State Board of Pharmacy in 1871. Six years later its support assured legislation establishing the State Board of Health. The original library of the society was presented in 1868 to Rhode Island Hospital. A new library was started in 1879; in twenty years, through steady acquisition, the collection numbered 12,000 volumes. A brick building for library purposes was erected at Francis and Hayes streets in Providence in 1912; the present collection numbers 28,500 volumes, besides thousands of pamphlets and original manuscripts.

HOSPITALS—Except pesthouses, Rhode Island had no hospital until 1847, when Butler Hospital for the Insane was opened. Nicholas Brown, who died in 1841, left a bequest of \$30,000 for the establishment of a hospital "where the unhappy portion of our fellow beings who are by the visitation of Providence deprived of their reason, may find a safe retreat, and may be provided with whatever may be conducive to their comfort and to their restoration to a sound state of mind." A charter for a hospital was obtained in 1844, and Cyrus Butler offered a gift of \$40,000, provided a similar amount should be raised by other subscriptions. The money was raised and the new hospital projected was named for Cyrus Butler. Grotto farm, on the west bank of the Seekonk River, was purchased. A building planned to accommodate 100 patients was constructed and opened on December 1, 1847. Besides private patients, Butler Hospital cared for incurable insane persons who had become public charges until the opening of the first group of buildings for the State Hospital for the Insane, erected under the direction of the State Board of Charities and Corrections at Howard in 1870. Butler Hospital continues as a state-aided privately controlled public hospital for curable mental diseases.

Captain Thomas Poynton Ives, who "studied medicine for the love of the study and his interest in the science," was leader in the movement to establish the institution known as Rhode Island Hospital. Moses Brown Ives, the Captain's father, who died in 1857, left a bequest of \$40,000 for a hospital to be built in Providence. Dr. J. W. C. Ely, in 1862, at the request of Captain Ives, obtained a dozen signatures of doctors to a petition addressed to the General Assembly, which requested a charter of incorporation for a hospital. The doctors were: The veteran Usher Parsons, Joseph Mauran, L. L. Miller, Richard Brownell, Samuel B. Tobey, George Capron, W. O. Brown, S. Augustus Arnold, Hervey Armington, Charles W. Fabyan, George L. Collins, and J. W. C. Ely. The petition recited: "Whereas, the attention of many benevolent persons, members of the medical profession and others, has often been called to the special need in this state of a hospital for the sick and for those who may be disabled by accidents and injuries, such as are of frequent occurrence in the industrial occupations in which our population are engaged; and, whereas, the establishment of a charitable institution for the above-named humane objects would evidently be of great advantage to the people of the state," etc. The charter was granted, and Captain Ives pledged \$10,000 in a popular subscription for the hospital. He was home at the time on furlough from service in the navy, and besides subscribing to the hospital fund, was one of eight who purchased the original hospital lot. After the war Captain Ives went to Europe to recuperate his broken



RHODE ISLAND HOSPITAL, PROVIDENCE



health, but died suddenly at Havre, November 17, 1865. In his will Captain Ives had bequeathed \$50,000 to the hospital. Other subscriptions were obtained, many from doctors or by doctors from their patients, the first annual report of the trustees showing subscriptions, including the \$100,000 from the Ives family, amounting to \$305,035. The city of Providence gave additional land, including a lot on which stood one of the city pesthouses, sometimes called the Marine Hospital, because most of the patients treated were sailors. A brick building was constructed, and opened October 1, 1868. The original board of trustees were: Robert H. Ives, President; Amos D. Smith, Treasurer; John T. Tobey, Secretary; Amos N. Beckwith, Thomas Brown, Alexis Caswell, Thomas P. I. Goddard, Stephen Harris, Thomas P. Ives, Henry L. Crandall, Thomas P. Shepard, Amasa Sprague, and Samuel B. Tobey. The hospital had twenty-nine free beds when opened, besides accommodations for patients who paid, operating and instrument rooms, museum of anatomy, library, chapel, rooms for the superintendent, *etc.* Other land was purchased, the estate including sixteen acres. Additional buildings were constructed, including an autopsy building, 1882; a gynecological cottage, 1885; a separate building for out-patients, 1891; a home and dormitory for nurses, 1893; a cottage for contagious diseases, 1896; a new pavilion, erected at a cost of \$175,000 in 1900. The productive funds of the hospital amounted to \$715,000 in 1900, the largest individual gifts up to that time being \$100,000 from the estate of Thomas P. I. Goddard, and \$67,000 from John Wilson Smith. Special departments of service were established as follows: Eye and ear, 1868; gynecological, 1877; children's ward, 1882; ear, nose and throat, separate from eye, 1891; diseases of the skin, 1891; orthopedic surgery, 1895; neurology, 1896; cancer, 1900. Dr. John M. Peters, who became superintendent in 1889, continues in service in 1930. The increase in the work of Rhode Island Hospital in thirty years is indicated thus: Regular ward patients—247 in 1869, 2750 in 1899; out-patients—1709 in 1870, 6806 in 1899; expenses—\$17,142 in 1869, \$87,238 in 1899. The expenses invariably exceeded receipts, including income from endowment funds, the deficit being made up annually by subscription. Thus the hospital, though charging patients able to pay, maintained its service as a charitable institution for those who could not afford to pay.

Other hospitals established before 1900 are the Newport Hospital, Woonsocket Hospital, Providence Lying-in Hospital, and St. Joseph's Hospital, Providence. Newport Hospital was incorporated in 1872, and opened November 22, 1873. Four new wards were added in 1895-1896—the Vanderbilt ward for men, the Ledyard ward for women and children, the Carey ward for paying patients, and the Vanderbilt surgical ward. Departments for treating eye and ear were established in 1896. Woonsocket Hospital was incorporated in 1873. The first gift was a bequest of \$6000 by Dr. Ezekiel Fowler, who died in 1863. Other gifts were solicited, land was purchased, a building was erected, and the hospital was dedicated and opened in 1888. Providence Lying-in Hospital was incorporated in 1884, and opened in April, 1885, on Slocum Street in Providence. Removal to State and Field streets was made in 1887. The largest gifts were \$11,000 by Joseph Banigan and \$10,000 by Daniel W. Lyman. The Lying-in Hospital included in its service the training of nurses for maternity cases. St. Joseph's Hospital was founded by Catholic charity as a hospital for incurables in 1892.

RIVAL SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE—While several homeopathic physicians practiced in Rhode Island each for a short period preceding 1845, the first to settle permanently was Dr. A. H. Okie, 1842-1882. Five years later ten homeopathic physicians responded to a call for a meeting to organize a state society. The society was incorporated in June, 1850, and adopted a constitution proclaiming the principle propounded by Dr. Hahnemann, "Simila similibus curantur." The new practitioners encountered opposition from the Rhode Island Medical Society, most of whose members at the period were allopaths. The Rhode Island society had adopted

years before a rule "to prevent, as far as may be, all unqualified persons from practicing medicine or surgery, and in order to discourage empiricism," which forbade members "to advise or consult directly or indirectly with any person whatever who shall hereafter commence the practice of medicine or surgery within this state until he shall have been examined and approbated." Dr. Worthington Hooker was awarded the Fiske prize in 1850 for his essay on "Medical Delusions," in which he criticised homeopathy with other practices classified as "irregular." The Rhode Island Medical Society, in 1851, adopted resolutions declaring "that the society consider all those who advertise and practice homeopathy, *as such*, irregular practitioners." In 1856 the society received and accepted a report recommending that an application for membership be rejected "for the reason that the person recommending the applicant had abandoned the regular profession and adopted the homeopathic system, and that the applicant himself, from reliable information, is using homeopathic remedies; and we recommend that all those members who profess and advocate homeopathy and stigmatize the regular profession, be not considered members in good standing and that they be deprived of all the privileges and benefits of this society." Careful reading of the resolutions and reports indicates that the opposition to homeopathy was not *intolerant*, so much as *resentful* of the attacks by zealous exponents of the Hahnemann system upon older practices. Dr. Charles W. Parsons, in 1882, summarized the controversy thus: "Two questions connected with conditions of membership have come up at different times to vex our souls. One was that of our fellows who practiced homeopathy, and the admission of new fellows more or less tinctured with that heresy. The general result of action has, I think, been this: Fellows who gave out that they had become homeopaths were gently and gradually dropped, without expulsion; the assumption of name was held a bar to admission, *but our members were left free to administer any supposed remedies* they may choose, if they find sufficient reason to think that they may be useful. What is regarded as a disqualification is not, I take it, the use of this or that drug, in large or small doses, but the assumption of a name which stands for an exclusive dogma, a revolt against the experience of the profession, and a claim to new and reformed principles of treatment. We disavow equally the nickname 'allopathist' applied to ourselves, and the pretensions of homeopathy to represent a new departure in therapeutics."\*

As a matter of fact, the medical profession is more responsive to change in methods because of new discoveries than most others. A lawyer may cite with authority the decision of a judge rendered three or four centuries ago for the purpose of illuminating a text or interpreting a principle; whereas the physician seeks constantly the very latest pronouncement in medicine or surgery which has the earmarks of respectability as based on sound practice or science. The Rhode Island Medical Society donated its old library to Rhode Island Hospital because many of the books "through the advancement of medical education, had become substantially useless in the society," except for historical study. The physician's hesitancy to adopt new systems, subject to criticism as empirical, rests upon a conservative attitude befitting a profession called upon frequently to make decisions that involve life or death, health or disease, successful cure or failure.

Providence Homeopathic Dispensary was organized in 1850, and in 1878 a charter for a homoeopathic hospital was obtained. Four years later an estate on Morris Avenue, in Providence, was purchased and the Homeopathic Hospital was opened. Surgical and contagious disease wards were added. The hospital was continued until 1900, when it was closed because of financial failure. Another homeopathic hospital was established later.

**PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE**—The recognition of public health problems in Rhode Island has been related to the growth and segregation of population, and the development of commerce

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\*Compare the quotation from an address by Dr. Drowne, *supra*.

and manufacturing. Sanitation continues to be essentially a private problem while the vast majority of the people live on farms, and sources of water supply and provisions for the disposition of waste are related to family. When, however, commerce develops, and the ports of a community are visited by ships, particularly from tropical countries, the danger from strange diseases afflicting sailors and the carrying of disease by maritime rodents raise new problems. The United States Marine hospital service in the Treasury Department was organized to combat diseases among sailors; out of it developed the extensive federal provisions for safeguarding health, and the significant studies that evolved methods for combatting fevers. Congestion of population raises problems of protecting water supply from pollution, and of disposing of waste and drainage. The history of large cities in bygone centuries is replete with tales of revolting insanitary conditions which favored, if they did not cause, epidemics, and of frightful losses of population by plague and pestilence. In Rhode Island preventive measures until the middle of the nineteenth century were limited to quarantine, isolation hospitals or pesthouses, inoculation and vaccination against smallpox. Besides these, there was occasionally an insistence upon the suppression of insanitary nuisances and the building of drains to make the disposition of waste and effluvium less offensive.

Providence, in 1856, following an epidemic of cholera, established a city department of health, with Dr. E. M. Snow as superintendent; Dr. Snow continued in office twenty-eight years to 1884, when he was succeeded by Dr. Charles V. Chapin, who in 1930 had been in continuous service fifty-six years. The duties of the superintendent of health included registration of births, deaths and marriages, the investigation and suppression of insanitary nuisances, and precautionary measures for the protection of health; the service extended rapidly as zealous health officers found new ways of applying science to safeguarding health and life. In Providence investigation of water supply led to the establishment of a public water system, and studies of drainage to an elaborate sewer system, connection with which for the disposition of drainage was enforced. The modern city, in its cleanliness in spite of a population of 260,000, is in marked contrast with the city earlier than 1850, when insanitary conditions favored epidemics. Other towns and cities followed the example of Providence, and in 1885, the appointment of health officers became mandatory by statute. In all towns, unless other provisions is made for a board of health, the town council is a board of health.

A State Board of Health was established in 1877, consisting of one member from each county except Providence and two members from Providence County. In the board as first established were four physicians and two lawyers. The secretary of the board was its executive agent. Dr. Charles H. Fisher was secretary from 1877 to 1893, and Dr. Gardiner T. Swarts from 1893 to 1916. The new board took over the registration of vital statistics for the state, and in its earlier years undertook the collection of information about sanitary conditions throughout the state and the publication of sanitary studies. Its functions were hortative rather than mandatory, and its powers were suggestive rather than effective; an innovation in Rhode Island polity, it must develop, as have other state agencies, largely through the extension of confidence in the merit and value of its service. The importance of the early work of the board is indicated by the nature of some of the significant health studies undertaken and reported, thus: Diseases among domestic animals, 1880, and in 1888, tuberculosis among cows, which led, in 1891, to measures for suppressing tuberculosis under the direction of the State Board of Agriculture; composition and properties of milk, 1882, a thorough treatment by the milk inspector in Providence, Edwin E. Calder, who was one of the state's greatest chemists; inspection of sanitation in summer resorts, 1882, plans for sewage drainage and disposal, 1884, and an investigation of the pollution of rivers, 1887; investigation of watersheds and water supply in connection with the development of public water systems, 1894. With the advance of bacteriological science the State Board of Health extended its initial

examinations of sputum for tuberculosis and throat secretions for diphtheria, to elaborate provision for examinations of cultures, and the provision of vaccines and antitoxins. Out of the investigation of sources of water supply developed a department for the analysis of drinking water. In 1895, the Board of Health was made an examining and licensing board for doctors, and at once undertook the work of examining all resident physicians, and thereafter all applicants for admission to practice medicine. The secretary of the board, under the examining law, was ordered to prosecute persons practicing or offering to practice medicine or surgery without license.

IMPROVEMENT OF PRACTICE—The Revolutionary War terminated the migration of doctors which had brought to Rhode Island in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries practitioners who had been educated in famous schools and hospitals in Europe, including physicians of foreign birth who settled in Rhode Island and Rhode Island doctors who studied abroad, as did Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. The second half of the eighteenth century had witnessed the establishment of four American medical schools, Brown University providing the fifth for Rhode Island in 1810. The apparently limited time given to medicine in the course at Brown University leading to the degree of doctor of medicine deceives unless with it is considered the fact that the medical students gained a practical introduction to the duties of the physician and surgeon by serving an apprenticeship with a doctor. The last explains the commentary, in the instance of most Rhode Island doctors, that he studied with doctor B, besides taking his degree in medicine. The apprenticeship replaced the hospital visitation which was common in Europe preceding a lecture by a professor-doctor. America produced able doctors of the type of Dr. Levi Wheaton and Dr. Usher Parsons, who were schooled by experience supplementary to formal study and instruction. Occasionally a Rhode Islander went abroad to study, as did the distinguished Dr. Solomon Drowne, to supplement his course in medicine at Pennsylvania, and the famous Dr. Elisha Bartlett, who was graduated as a doctor of medicine from Brown University in 1826. Dr. Bartlett spent most of a year in Paris, attending public lectures on medicine and surgery, studying with the most famous doctors and surgeons of the period, and visiting hospitals. After abundant experience in practice, he wrote a treatise on "Fevers," which was printed in four editions, in 1842, 1847, 1852, and 1857, the last edition two years after his death, which occurred in 1855. Dr. Bartlett taught pathological anatomy and materia medica at Berkshire Medical Institute, theory and practice of medicine at Transylvania University, and, as professor of materia medica and medical jurisprudence, became one of the most brilliant of the galaxy comprising the faculty at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. Medical science and practice were progressive in America under the leadership of great doctors like Elisha Bartlett.

There were others, not so brilliant in achievement, perhaps, who were alleviating, relieving or curing disease by methods accepted as meeting the standards most approved at the time, physicians and surgeons whose rewards were not acclaim so much as the smile of a fellow creature which indicated relief from discomfort, a stronger pulse and surer respiration. Approbation by members of the medical profession was indicated with reference to the forty-nine physicians and surgeons who were incorporated as the Rhode Island Medical Society in 1812, and fifteen others who were admitted as additional Fellows of the society in the first year. After 1812, doctors "found skilled in their profession and fitted for the practice of it" displayed a "testimonial under the seal" of the society in much the same way that the twentieth century doctor hangs in his office his license to practice and his medical diploma. There was not, however, until 1895 a public agency with authority to examine and license doctors and to exclude from the practice of medicine persons not adequately trained. While the classification of doctors as "regular" or "irregular" was applied sometimes to indicate a dis-

inction betwixt the established, conventional school of allopathy and alleged new systems, it was applicable also to a distinction betwixt trained physicians and surgeons and persons not properly trained. There were some who assumed the title of "doctor" without adequate preparation, and who "practiced medicine" with little respect for professional or other ethics.

When the State Board of Health was authorized to license doctors and directed to prosecute persons who practiced medicine without license, it faced the problem of passing upon the qualifications of nearly 500 "doctors," and litigation to obtain judicial determination of eligibility in the instances of persons who were refused licenses.\* The board's experience paralleled that of the Board of Registration in Dentistry, which was established earlier.† With its first year's work complete, the State Board of Health proceeded to prosecute "irregular" or unlicensed practitioners.‡ Christian Science was held not to be unlawful practice of medicine, when a person using the title "doctor" offered prayers for the recovery of another person from disease.\*\* An indictment charging an osteopath with practicing medicine was sustained as valid in spite of technical objections to the form of complaint and to the sufficiency of the indictment.††

The practice of osteopathy, defined as treatment by manipulation for diseased or abnormal conditions of the body, was legalized by statute in 1914, and provision was made for a board of examiners of osteopaths to be appointed by the State Board of Health. The Supreme Court, in an advisory opinion, held that a licensed osteopath may sign a valid certificate of death.‡‡ The court said: "It cannot be doubted that the practice of osteopathy as authorized" by statute "is the practice of medicine. . . . The statute authorizes the licensed practitioner of osteopathy to make a diagnosis of diseased or abnormal conditions of the human body and to apply a remedy therefor. This power of diagnosis is not restricted; having determined, however, the nature and the cause of the sickness, the practitioner is then restricted to the remedy for the ailment which must be confined to manipulation of the body; the method and the extent of the manipulation is left to the judgment of the practitioner. . . . Is a registered practitioner of osteopathy a physician registered to practice in this state within the fair meaning of these words in this section? We think that he is. . . . We think that the word physician . . . should properly be construed in its broader meaning to include osteopaths, and that as used in this part of the statute it is not to be confined to its limited meaning of doctor of medicine. . . . Osteopaths have no authority to give prescriptions or to prescribe drugs. . . . We think that the conclusion we have reached is strengthened by a consideration of the result if the other construction were adopted. In that case we would have this situation: The state by its examination and certificate has certified to the ability of the osteopath to discover the cause of the disease while the patient is alive; but upon the death of the patient, the osteopath then is to be held to be incompetent and unauthorized to state the cause of death. Such a construction is illogical . . ."

The Supreme Court held that chiropractic service fell within the practice of medicine, defined as the "art of preventing, curing or alleviating disease,"§ and required a license. The legal status of chiropractic was established subsequently by statute. Holding that the law was intended to "protect against pretence and sham as well as ignorance," the Supreme Court excluded an offer to defend on the ground that a prescribed "remedy" was "harmless," and thus aided the State Board of Health to suppress a Rhode Island "irregular" who claimed

\**Evans vs. State Board of Health*, 19 R. I. 312; *Paquin vs. State Board of Health*, 19 R. I. 365; *Boucher vs. State Board of Health*, 19 R. I. 366.

†*Battles vs. Board of Registration in Dentistry*, 16 R. I. 372; *Kenney vs. State Board of Dentistry*, 26 R. I. 538.

‡*State vs. Perlot*, 20 R. I. 273; *State vs. Heffernan*, 28 R. I. 20.

\*\**State vs. Mylod*, 20 R. I. 632.

††*State vs. Flanagan*, 25 R. I. 369.

‡‡*Opinion to the Governor*, 42 R. I. 249.

§*Swarts vs. Siveny*, 35 R. I. 1.

that he had discovered "a new principle of health and healing."\*† In consequence of statute and litigation new practices resting upon novel principles or treatments seek recognition through legislation, as in the instances of osteopathy and chiropractic. Other services for which examination and licenses are prescribed include dentistry, optometry, chiropody, midwifery and trained nursing. A licensed physician and surgeon, however, within the scope of his general authority to practice healing, curative and alleviating arts may use any reasonable method of treatment, including specialized treatments defined by statute,\*‡ and entirely new and original treatments. This liberal interpretation favors the progressive development of medical science and the introduction of approved methods of treating disease and preventing it as discovered and approved in successful experience, and at the same time tends somewhat to safeguard the suffering thousands afflicted with disease against exploitation and against ill-founded diagnosis and practices which are not approved by reputable physicians.

STATE REGULATION—The State Board of Health continued in the twentieth century as a public agency for investigating "the causes of disease, the prevalence of epidemics and endemics among the people, the sources of mortality, the effects of localities, employment and other conditions and circumstances on the public health," and for the publishing and circulating of "such information as it may deem to be important and useful for diffusion among the people of the state." The board promoted legislation for the suppression of nuisances, for the protection of drinking water from pollution, for the elimination of such prolific agencies for the communication of diseases as the common towel and common drinking cup, for the inhibition of spitting in public conveyances and on sidewalks; and it disseminated information about the causes and methods of infection. It established and maintained pathological, bacteriological and chemical laboratories. In the field of preventive medicine it manufactured and distributed vaccines, as well as examined sputum and other cultures. It established and maintained a division of child welfare. Its principal employes were a secretary, who served as executive agent for the board; a pathologist and bacteriologist, and a chemical and sanitary engineer. In extension of its function as an examining and certificating agency for regulating the practice of medicine and other healing arts, it appointed boards of examiners in (1) chiropody, (2) osteopathy, (3) midwifery, (4) hairdressing and cosmetic therapy, and (5) chiropractic. For further protection of the public health other independent boards were created as follows: State Board of Pharmacy, Board of Registration in Dentistry, Narcotic Drug Board, Board of Examiners of Trained Nurses, Board of Purification of Waters, Inspector of Meat, Board of Examiners of Barbers, State Athletic Commission, Board of Trustees for the State Sanatorium, Board of Food and Drug Commissioners, State Board of Registration in Embalming, Board of Examiners in Optometry, State Board of Veterinarians. The Factory Inspector visits and approves places where foods are manufactured and sold, including bakeries and restaurants.

Twenty-six medical examiners were appointed, one for each district, to determine and return the cause of death in instances in which no physician had been in attendance. The statute regulating chiropractic indicates in a general way one method of safeguarding the people against the impositions of poorly trained practitioners. The qualifications of a certificated chiropractor are: (1) age at least twenty-three; (2) good moral character; (3) graduation from a chiropractic school or college approved by the state board of chiropractic examiners; (4) completion of a course of three years in residence of six months each year in the study of anatomy, physiology, symptomatology, pathology, diagnosis, chemistry, toxicology and bacteriology, dietetics, hygiene and sanitation, chiropractic orthopedy, and the principles and practice of chiropractic; (5) preliminary education equivalent to high school; (6) satis-

\*†State vs. Heffernan, 28 R. I. 20.

\*‡State vs. Beck, 21 R. I. 288. A physician may practice dentistry.

factory examination before the state board of examiners. The requirement is less than that usually presented by a medical doctor, which is not less than two years of college preparation (four years preferred and required by the best schools), four years of professional study, one to three years of interne service in hospital.

The State Board of Health was abolished in 1929, the General Assembly substituting for it a State Public Health Commission consisting of five members appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. Instead of the secretary serving as executive agent for the State Board of Health, the Public Health Commission appoints a State Director of Public Health to serve as "secretary of the commission, state registrar, the chief executive and administrative officer and official agent of the commission." While the statute does not require that members of the commission be medical doctors, four of five serving in 1930 are. For the first time since the creation of the state public health department, however, the executive agent is not a medical doctor. The technical staff includes bacteriologist, epidermiologist, pathologist, chemist and sanitary engineer, diagnostic chemist, sanitary chemist, toxicologist, and biologist, besides the director of the child welfare bureau. With the completion of the state office building, the State Public Health Commission, and its laboratories, removed from the State House to more ample quarters in the new building.

STATE SANATORIUM.—The General Assembly created a Sanatorium Commission in 1902, and three years later the State opened a sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis at Wal-lum Lake. The site, 600 feet above sea level and at the place in Rhode Island almost farthest removed from the seacoast, was chosen as ideal for the purpose, and \$670,000 has been expended for land, buildings and equipment. The original buildings comprising the sanatorium provided accommodations for 150 patients. These have been supplemented by a children's cottage with 32 beds, 1915; a hospital for advanced cases with 153 beds, 1917; and a children's infirmary, with 36 beds, 1928. The creation of the commission followed a statewide publicity campaign emphasizing isolation as a means for preventing the spreading of tuberculosis, and instructing the people as to the dangers of contagion, wholesome diet as a preventive and cure, and health measures for combatting "the white plague." The general purposes of the sanatorium are remedial and curative, with emphasis upon cleanliness and wholesome environment, fresh, clean air and open-air living so far as feasible, and abundance of nourishing food in carefully planned diets. The hospital is isolated and is complete in the details of providing accommodations for patients, attendants and other employes. In the service departments, besides kitchen and laundry, are laboratories for dietetics and bacteriological testing, as well as X-ray apparatus. The equipment of the plant includes a water system, with water tower and fire-sprinklers, sewage plant, boiler house and engine. For farming operations and animal husbandry, greenhouse, hennery, hog pen, slaughter house, storehouse and stable have been provided. Besides a cottage for the superintendent and his family, there are cottages for married employes, as well as dormitory accommodations for others. The equipment includes a swimming pool, and chlorination plant. The sanatorium treated 829 patients in its wards in 1929, and 784 out-patients in its extramural clinical service. The latter was introduced in 1923, and is planned to extend the hospital service of preventive measures over a wide area, including seventeen towns at present. The hospital had received more than 10,000 persons as patients in the twenty-five years from 1905 to 1930.

PROVIDENCE CITY HOSPITAL.—The city of Providence in 1910 opened a City Hospital for the isolation and treatment of contagious diseases, on a large tract of land fronting on Eaton Street in the northwestern section of the city. While the provision primarily is for residents of the city, the hospital receives, so far as accommodations are available, patients from other

towns and cities. The plant provided in 1910 included several ward buildings with kitchens and laundry. Since then the laundry and service accommodations have been enlarged, and three new buildings have been constructed. The original provision was for the treatment of acute, contagious diseases, and the purpose was to relieve Rhode Island Hospital, which until 1910 had served the city through its wards for contagious diseases. The program for construction anticipated future needs; in experience the anticipation was not realized because of the constant and consistent progress made toward restriction and elimination of diseases, as causes and methods of infection were discovered and preventive methods developed. The health program in public education has had far-reaching effect in the warfare against disease. In the first year at the new City Hospital tuberculosis patients were admitted, and in 1912 a new building, particularly for tuberculosis, with fifty beds, was completed and occupied. A department for venereal diseases was inaugurated in 1914, and placed in one of the wards intended originally for contagious diseases. The most recent department, for psychopathic diseases, is located in a new building, completed in 1930, with accommodations for sixty patients. The City Hospital originally had no out-patient department. A night clinic for tuberculosis was inaugurated in 1912, and the out-patient work has been extended to include all but surgical cases. The hospital treated 1885 ward patients, and 8697 out-patients in 1929. The number of visits to the out-patient department, that is, the number of treatments, was 25,971. The cottage first used as a home for nurses was renovated for the superintendent and his family. The dormitory accommodations for nurses proved inadequate as the work of the hospital was extended, and many were constrained to find rooming accommodations in houses in the neighborhood of the hospital. This problem has been solved by the construction in 1930 of a separate home for nurses on the hospital grounds with 120 bedrooms, besides parlors and other rooms for recreation.

NEWPORT NAVAL HOSPITAL—Another strictly public hospital, in the sense of exclusively public administration, control and support, is the United States Naval Hospital at Newport, which was opened April 15, 1913, as a base hospital for the United States Navy. New departments include hydrotherapy and physiotherapy, 1924, and a dental prosthetic laboratory, 1929. The hospital treated 1434 ward patients and 10,399 out-patients in 1929. Other new hospitals, public in the sense that accommodations are available to the people generally, although administration and control are corporate, as distinguished from exclusively private hospitals and the new type of hospital controlled in each instance by one or a small number of physicians, usually surgeons, are located in Pawtucket, Wakefield, Westerly, Central Falls and Providence.

TWENTIETH CENTURY HOSPITALS—Memorial Hospital, Pawtucket, incorporated in 1901 and opened in 1910, owes its beginning and development to the philanthropy of the Sayles and Goff families, among others, in Pawtucket. The initial gift was a legacy of \$200,000 from the estate of William F. Sayles; to this Frank A. Sayles added \$75,000 as a memorial to William F. Sayles, and a legacy of \$100,000. Colonel Lyman B. Goff gave \$102,000, Charles Otis Read left a legacy of \$30,000, and a friend, who requested that his name be withheld, gave \$200,000 to provide a new building for the treatment of children's diseases and maternity cases, to be opened in 1931. The hospital is located on a large tract of land east of the Seekonk River, which it overlooks. Darius L. Goff, in 1913, gave to the hospital the homestead estate of Claudius B. Farnsworth, which adjoined the original property. The plant has grown steadily. The Isabella Goff dormitory for nurses, gift of Mrs. Daisy B. Goff, was opened in 1911; an addition to the nurses' home, providing thirty-six sleeping rooms, an auditorium seating 350, and a large recreation room for nurses, gift of Colonel Lyman B. Goff and others, was built in 1926-1927. Other buildings are the out-patient department, the cen-

tral heating plant, 1916; portable building for convalescents during summer months, 1917; wing for private patients, 1918; service building, 1924; and the new building for children, under construction. The hospital opened an out-patient department in 1911, and a social service department in 1912. The equipment is complete in all the details of a modern medical and surgical hospital. The hospital treated 1832 ward patients and 15,238 out-patients in 1929.

The South County Cottage Hospital was opened in 1919 with seven beds. Six years later, in 1925, a new hospital building and the Bacon House for nurses were completed. The accommodations for patients then were twenty-two beds and five bassinets; in 1929 the capacity had been increased to thirty-five beds and ten bassinets. The South County Hospital, like many other Washington County institutions, has been promoted by members of the Hazard family. Mr. Leonard Bacon and Mrs. E. D. Keith built the Bacon House for nurses, and Miss Caroline Hazard provided the furnishings. For the main hospital building, Mrs. I. W. Fobes and Miss Caroline Hazard furnished the wards for men and women patients. The South County Hospital is a general medical and surgical hospital serving the eastern section of Washington County; the new equipment includes X-ray apparatus, obstetrical and dietary departments, laundry, laboratory and separate wards for men and women. The hospital treated 610 ward and 350 out-patients in 1929.

Westerly Hospital, incorporated in 1925, has an unusual plant, consisting of hospital, nurses' home and garage, all of most approved modern construction. The site is an eminence between Westerly and Watch Hill, overlooking the town, the Pawcatuck River and Little Narragansett Bay, and convalescents have the advantage of bracing ocean air. The equipment includes medical, surgical, obstetrical and pediatrial departments, two operating rooms, a delivery room, X-ray apparatus, and a pathological laboratory. The hospital treated 747 patients in wards and 483 out-patients in 1929.

Notre Dame Hospital, Broad Street, Central Falls, was made possible by a drive for contributions in Central Falls and Pawtucket lasting ten days in 1923. The hospital was incorporated in 1923 and opened in 1925. It is a general hospital with medical, surgical, maternity, out-patient, and eye, ear, nose, and throat departments, and fifty beds for ward patients. The hospital treated 917 ward patients and 166 out-patients in 1929.

Miriam Hospital, a new institution with all the departments requisite in a general medical and surgical hospital, was opened in Providence in November, 1925. The location is on Parade Street in Providence. The Miriam Hospital treated 690 ward patients and 1623 out-patients in 1929.

Of the older hospitals two have acquired completely new plants since 1900. The Homeopathic Hospital of 1878, located on Morris Avenue in Providence, was closed in 1900, but the charter was not surrendered and the society which had promoted it did not disband. After a pause the hospital was reopened in temporary quarters on Westminster Street and Jackson Street in Providence. In 1922 and 1926 the society made two appeals to the public for funds, and contributions totalling \$1,500,000 were received in large and small gifts. The drives were community enterprises, undertaken with the conviction that Rhode Island needed another large hospital. The Homeopathic Hospital is a general medical and surgical hospital, with wards, operating rooms and service accommodations. Although the name "Homeopathic" and the tradition of Hahnemann are maintained, in view of the general public support of the enterprise it is open to reputable physicians of every school of medicine or curative practice, and the treatment of patients follows the direction given by their doctors. Land for the site was acquired on Chalkstone Avenue in Providence between Davis Park and Pleasant Valley Parkway; the buildings, on rising ground, overlook a pleasant immediate environment, and the city and surrounding country. A large main building with two wings, service building,

operating rooms, and power building, was constructed and opened in 1925. A nurses' home was opened in 1929. The equipment is complete and most modern, including laboratories and X-ray departments, a physical therapy, and an electro-cardiograph and cystoscopy department, the last added in 1929. The service rendered by the Homeopathic Hospital is indicated by the treatment of 4330 ward patients, and 8430 out-patients in 1929.

Providence Lying-in Hospital was opened in 1884, and removed more than once, as the service was extended. In 1926 the Lying-in Hospital occupied an entirely new plant on land and in buildings acquired at an expenditure of \$1,000,000. The location is on Maude and Convent streets in Providence, extending to the Pleasant Valley Parkway, directly across which lies the new Homeopathic Hospital. The building with wards, service rooms, and other accommodations was planned for 175 mothers and as many infants. The Lying-in Hospital treated 2200 mothers and 2100 infants in its wards in 1929, and besides these, cared for 4600 out-patients.

Woonsocket Hospital, opened in 1888, has been enlarged; in 1905 two wings were added to the original building, one for the surgical department and the other for a nurses' home. Mrs. F. H. Jencks gave and furnished the surgical wing; Mrs. E. Charles Francis donated all furnishings for the nurses' home. In the same year a training school for nurses was established at Woonsocket Hospital. A children's ward was opened in 1914, and in 1923 a laboratory department. A new three-story brick building, with accommodations for 125 patients was added to the plant in 1926. A maternity department was established in the same year. The Woonsocket Hospital treated 1244 patients in wards in 1929, and 2850 out-patients.

Rhode Island Hospital, opened in 1868, is still the largest general hospital in Rhode Island. The physical plant in Providence has been added to since 1900 as follows: Greenhouse, gift of Mrs. Henry G. Russell; enlarged laundry, heating plant and dormitory for men; addition to nurses' home; new service building; Metcalf solarium, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf; addition to out-patient building, gift of Royal C. Taft; new infants' ward, gift of Dr. and Mrs. William H. Buffum and Mrs. William Beresford; Jane Frances Brown building for private patients, gift of Jesse H. Metcalf and Jane Frances Brown; new dormitory for men workers, including new garage and workshops, gift of Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf; new dormitory for women workers, gift of Jesse H. Metcalf; nurses' home, gift of George Ide Chace; Aldrich house for nurses, gift of Charles T. and Henry L. Aldrich; new building for X-ray and physical therapy, gift of Rosa Anne Cranshaw; John M. Peters house, for staff and internes, gift of Jesse H. Metcalf; equipment for Peters house, gift of Horatio N. Campbell; Joseph Samuels dental infirmary, gift of Colonel Joseph Samuels. Other liberal contributors to the funds of the hospital have included Louisa D. Metcalf, Henry D. Sharpe, Mary Dexter Chaffee, Ellen D. Sharpe, and John T. Cranshaw. Mrs. T. P. Shepard donated equipment for the operating room. New departments organized since 1900 are infants' ward, pavilion for private patients, milk laboratory for babies' food, social service department, physical therapy department, and occupational therapy department.

The estate of Crawford Allen at Potowomut was given to the Rhode Island Hospital as the Crawford Allen Memorial Hospital by Mrs. John Carter Brown; it was developed first as a summer ward for crippled children. The estate at Potowomut has been increased by the Esther Pierce Metcalf building, gift of Esther Pierce Metcalf, Stephen O. Metcalf, Mrs. Murray S. Danforth, G. Pierce Metcalf, and Houghton P. Metcalf. The Rhode Island Hospital is administered and controlled by a corporation, and, although many patients pay for service, is open also for those who cannot afford to pay. In spite of all the gifts which the hospital has received, its service exceeds in cost the amounts that are paid. The annual deficit is underwritten by a group of subscribers. In the year 1929 the hospital treated 8193 patients in wards, and 55,881 out-patients. The deficit in 1930 approached \$90,000.

St. Joseph's Hospital was opened in 1892 in the Harris homestead on Broad and Peace Streets, Providence. It had been the particular project of Reverend William Stang, then rector of the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. Father Stang visited every parish in the Catholic diocese of Providence, making a special appeal to the charity of Catholics for contributions to finance the hospital. The proper work of a general hospital, Father Stang explained, is curing or remedying the condition of the sick or disabled; with a demand for hospitalization that taxed the capacity of existing institutions, there was no room in these for men and women who were bedridden with lingering diseases from which the only relief was death eventually. Father Stang touched the heartstrings and unloosed the pursestrings of his auditors; the collections taken warranted new construction additional to the homestead building. St. Joseph's Hospital was placed in charge of the Sisters of St. Francis, who were the first nurses, and a staff of physicians and surgeons was recruited immediately among the medical fraternity. Though maintained and supported principally by Catholic charity, St. Joseph's Hospital has always been an open hospital offering its services to the afflicted without restriction because of religion. Opened as a hospital for incurables, and still maintaining wards for incurables, St. Joseph's Hospital has been developed as a general medical, surgical and maternity hospital, with laboratories and operating rooms, and new departments, including one for physiotherapy. The original new hospital building has been enlarged, and in 1929-30 an extension of the main building practically doubled the capacity. A home for nurses, across Peace street from the hospital buildings, was erected in 1913. Fire gutted two floors and burned through the roof of the main building on the morning of February 23, 1930. Other damage was done by the tons of water poured into the building by firemen. Patients were removed to places of safety by Sisters, nurses, doctors and attendants. Part of the damage not covered by insurance was reimbursed by a popular subscription in which citizens of all creeds participated. With the new construction, the hospital has 300 beds. In 1929 ward patients numbered 3387, and 12,825 persons were treated as outpatients. The annual deficits incurred in maintaining this hospital were met by collections taken in Catholic churches until the inauguration of the Catholic charity fund in 1927; the hospital participates in the proceeds of the annual drive for Catholic charities. The work for incurables was extended in 1904 by the opening of a camp for treating tuberculosis at Hillsgrove; the Hillsgrove camp has been developed into a hospital for consumptives, which is conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis as a branch of St. Joseph's Hospital, under the name of St. Francis Home for Consumptives.

**HOSPITAL RESOURCES**—The hospital resources of Rhode Island in 1930 include ten general medical, surgical and maternity hospitals, located one each in Central Falls, Newport, Pawtucket, Wakefield, Westerly and Woonsocket, and four in Providence—Rhode Island, St. Joseph's, Homeopathic, and Miriam; the City Hospital in Providence, for contagious diseases and general treatment except surgery; the Lying-in Hospital, for maternity cases, in Providence; two hospitals for tuberculosis—the State Sanatorium at Wallum Lake, and St. Francis Home for Consumptives at Hillsgrove; the United States naval hospital at Newport; two hospitals for the insane—the State Hospital for Mental Diseases at Howard, and Butler Hospital in Providence. Besides these, there are several surgical hospitals and other private hospitals, and rest homes for convalescents and other retreats for persons seeking quiet surroundings and relief from the nervous excitement of the modern world. Among Rhode Island's greatest health assets are the breezes and beaches of Narragansett Bay, hills still clad with virgin forests, climate tempered in winter and summer by proximity to the ocean, and abundance of pure water for drinking, bathing and facilitating the disposition of waste. Rhode Island is an unusually clean state; it is that and the painstaking care that has been given to the suppression of insanitary nuisances that has made possible a healthy population of more than 600 to the square mile for the whole state, and of 22,000 on one square mile in the city of Central Falls, which is the most compactly populated city in the world.

MODERN PRACTICE—The practice of medicine has changed almost completely since the doctor's standard remedies were bleeding, cathartic, emetic and opiate. Contributing causes have been: (1) Research studies in anatomy and physiology, which with anaesthetic and aseptic treatment have developed amputation into modern surgery; (2) revaluation of materia medica, with almost exact determination of the effects of drug and dosage; (3) revision of pharmacopeia and establishment of standards for drugs of all kinds; (4) determination of the curative effect of drugs, and the development of forms assimilative through digestion or effective through hypodermic injections; (5) bacteriological studies of germ diseases, and the development of vaccines and toxins; (6) minutely detailed studies of diseases of all kinds so extensive in some fields as to determine the limits of specialization; (7) specific studies of particular organs and their functions; (8) laboratory, clinical and hospital facilities of medical schools; (9) general and special hospitals with the opportunities afforded for case studies; (10) recognition of trained nursing practices as essential elements in successful curative treatment; (11) the professional attitude of doctors toward the introduction of new types of treatment.

Specialization had appeared in Rhode Island so early as the eighteenth century in the work, practice and teaching of the doctors in Newport. Rhode Island doctors who were trained in the universities of Europe had caught the spirit of specialization, which had developed experts in particular fields. American medical schools, including the short-lived department at Brown University, recognized specialization in the selection as teachers of doctors who had achieved reputation in particular departments. The development of hospitals and of hospital departments indicated further progress in the same direction; departmentalization was specialization, and the head of a department either was or became a specialist. The vastness of the field of curative practice was revealed by research studies, and the practical lesson for medical schools was applied in the training of doctors with general acquaintance with the whole field, but for the most part with particular emphasis upon a special field.

Surgery was early distinguished from medicine; but modern surgery is subdivided and highly specialized by experts who deal with organs or parts of the body. Medicine no longer is related merely to primary reactions of the intestinal tract; it reaches out to particular applications to organic functioning; hence the cardiac, renal, gastric, and other specialists in internal medicine. Neurotic and mental diseases are specialized. Eye, ear, nose, throat, skin, teeth, hair, bones, etc., belong to other experts. Besides the readjustive practices of osteopath and chiropractor, are the modern physiotherapy and hydrotherapy. The human body is the most complicated machine that the mind of man has studied, and its mastery requires more specialization and a finer division of labor than has ever been devised by any captain of industry in achieving the minutiae of mass production with reference to any of the marvels of the twentieth century. "Know thyself" was the Greek philosopher's challenge to his own fellow countrymen and the complaining millions of succeeding generations. Yet with all of the conquest by science of medical knowledge no man yet has mastered even physical man in the completeness of the human body. Rhode Island is fortunately well provided with finely trained physicians and surgeons, including specialists whose reputation brings them clientage from other states, and in the rural sections still a few of the faithful type of old-fashioned practitioners who travel long distances over good, bad and indifferent roads to visit their patients.

DENTISTRY—The versatile Paul Revere, besides disturbing the peaceful slumbers of Middlesex farmers on the occasion of a midnight ride "on the eighteenth of April in seventy-five," was a silversmith and occasionally practiced dentistry of the "abstraction" type. Early in the nineteenth century dentistry of the "construction" type, that is, the production and fitting of false teeth, was advertised in public newspapers. "Many a man is now alive who remembers" the beginning of modern dentistry with its engineering feats of bridge construction and plumbing in the marvelously contrived masticating mill which provides action in the opening chapter of digestion. The dentist has changed with the progress of dentistry; he is now a carefully

trained practitioner, admitted to the pursuit of his profession only after satisfactory proof of accomplishment in a school or college of dentistry and demonstration of his manual skill before a board of examiners. The development parallels three-quarters of a century of popular education emphasizing the possibility of preserving the teeth and the important part that the teeth played in the retention of good health. One of the earliest tooth powders—Calder's Dentine—was compounded and manufactured in Rhode Island. Public school programs for health education have emphasized attention to the teeth, and dental inspection is legally a part of medical inspection. Rhode Island dentists have attained distinction in their profession, as indicated by prominent activity in national organizations.

**TRAINED NURSING**—Another development within almost the same period has been trained nursing, which has been raised from the kindly practices of midwifery to a professional status, with the building of hospitals. The first hospital nurses were not trained when admitted; the first woman assistant of the hospital superintendent was usually designated "matron." The hospital training school for nurses served the purpose of improving internal service until extension was suggested by the discovery of a field for trained nurses outside of hospitals. All the larger hospitals in Rhode Island train nurses; the approved preparation of the registered nurse, that is, the nurse certificated by the state board of examiners, includes service in various departments of a general hospital or in several specialized hospitals. In this work the hospitals have extended their facilities for the practical apprentice training of graduates of medical schools enrolled as internes. The service of registered nurses is part of the public health program in most Rhode Island towns and cities, whether it be supported by public appropriation or by philanthropy or both coöperatively. The medical inspection law for schools permits expenditure for school visitation by registered nurses. District nursing associations, local chapters of the Red Cross, religious and benevolent societies aid in supporting the work of visiting and caring for the sick and disabled at home.

**THE ORGANIZATION FOR HEALTH**—Besides the nurses engaged in hospitals and in public or quasi-public service, there are other registered nurses available for private nursing in homes or private hospitals, and many who serve as assistants in regular practice to doctors.

With the medical profession also are associated chemists, bacteriologists, masseurs, X-ray photographers, operators of new and complicated machines introduced as new features of manipulative, electric, ray or mechanical treatments; manufacturers of teeth and other dental appliances; mechanics who make artificial and prosthetic appliances, braces, crutches, shoes; makers of new tools for operative surgeons, and the professional pharmacists who compound prescriptions. The health needs of over 650,000 people engage the services of hundreds of physicians and surgeons of various schools, dentists, nurses, attendants, mechanics and manufacturers. If the attention to health in modern times suggests that the modern Rhode Islander is not so virile, vigorous, healthy and wholesome physically as his predecessors and ancestors, the answer is found in the conquest of contagious diseases, in the relief from epidemic and endemic, and in the longer life of the average inhabitant—increased some ten years in the last half-century.





## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### ART AND LITERATURE IN RHODE ISLAND.



NE who would understand the glory that was Newport's in the ninetieth year from the hegira from Portsmouth must contemplate the brilliance of George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, and appreciate his selection of Newport as the finest town on the American seaboard. Berkeley came in princely grandeur, surrounded by a train of courtiers and attendants; he postponed his departure full two years beyond the contemplated length of his sojourn, and extended the circle of his admirers among the elite of Newport. One of those who came with Berkeley was John Smibert, a distinguished painter, the first artist to seek occupation for his talent in America. He found in Newport an appreciative clientele, members of which were willing and able to pay for portraits. His pictures of Berkeley\* and Jonathan Edwards have preserved for posterity the features of the great Irish and the great American preachers. In the collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society the portrait of Mrs. Joseph Wanton is attributed to Smibert. To Newport came also Robert Feke, the first American artist who attained distinction, and Feke also found patronage among the brilliant society of colonial Newport. A few portraits by Feke have been preserved in the galleries of the Newport Historical Society and the Redwood Library. Others of those who were attracted to Newport included Cosmo Alexander, a Scotch painter, who would be remembered, if for no other reason, because he was the first teacher of Gilbert Stuart and took Stuart with him to Europe for further study. Yet Cosmo Alexander himself was a distinguished painter of portraits; two of his pictures, those of President James Manning and Mrs. Manning are hung in the collection in Sayles Hall at Brown University. The lure which drew colonial artists—European and American—to Newport was as certain as that which in the twentieth century attracts artists, sculptors, architects, poets, essayists, novelists, critics, musicians, actors and others who have talent, or believe they have it, to great cities and centers of culture and wealth.

STUART AND MALBONE—Two painters who achieved fame were born in Rhode Island in the eighteenth century—Gilbert Stuart and Edward G. Malbone. Each was a genius; there was no Murillo in Rhode Island to make either a painter. Gilbert Stuart was born in Narragansett, December 3, 1755. He once located his birthplace in this way: "I was born in Narragansett, six miles from Pottawoone and ten miles from Poppasquash, and about four miles from Conanicut, and not far from the spot where the famous battle with the Pequots was fought . . . in the state of Rhode Island, between Massachusetts and Connecticut River." Elizabeth Anthony of Middletown was his mother. To Newport came Gilbert Stuart, born in Perth, Scotland. Unwisely, perhaps, but with the romantic fervor of youth, he had taken up arms in the cause of Charles Edward, the young Pretender, and after the battle of Culloden had been constrained to flee from Scotland. He married Elizabeth Anthony and took his bride with him to the house and snuffmill at the head of Pettaquamscott Pond, he as active, managing partner with Dr. Thomas Moffat of Newport. At the snuffmill, still preserved, Gilbert Stuart, Jr., was born, youngest of three children. Reverend James McSparran baptized the child in old St. Paul's Church on Palm Sunday of 1756. The Stuart family removed to Newport, and there Gilbert Stuart was a pupil in the Kay school connected with Trinity Parish. He displayed precocity in drawing, and Dr. William Hunter gave him colors and brushes. He painted a picture of two Spanish dogs, which is still preserved in Newport. At age thirteen he painted the portraits of

\*At Yale University.

Mr. and Mrs. John Bannister, which hang in the Redwood Library; and at age sixteen a portrait of his father. Meanwhile, in 1770, he became a student of Cosmo Alexander, and when the latter returned to Edinburgh, accompanied him. The teacher died, and Gilbert Stuart returned to Newport. He went abroad again in 1775 to study with Benjamin West, attended lectures on painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds and on anatomy by Dr. Cruickshank. While a student he painted the Duke of Northumberland and his five children, George III, king of England, and the Prince of Wales, who became George IV. John Trumbull, four of whose murals hang in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, was a student with Stuart.

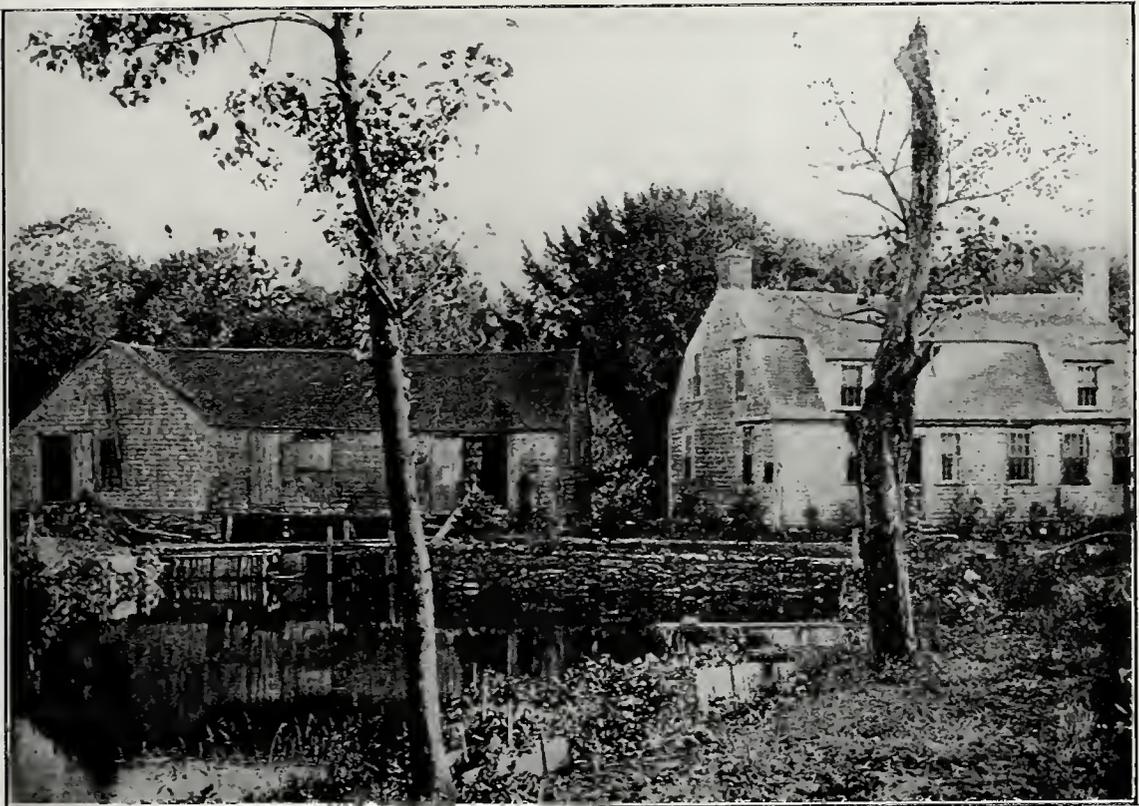
Settling in London, Stuart continued to paint. His portrait of Mr. Grant, a Scotchman, skating, painted at this period, was exhibited in 1878 as the work of Gainsborough, and has also been attributed to Benjamin West. He painted portraits of Benjamin West\* and of Sir Joshua Reynolds. His art was recognized, and he became one of the most popular painters in the London which knew West, Reynolds and Gainsborough. He married Charlotte Coates of Berkshire, England, in 1786, and removed in 1788 to Dublin, where his art and conviviality won him adoption by the Irish. "Oh, nobody ever painted a head as our Irish Stuart could," remarked one of his admirers. His heart longed for America, and thither he returned in 1792 to paint at Philadelphia in 1794. Stuart attained as much popularity in America as he had in London and in Dublin. He removed from Philadelphia to Washington, and thence in 1805 to Boston. He died July 27, 1828, and was buried on Boston Common in a grave which has not been identified. Washington Allston's obituary notice in the "Boston Daily Avertiser" paid eloquent tribute to Gilbert Stuart: "Stuart . . . soon rose to eminence" in England; "nor was it a slight distinction that his claims were acknowledged, even during the life of Sir Joshua Reynolds. His high reputation as a portrait painter, as well in Ireland as in England, having thus introduced him to a large acquaintance among the higher classes of society, both fortune and fame attended his progress, insomuch that, had he chosen to remain in England, they would doubtless have awarded him their highest gift. But, admired and patronized as he was, he chose to return to his native country. He was impelled to this step, as he often declared, by a desire to give to Americans a faithful portrait of Washington, and thus, in some measure, to associate his own with the name of the Father of His Country. And well is his ambition justified in the sublime head he has left us; a nobler personification of wisdom and goodness, reposing in the majesty of a serene countenance, is not to be found on canvas. . . . Gilbert Stuart was not only one of the first painters of his time, but must have been admitted, by all who had an opportunity of knowing him, to have been, even out of his art, an extraordinary man; one who would have found distinction easy in any other walk of life. His mind was of a strong and original cast, his perceptions as clear as they were just, and in the power of illustration he has rarely been equalled. On almost every subject, more especially on such as were connected with his art, his conversation was marked by wisdom and knowledge, while the uncommon precision and eloquence of his language seemed ever to receive an additional grace from his manner, which was that of a well-bred gentleman. . . . Gilbert Stuart was, in its widest sense, a philosopher in his art; he thoroughly understood its principles, as his works bear witness—whether as to the harmony of color, or of lines, or of light and shadow—showing that exquisite sense of a whole which only a man of genius can realize and embody."

Stuart's admirers rank him with the great masters of portraiture of all time—with Titian, Rembrandt, Valesquez, Van Dyck and Reynolds. Stuart's best known portraits are those of George Washington, of which there are a number of originals, and a much larger number of replicas, including two full length portraits, one in the State House at Providence, and another in the new Court House at Newport. His picture of William Constable is said to be the finest portrait ever painted. By others his pictures of Judge Steven Jones and of F. S. Richardson are considered his greatest works. Besides George Washington and Martha Washington, he

\*In the Ann Mary Brown Memorial at Providence.



GILBERT STUART  
A Sketch Drawn by the Artist Himself



BIRTHPLACE OF GILBERT STUART, NEAR SAUNDERSTOWN



painted five other Presidents and the wives of the Presidents as follows: John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams. His pictures include also John Jay, Joseph Story, and Theodore Sedgwick, of the Supreme Court of the United States; Commodores John Barry, Bainbridge, Chauncey, Stephen Decatur, Isaac Hull, Macdonough, Oliver H. Perry, and Captain James Lawrence, of the United States Navy; Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin and Admiral Barrington, English; Generals Dearborn, Horatio Gates, Thomas Mifflin, William Hull, Henry Knox, Henry Lee, Colonel and Mrs. Timothy Pickering and Colonel John Trumbull; Jerome Bonaparte and Madam Bonaparte, Edward Everett, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Revere, Daniel Webster, Washington Allston, Horace Binney, John Singleton Copley, Fisher Ames, John Jacob Astor, William Seton; Archbishop John Carroll, founder of Georgetown University; Bishop Cheverus of Boston, afterward a Cardinal; Reverend William Ellery Channing, and a long list of other distinguished men and women. His English pictures include portraits of Benjamin West, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Mrs. Siddons, the actress. Among Rhode Islanders, mostly Newporters, painted by Gilbert Stuart were: Mr. and Mrs. John Bannister, Thomas and John Callender, Mr. and Mrs. George Calvert, Charles D'Wolf of Bristol, Mrs. Sullivan Dorr of Providence, Mr. and Mrs. George Gibbs and Colonel George Gibbs, Benjamin Lincoln Lear, the Lopez family and Isaac Touro.

Two full-length portraits of George Washington, replicas, hang, one in the state reception room in the State House at Providence, and the other in the new Court House at Newport. Both were painted by Gilbert Stuart in Philadelphia, pursuant to a resolution adopted at the February, 1800, session of the General Assembly, which was as follows: "The citizens of this state having, on all proper occasions, uniformly expressed their inviolate attachment to the person of the late General Washington, and their entire approbation of his conduct in public and private life; the General Assembly, deeply impressed with the importance of perpetuating his eminent virtues, which have shone with unrivalled lustre, and of transmitting to posterity the high estimate in which he is held by his fellow-citizens, and of giving them an opportunity of securing the likeness of the man who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen; and who expressed in his features the benevolence of his nature, maintained in his person the dignity of his mind; do resolve, that two portraits of him drawn at full length by some eminent artist, with suitable frames, be procured at the expense of the State, and that one of them be placed in the Senate Chamber in each of the State Houses in the counties of Newport and Providence." Approximately 100 years later the Providence portrait was removed from the old State House in Providence to the present State House. The Newport portrait remained in the old State House there until the completion of the new Court House for Newport County. The commission for painting the portraits of Washington was given to Gilbert Stuart, who was paid \$1200 for both. Both pictures maintain the benign nobility with which Stuart idealized the face of Washington; both are stately, dignified full-length portraits. The painting at Providence is considered one of the finest in existence.\* Another Stuart Washington hangs in the gallery of Rhode Island School of Design. Mr. Marsden J. Perry owns a Stuart Washington which once belonged to President James Madison.

Edward Greene Malbone was born in Newport, in August, 1777. Like Gilbert Stuart, he was a precocious genius. As a lad he painted a complete landscape setting for the stage of a Newport theatre. When aged only seventeen he had established a studio in Providence as a professional portrait painter. Removing thence to Boston two years later, he tarried until 1800. He went to Charleston, South Carolina, with Washington Allston, who had studied art in his boyhood days in Newport, and who further attached himself to Rhode Island by marrying a sister of William Ellery Channing. Perhaps it was the Viking blood of the race of Malbone fighting sea captains and privateersmen from whom he was descended that sent young Malbone off on a voyage across the Atlantic to England and back again within a year in the restless

\*It is not for sale. Two offers of \$40,000 were rejected.

career which was ended by death at Savannah, Georgia, May 7, 1807, in the thirtieth year of his age. In his later years his health was delicate, and he had sought relief at Bermuda and in climate less rigorous than that of New England. Malbone's finest painting is "The Hours," an allegory in which three women represent Past, Present, and Future. "The Hours" hangs in the Providence Athenaeum, for which it was purchased in 1854. Malbone's fame, however, rests upon his miniatures, which have a charm which has stood the test of time and which makes them after a century and a quarter perhaps only a little less treasured than they were by the belles whom he beautified by painting them and the beaux who were delighted to shower him with commissions to paint their ladies fair. For Malbone's art was not like the realistic record of the camera, so much as a revelation of beauty in woman. Malbone ranks with the greatest miniature painters of all times. Benjamin West praised Malbone's work for "dignity, character and expression." To James Monroe, West said: "I have seen a picture by a young man of the name of Malbone, which no man in England could excel." The Providence Athenaeum has a Malbone miniature of Nicholas Power, father of Sarah Helen Power Whitman, and others are treasured in private collections.

OTHER EARLY ARTISTS—The art tradition was established earlier in Rhode Island than anywhere else in English North America, and has been ably sustained. Washington Allston, Rhode Islander neither by birth nor by career, though educated at Newport and intimately associated with Stuart and Malbone, received his earliest instruction in painting in Newport. Several unusual portraits which hang in the Redwood Library were painted by Charles B. King, who was born in Newport in 1785, studied in London with Benjamin West, and was later well known as an artist in Philadelphia and Washington. Jane Stuart, daughter of Gilbert Stuart, made Newport her home. While much of her work consisted of faithful copying, she had inherited some of the talent of her illustrious father and painted original portraits of merit. The picture of Gilbert Stuart in the collection at Brown University was painted by Jane Stuart. Sarah Wickes Lippitt, born in Providence in 1789, studied art in Italy. The portrait of Benjamin West at Moses Brown School, a copy, was painted by Miss Lippitt. An original painting of Benjamin West, by Gilbert Stuart, is in the Ann Mary Brown Memorial in Providence. Richard M. Staigg painted miniatures in Newport until the fashion changed; afterward Staigg was a successful painter of life-size portraits. His reputation rests upon his miniatures, which are rated among the best produced in America. Thomas Young of Providence painted many portraits early in the nineteenth century, among them those of Captain Thomas Cole and Doctor John M. Eddy, which hang in the gallery of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Near the Stone Bridge, on the Tiverton side of the Seaconnet River, Charles Durfee was born February 23, 1793. Self-trained and original, his pictures, several of which have been preserved, reveal decided genius. Others among the many painters of portraits who lived and worked in Rhode Island were: C. G. Thompson, who had a studio in Providence and who was father of three children who became painters. Of these Cephas Giovanni Thompson was the most distinguished. His portraits included those of Senator Henry B. Anthony; of Sarah Helen Power Whitman, in the Providence Athenaeum; and of Mrs. Joshua B. Chapin. Sanford Mason painted the picture of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, and Susannah Paine painted that of Catherine Williams, both of which are in the Rhode Island Historical Society gallery. Kingsley C. Gladding, Edward L. Peckham and George Harris are represented by pictures in the same collection. The old "Town House," by Harris, is noted as "A Marvel of Missionaier-like finish and accuracy." George P. A. Healy, of Rhode Island, painted King Louis Philippe of France and so pleased Louis Philippe that the latter commissioned Healy to paint the royal family. Healy's Rhode Island portraits include those of President Francis Wayland and of Henry Wheaton in the Brown University collection. The portrait of Governor John Brown Francis in the Corridor of Governors at the State House is a copy of a painting by Healy, the copy made by John Nelson Arnold. Lest the portrait of Oliver Cromwell in the Brown Uni-

versity collection by Martin J. Heade deceive as to the latter's era, the original life picture of Bishop Thomas M. Clarke, by the same artist, will help to correct the chronology. James Sullivan Lincoln, 1811-1888, painted nearly 4000 portraits, including several hundred "painted photographs," in a career of sixty years in Providence. The portraits of Governors Byron Dimon, Elisha Dyer (1), Thomas G. Turner, James Y. Smith and Ambrose E. Burnside, in the State House; of Mayor Bridgham and five other mayors in the Providence City Hall; of Zachariah Allen in the gallery of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and of Colonel Shaw, prized by Harvard University, were painted by Lincoln. The State House painting of Governor Lemuel H. Arnold is a copy made by Lincoln. Lincoln's picture of Charles Lippitt is pronounced "in color, modelling and expression, one of the finest heads ever painted." A contemporary of Lincoln, Mrs. Joshua B. Chapin, 1814-1890, was a painter and teacher of painting, some of whose pictures are in the gallery at Rhode Island School of Design. Mrs. Chapin was one of the earliest artists to recognize the possibilities of expression in portraiture through photography, and to lessen the monotony of the dull prints of the period by tinting them with colors.

THE HOPPINS—At Roger Williams Park a colossal bronze dog keeps silent but vigilant watch as it has for more than half a century there and at John and Benefit Streets in Providence. The dog's name is "Sentinel." The sculptor of what is probably the first piece of bronze statuary cast in America was Thomas F. Hoppin, scion of a family which had produced a Governor of Rhode Island. Two other statues by Hoppin are "David Preparing to Cast the Stone," and "Hagar and Ishmael." Thomas F. Hoppin was a versatile artist in several media. In the studio which he opened in New York City after returning from study in Paris he designed the stained glass chancel window of Trinity Church, in which the Four Evangelists are depicted. He married and settled in Providence, opening a studio and continuing his life work in art. His painting, "A Battery Going into Action," is described as "a work replete with splendid movement and spirited drawing of men and horses." His etching, "Putnam Relating His Adventure with the Wolf," is an admirable expression of his fondness for illustrating American history. These four examples of art of the finest type, each one of which reveals extraordinary talent and consummate mastery of technique, must suffice to indicate the contribution of this great Rhode Island artist to culture. Augustus Hoppin, brother of Thomas F. Hoppin, was a painter and illustrator, his work most familiar to Rhode Islanders being the drawings for Albert G. Greene's "Old Grimes." The poem, so quaint and original that it had an immediate vogue and maintains the reputation of a classic, was scarcely more noteworthy than the illustrations by Augustus Hoppin. Books illustrated by Augustus Hoppin sold for his inimitable pictures quite as much as for the text by the writer. Besides illustrating books, Augustus Hoppin was a writer. Augustus Hoppin deserted the Bar, for which he had been trained at Harvard Law School after graduation from Brown University, and chose the career of an artist. Two other brothers, Washington Hoppin and Cortland Hoppin, both practicing physicians, were artists by avocation. All the brothers were artists, and all had talent. The Hoppin tradition persists in the work of Colonel H. Anthony Dyer and the Colonel's daughter, Nancy Dyer, whose character drawings and caricatures recall the art of Augustus Hoppin.

AFTER 1850—The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of a new group of artists, contemporaries, five of whom began painting in 1855. Of these, John Nelson Arnold, 1834-1909, continued the traditional school of portraiture. As an apprentice he learned hand skill as an engraver of jewelry, but chose pictorial art as his avocation, and made it his vocation. His most familiar portraits are those of Governors Henry B. Anthony and Henry Lippitt in the State House; of Mayors Doyle, Clarke and Potter in the Providence City Hall; of President Sears, Judge Pitman, General Varnum and Dr. Woods in Sayles Hall at Brown University. Others of his portraits are in the Providence Public Library and at the Rhode Island

Historical Society. He published "Art and Artists in Rhode Island," in 1905.\* "Arnold was an expert restorer of old paintings, whose skill in this line was much sought after," wrote an admirer, himself an able art critic. "He was an authority in Rhode Island art history, a fine interpreter of Shakespeare, and a thoroughly informed man of a philosophical and kindly turn of mind." Arnold acknowledged indebtedness for technique and inspiration to Thomas H. Robinson, 1834-1888, who passed on to a group of his contemporaries, including Arnold, the knowledge acquired during a short course at a New York school of art. Robinson is best remembered for his paintings of dogs and horses. His "Oxen Ploughing" hangs in the Boston Museum of Art. Marcus Waterman, 1834-1914, another of the group, is represented in the choice collection of Rhode Island paintings at Rhode Island School of Design. His most widely known pictures are "Gulliver in Lilliput," "The Roc's Egg," and "Journey to the City of Brass." His other paintings include American forest scenes and Arabian subjects. Frederick S. Batcheller became a painter of still life after being trained as a marble carver. Of his works, still familiar in the originals and by lithographic reproductions, it was said: "Fruit, flowers, landscapes, marines, portraits, game figures and animals hung side by side, and while there was good work in all of these, especially in drawing, it was evident at a glance that his strongest point was still life. The surface texture of his melons, peaches, strawberries, and other fruit, was perfect, the color rich, but with all the tone and repose of nature." The fifth of the group, James M. Lewin, was a popular painter of landscapes, choosing to portray beautiful scenes in Rhode Island.

George William Whitaker, 1840-1916, in his day "dean of Rhode Island artists," was trained as an engraver, and in New York met George Inness, who encouraged him to develop his art and talent. Whitaker studied abroad at Fontainebleau and Barbizon in France, and settled in Rhode Island. He was a prolific painter of "glowing sunsets, tender twilights, poetic moonlights, misty mornings, sunny pastures, gray days and mysterious forest depths," the tone of his art exemplifying his favorite maxim, "all art is emotional and proceeds from the heart rather than the brain." The Moses Brown School collection includes Whitaker's "Niagara Falls" and "Mount Chocorua," which dominates so much of the landscape of southern New Hampshire. Other pictures by Whitaker are in the Rhode Island School of Design, the Providence Art Club, and in private collections. Edward M. Bannister, 1828-1901, won a prize medal for his "Under the Oaks," which was exhibited at the Centennial Exposition in 1876. "The delicate, pearly clouds, 'shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind,' the purple distances, the sedgy pool and lichen-covered rocks of the rugged pastures never had a more loving, humble or reverent interpreter than he" in dozens of remarkable canvases. The School of Design displays several Bannisters. Edward C. Leavitt, 1842-1904, painted fruit, flowers, game and bronzes, which were sold to a widely scattered clientele. Several of the Leavitt still life studies are in the Narragansett Hotel collection. Charles Walter Stetson, born at Tiverton, 1858, died in Rome, 1911, was a protege of Whitaker, and became world famous for his art in color effects. He spent the later years of his life in Italy; at the International Exposition of 1904 an entire room was allotted to the display of paintings by Stetson.

Others of Rhode Island artists who achieved reputation abroad were George Hitchcock and Walter Francis Brown. George Hitchcock was a direct descendant of Roger Williams, born in Rhode Island in 1850, graduated from Brown University in 1872 and from Harvard Law School in 1874. After five years of law practice he chose art as his vocation, forsaking the Bar, as had Augustus Hoppin. Charles Hitchcock, father of George, had been a painter. Hitchcock spent most of his later life in Europe. He painted Dutch tulip beds, peasant types and other pictures which were popular. His pictures hang in the Dresden gallery; Chicago Art Institute; Imperial collection, Vienna; McCullough collection, London; and Rhode Island School of Design. He was awarded medals by the American Art Association, 1887; honorable

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\*The author acknowledges indebtedness to this work, and to an informal supplement by William Alden Brown of Providence.

mention, Paris, 1887; gold medal, Paris, 1889; other medals at Berlin, 1896; World's Columbian Exposition, 1893; Dresden, 1897; Vienna, 1898; Munich, 1901. He was a member of Franz Josef Order, Austria; Munich Secession; Vienna Association of Arts. Hitchcock died on the Island of Marken, Holland, August 2, 1913. Walter Francis Brown, who spent his later years principally in Italy, is represented in Rhode Island by the large murals in the John Hay Library at Brown University, portraying "The Acropolis" and "The Parthenon."

Of artists of foreign birth who settled in Rhode Island, Johannes Certel, a Bavarian, painted what, with the exception of "Fruit of the Loom," is the most widely known of Rhode Island pictures through reproduction in lithograph and engraving, the "Rock of Ages." The painting shows a woman clinging to a cross in mid-ocean. The religious tone is exemplified also in Certel's well-known "Walk to Emmaus," which has been reproduced and published widely. Eimrich Rein, a landscape artist of foreign origin, painted "Squantum." Mathureu Arthur Andrieu, French, settled in Rhode Island in 1862, and painted "City of Providence" and "Nar-ragansett Bay," besides other panoramas of "Sugar Plantation," "City of Chicago," and "Penobscot River." Hugo Breul, born in Germany, and art student in Munich, with Boulanger in Paris and William M. Chase in America, painted portraits of Governors, Mayors and other prominent citizens, which hang in the State House, Providence City Hall, Rhode Island Historical Society and Sayles Hall at Brown University. His Governors include Herbert W. Ladd, Elisha Dyer (2), Charles Dean Kimball, George H. Utter, Henry Howard and John W. Davis. The painting of Frank E. Holden, Speaker, in the House retiring room at the State House, is by Breul. Other pictures by Breul include Professor William Gammell, Judge Carpenter, and Alfred M. Williams, editor of the "Providence Journal."

LATER PAINTERS—Sidney R. Burleigh was, in 1930, "dean of Rhode Island artists." Born in Little Compton in 1853, he has achieved reputation as one of the finest water color painters in America. In his long life and devotion to art, in his relations with students and painters, he had done much to maintain fine traditions, and in his chosen field to strengthen the position of water color painting. The striking portrait of Lieutenant Governor Roswell B. Burchard in the gallery of Speakers at the State House was painted by Burleigh, neighbor of Governor Burchard at Little Compton. A contemporary of Burleigh, W. Staples Drown, deceased, is remembered for his Irish peasant cottages, English thatched cottages and gardens. Elijah Baxter, painter of marines and landscapes, with studio at Newport; George W. Hays, known for landscapes and pictures of cattle and sheep; Stacy Tolman, talented painter of portraits, figures, landscapes, and flowers; Frank C. Mathewson, whose panels of flowers exhibit rare delicacy, and whose paintings of South County landscapes in oil and water colors are highly prized, belong to the older group of Rhode Island artists, as does H. Cyrus Farnum, versatile painter of African subjects, portraits, and landscapes in America, Holland and Bermuda. At the State House Farnum's portraits include those of Governors William Gregory, Charles Warren Lippitt, and Francis M. Dimond, the last a reproduction; and Speakers James H. Armington, Joseph P. Burlingame, Arthur W. Dennis, William C. Bliss, Ambrose Kennedy, Frank F. Davis, Frank H. Hammill, Arthur P. Sumner and Philip C. Joslin. Colonel H. Anthony Dyer, whose forebears include a line of Rhode Island Governors as well as the Hoppin family, is the most widely known Rhode Island artist of the twentieth century. His water colors portray the landscapes of America, Ireland, France, England, Holland, Switzerland and Italy.

The Rhode Island School of Design, founded in 1877 with one of its purposes the promotion of art, has achieved its mission in the group of younger artists, who sometimes are referred to as the "School of Design group." Angela O'Leary, who died in 1921, painted water colors portraying picturesque old shop fronts on South Main Street in Providence. Others of this group include Mabel M. Woodward, painter of landscapes; F. Usher De Vall, landscapist and painter of quaint sections of old New York; Robert H. Nisbet, landscapist; Carl J. Nordell, painter of portraits and figures; Emma Parker Nordell, whose graceful studies of child life are

familiar; Eliza D. Gardiner, wood block printer; William H. Drury, marine painter; Antonio Cirino, landscapist and painter of water front scenes; Stephen W. Macomber, painter of moonlight scenes. To this group also belongs Wilfred I. Duphiney, whose portraits of Governors Emery J. San Souci and William S. Flynn hang in the State House, and who has painted a remarkable picture of Bishop William A. Hickey. Percy A. Albee, another of the School of Design group, chose murals for his work; some of his earliest murals are in Memorial Hall at Rhode Island School of Design. With his wife, Grace Arnold Albee, he has a studio at Paris. An etching by Albee was exhibited in 1930 at the Providence Art Club. Joseph Lindon Smith, native of Pawtucket, is honorary curator of Egyptian art of the Boston Museum of Art. His mural paintings may be found in the Boston Public Library and Horticultural Hall, Philadelphia. He is represented at Rhode Island School of Design, Smithsonian Institution, Corcoran Art Gallery, Chicago Art Institute, Boston Museum, Gardner collection, Radeke Museum, and Harvard University.

Other Rhode Island artists include Clara Maxfield Arnold, a talented painter of flowers and fruit; Louise M. Angell; Julia Brewster, teacher of art and painter of charming Algerian scenes; Chester L. Dodge and Ralph L. Foster, both of whom have done much to elevate applied art; Arthur E. Sims, a talented sky painter; R. H. Ives Gammell, whose portraits and decorative panels are gaining him wide recognition; C. Gordon Harris, a rising landscape painter; Nellie M. Pairpoint, teacher, painter of sheep and illustrator; Sophia L. Pitman, teacher of art at Moses Brown School; Stowell B. Sherman, a disciple of the Rockport group; Dorothy Hunter Brown, a painter of very artistic children's portraits; Nancy C. Jones, who paints crisp water color and oils in the modern manner; Asa Randall, painter and teacher of art in the public schools; Gino E. Conti, a young graduate of the Rhode Island School of Design; William C. Loring, for years an instructor at Rhode Island School of Design and painter of portraits of distinguished citizens, including the late Richard B. Comstock, and Governor Aram J. Pothier; Will Samuel Taylor, who has come recently to Rhode Island to become head of the department of art at Brown University; John Elliott of Newport, whose works include ceiling decorations in the Boston Public Library and murals in the National Museum at Washington; and, among contemporary Newport artists, Helena Sturtevant, Louisa C. Sturtevant, Mrs. Mabel Norman Cerio, Mrs. Margaret Pumpelli Smythe, Emily Burling Waite, Louise Heustis and Mrs. Ruth Payne Burgess. Other American artists who have lived and painted in Newport include John La Farge, William Morris Hunt, Benjamin Curtis Porter, Albert Steiner and William Sergeant Kendall.

ARTISTS NOT PAINTERS—In other departments of art, Arthur W. Heintzelman of Rhode Island, whose success has led him to Europe, is one of the world's most eminent living etchers. Lester Hornby of Pawtucket has achieved enviable recognition among modern etchers. Newspaper illustrators include Loomis, whose work with chalk plate in the early days of portrait sketching and line cartooning achieved national reputation; Hallady, whose cartoons, some of them inspired by Rathom, have awakened sympathy by their pathos, induced politicians to despair by penetration of their wiles, or set the whole state laughing by their unctuous humor; Laswell, who found in quaint buildings and in out-of-the-way places little changed in modern from olden times an inspiration for beautiful drawings; Loring, who is better known as "Nehi"; Marshall, whose lettering, backgrounds and motifs did much to improve newspaper illustration; and a great host of cartoonists and cameramen. John Hardy, Rhode Island sculptor, has designed many spirited World War memorials, his Doughboys in action being unexcelled. George O. Annable, who learned to carve marble in Providence, became an eminent sculptor and cutter of cameo portraits. Annable carved the marble busts of General Nathanael Greene and Judge Pitman, which are in the Providence Athenaeum, and that of President Francis Wayland at the Rhode Island Historical Society. Charles Hemenway, sculptor, learned his art in Rhode Island; his best known work is a bust of Bishop Thomas M. Clark. Henri Schonhardt



EDWARD G. MALBONE  
1777-1807



JAMES S. LINCOLN  
1811-1888



THOMAS H. ROBINSON  
1834-1888



AUGUSTUS HOPPIN  
1828-1896



EDWARD M. BANNISTER  
1828-1901



MRS. JOSHUA B. CHAPIN  
1814-1890



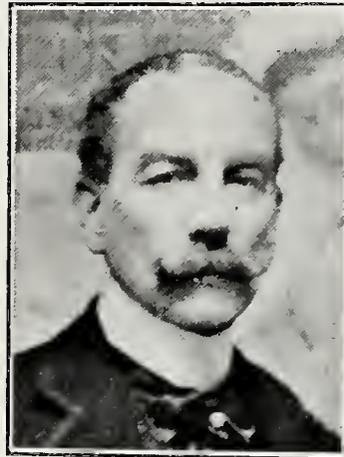
JOHN N. ARNOLD  
1834-1909



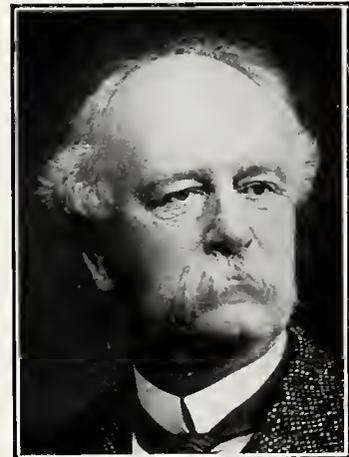
EDWARD C. LEAVITT  
1842-1904



CHARLES W. STETSON  
1858-1911



GEORGE HITCHCOCK  
1850-1913



GEORGE W. WHITAKER  
1840-1916

RHODE ISLAND PAINTERS



of Providence, sculptor, designed memorials to Colonel Henry T. Sisson at Little Compton and to Colonel Henry H. Young in City Hall Park, Providence. The Indian head, "Spirit of Wild Acre," in granite at C. J. Duval's country estate is by Schonhardt. Alfred H. Combe of Rhode Island did more than any other man in America to elevate the standard of taste in cemetery memorials. In architecture Rhode Island has an unusual wealth of fine types of Colonial and Georgian houses, planned and built by Rhode Islanders, to which the modern architect goes for inspiration and suggestion; there is a marked tendency to revert to these classic types in recent construction. Ecclesiastical architecture is exemplified in churches ranging from Greek temples with fine spires of Colonial days to the more recent adaptations of Gothic church and Roman basilica. The distinction which Rhode Island attained and maintains in jewelry and silversmithing rests upon the application of the art of the engraver and sculptor; hundreds have contributed to the production of the beautiful articles sold the world over as made in Rhode Island. The silver service made for the battleship Rhode Island, magnificent in design and proportion, and depicting in bas relief and engraving scenes illustrative of Rhode Island history, is exhibited in a case at the State Library in the State House; it was returned to Rhode Island when the battleship was retired.

ART RESOURCES—The art resources of Rhode Island are entirely in keeping with the traditions of the commonwealth in which occurred the earliest development of the fine arts in English North America. The state owns a valuable collection of portraits at the State House, besides other pictures in other public buildings. The portraits of Governors in the Corridor of Governors at the State House, and of Speakers in the retiring room of the House of Representatives include pictures by Arnold, Batcheller, Breul, Burleigh, Duphiney, Farnum, Lincoln, Loring and Mrs. Caroline Thurber, of familiar Rhode Island artists, besides others by Henry Mosler, Wilton Lockwood, Jared W. Flagg, Augustus Vincent Tack, R. S. Dunning, De Nevers, and Sarkis Diranian, painter of the striking portrait of Governor Norman S. Case. The unusual picture of Governor William Sprague, life size, mounted on a thoroughbred horse on the beach at Narragansett, is by N. R. Brewer. In the state reception room are the Stuart portrait of George Washington; a life size portrait of General Nathanael Greene and a spirited picture of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, both by Gari Melchers. A fine portrait of Henry Barnard, by F. Tuttle, hangs in the office of the Commissioner of Education. Another Stuart picture of Washington hangs in the Newport County Court House. In the Providence County Court House and Supreme Court House are portraits of judges. Rhode Island Historical Society, and Newport Historical Society both have collections of portraits of distinguished citizens by celebrated artists, as well as pictures portraying historical events. Redwood Library at Newport, and Providence Public Library have collections, the first including pictures by the early group of artists who painted at Newport. Brown University has a large collection of portraits, mostly of presidents and college professors, besides prominent citizens and benefactors of the college, which are hung on the walls of Sayles Hall. The Brown pictures include the work of Rhode Island and other distinguished artists. Providence College has a collection of paintings, including many original pictures and copies of paintings by celebrated European artists, some of them old masters, a gift to the college at its opening. Moses Brown School has a number of art treasures, including an oil portrait of John Greenleaf Whittier, portraits of other distinguished members of the Society of Friends, and paintings by Baxter, Bradford and Whitaker.

One of the finest art collections in New England is housed in the Ann Mary Brown Memorial on Brown Street in Providence, which was given in 1907 to Rhode Island by General Rush C. Hawkins as a memorial to his wife. The first main gallery in the memorial contains a collection of books printed between 1460 and 1500, consisting of first editions from the presses of the earliest European printers, with specimens of printing, bookmaking, illustration

and binding which give the memorial unusual distinction. The collection is rated as the finest collection of first prints in America. The second gallery at the Ann Mary Brown Memorial contains modern paintings, including works by Alfred Planzeau, Hugo Ballin, Edwin Lord Weeks, Alfred Agache, Gari Melchers, S. J. Lamorna Birch and many others. The third gallery is devoted to paintings by old masters, including works by Andrea Del Sarto, Claudio Coello, Rubens, Angelica Kaufman, and Adrian Van Ostade. Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Benjamin West is in this gallery. "The Holy Family," by Rubens, is one of the first paintings by that famous artist. Other articles of artistic and historical significance are included in this unique memorial.

The largest collection of general paintings is in the galleries of Rhode Island School of Design. Here are gathered choice pictures from the works of Rhode Island, other American and European painters. Arnold, Bannister, Baxter, Breul, Mrs. Chapin, Farnum, Feke, Hitchcock, Lincoln, Mathewson, Robinson, Stetson, Stuart, Waterman and Whitaker are among the Rhode Island artists represented. Other Americans include Alexander, Allston, Barlow, Beckwith, Bellows, Benson, Chase, Copley, Furness, R. S. and S. R. Gifford, Harding, Hart, Hawthorne, Homer, Inness, James, Kenyon, Loring, Melchers, Sargent, Selinger, Smith, Whistler, Woodbury, Wyant. The works of foreign artists include pictures of the Byzantine, Bruges, Dutch, Flemish, Florentine, Genoese, and Italian schools; works by Cameron, Kneller, Lawrence, Philpot, Reynolds, British; Carnere, Cottet, Daumier, Diaz, Dupre, Gericault, Gignoux, Grigson, Jacque, Lemordant, Manet, Marchke, Michel, Renoir, Salles, French; Bloomers, Droogsloot, Goyen, Huysum, Jardin, Mierevelt, Miens, Weissenbruch, Wouwerman, Dutch; Onesi, Di Giovanni, Aretino, Basaiti, Biagio, Cignani, Di Ferrari, Di Lorenzo, Gaddi, Di Nardo, Martini, Rosa, Sarto, Italian; Coello, Collantes, Sorolla, Theotocopull, Spanish, and others. The museum of the School of Design has also unusual collections of other types of art, oriental and occidental, including pottery, statuary, bas-relief, textiles, jewelry, and other resources showing the application of art and design to decoration in every conceivable aspect. Pendleton House, at Rhode Island School of Design, affords a colonial setting for the Pendleton collection of colonial furniture gathered by Charles L. Pendleton.

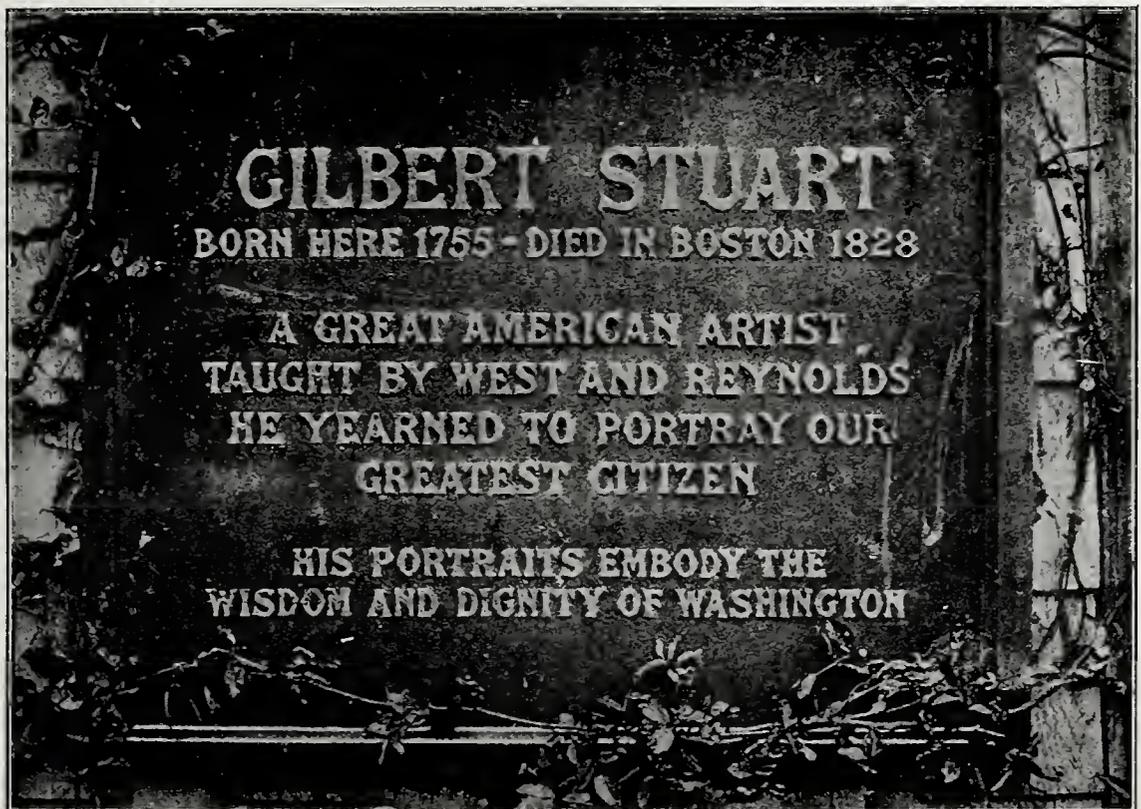
Providence Athenaeum has several distinctive pictures, including Malbone's masterpiece, "The Hours," and Thompson's portrait of Sarah Helen Power Whitman. The lobby, parlors, corridors and restaurants of Narragansett Hotel house an unusual collection of paintings and other works of art by distinguished artists. The Rhode Island School of Design, Providence Art Club, Providence Water Color Club, and Art Association of Newport conduct exhibitions of paintings, annually and in some instances more frequently, in which are shown some of the finest treasures of old and new art.

Of sculpture, the Columbus statue by Bartholdi, replica in bronze of a silver statue cast at Gorham's for the Columbian Exposition; the Bajnotti Fountain, in the park that faces the civic centre in Providence; the bronze reproduction on the south stairway approaching the State House of Walcutt's spirited marble statue of Oliver Hazard Perry at Cleveland; the Oliver Hazard Perry monument at Newport; and John Hardy's doughboys in action on World War memorials are notable. Ecclesiastical art, besides the gold and silver chalices and other vessels fashioned by silversmiths and goldsmiths, include a wealth of mural and other paintings; fine carvings in pulpit, pew, rail, column, arch, reredos and altar, in bas-relief and intaglio; sculpture and statuary in bronze, marble, wood, onyx, and ivory; and beautiful exemplifications of the finest art in stained-glass windows and mosaics. The statues on the altar of the Church of the Assumption in Providence were carved from solid oak by one of the principal figures in the Passion Play at Oberammergau to match the carvings on the altar itself.

RHODE ISLAND WRITERS—"In reality, Massachusetts missed a great destiny," wrote Charles Francis Adams; "it, like the base Judean, threw a pearl away, richer than all his tribe; for both Roger Williams and young Sir Harry Vane were once part of the commonwealth—



TOWER HALL, NARRAGANSETT PIER



TABLET ON GILBERT STUART HOUSE



they had lain, as it were, in its hand." With Roger Williams, Massachusetts discarded John Clarke, Samuel Gorton, William Harris, William Coddington, to mention only a few of those who came to Rhode Island, besides Thomas Hooker and his stalwart associates, who founded Connecticut. Each of the five Rhode Islanders named left one or more printed compositions, from which the intellectual capacity of the man might be estimated, if there were no other record in history, of action, spoken or written word, or wisdom. What might be called the beginnings of Rhode Island literature, the first books for a library written by Rhode Islanders, include: "Key Into The Language of America," "Mr. Cotton's Letter, Lately Printed. Examined and Answered," "Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience Discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace," "Christenings Make Not Christians," "Queries of Highest Consideration," "George Fox Dugged Out of his Burrowes," all by Roger Williams; "Ill Newes from New England" and a Concordance for the Bible, by John Clarke; "Simplicities Defence Against Sevenheaded Policy," by Samuel Gorton; "Demonstration of True Love," by William Coddington; "Plea of the Pawtuxet Purchasers," by William Harris. All of these writings were acrimoniously controversial or religious, and are read in the twentieth century only by scholars seeking in contemporary relations light on historical events or upon questions which were burning issues in New England and Old England in the seventeenth century. Roger Williams was Rhode Island's first poet. Besides his familiar prayer in the wilderness relating his life with the Indians during the winter of 1635-36, his "Key Into the Language of America" contains occasional passages in verse, as:

"God gives them sleep on ground, on straw, on sedgie mats or board:  
When English softest beds of down sometimes no sleep afford.  
I've known them leave their house and mat to lodge a friend or stranger,  
When Jews and Christians oft have sent Christ Jesus to the manger."

Besides the books by early Rhode Islanders, many letters and manuscripts and state papers in the colonial record have been preserved, including the noble answer to the United Colonies, in which Rhode Island refused to oust the Friends, and read her neighbors a lesson on elementary principles of toleration and sound common sense. One other composition of the seventeenth century, "Narrative of the Causes Which Led to Philip's Indian War," by John Easton, a Newport Friend, who was familiar with the effort made to reconcile, through arbitration, the differences betwixt Indian and Puritan, was printed in 1858. Of the earlier writings several were printed in England and others in Boston. The "Key Into the Language of America" was printed for Roger Williams in England by Gregory Dexter, who was one of the early settlers of Providence and held public office in the town.

HISTORIANS—"Rhode Island has had as yet no historian; of our heroes and sages it may indeed be said 'they had no poet, and they died,'" declared William Hunter, 1774-1849, in the course of a patriotic oration on "Rhode Island During the Revolution." Samuel Greene Arnold had not written his painstakingly authenticated and scholarly annalistic "History of Rhode Island, 1636-1790," ending the chronology with ratification of the Federal Constitution. Later general histories of the State by Rhode Island writers include Edward Peterson's "History of Rhode Island and Newport," George Washington Greene's "Short History of Rhode Island," Welcome Arnold Greene's "Providence Plantations for Two Hundred Fifty Years," Clarence Sanders Brigham's general annalistic and narrative history in Edward Field's "State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the End of the Century," and Thomas Williams Bicknell's characteristically critical and controversial "History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

Notable volumes dealing with particular episodes in Rhode Island history are Bartlett's "History of the Destruction of The Gaspee," Cowell's "The Spirit of Seventy-Six in Rhode Island," Field's "Revolutionary Defences of Rhode Island," Staples' "Rhode Island and the

Formation of the Union," Frieze's "Concise History of the Efforts to Obtain an Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island," Green's "Might and Right," Mowry's "The Dorr War," and Church's "History of King Philip's War." Biographies of Rhode Islanders written by Rhode Island authors include "Barton" and "Olney" by Williams, "Burgess" by Bowen, "Clarke" by Bicknell, "Mary Dyer" by Rogers, "Gorton" by Janes, "Greene" by (1) Caldwell, (2) F. V. Greene and (3) G. W. Greene, "Esek Hopkins" by Field, "Stephen Hopkins" by Foster, "Howland" by Stone, "Anne Hutchinson" by Curtis, "Manning" by Guild, "Ward" by Gammell, "Wayland" by Caswell, "Westcott" by Bullock, and "Williams" by Elton, Gammell, J. D. Knowles and Meader. Two of the biographies, "Anne Hutchinson," by Edith Curtis, and "Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer," by Emily Meader Easton, were printed in 1930. For schools short biographies of William Barton, Christopher Greene, Nathanael Greene, John Howland, Stephen Olney, Matthew C. Perry, Oliver Hazard Perry, Elisha R. Potter, Gilbert Stuart, Silas Talbot, Abraham Whipple, and Roger Williams have been written by Charles Carroll.

"Annals of the town of Providence," by William R. Staples, has been recognized as a fine history of an American town; other notable town histories by Rhode Island authors include "Barrington" by Bicknell, "Block Island" by Livermore, "Bristol" by Munro, "East Greenwich" by Green, "Narragansett" by Potter, "Newport" by Peterson, "Pawtucket" by (1) Goodrich and (2) Grieve, "Smithfield" by Steere, "Warren" by (1) Fessenden and (2) Tustin, "Warwick" by Fuller, "Westerly" by Denison, "Woonsocket" by Richardson. "Bristol, Rhode Island, a Town Biography," by Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, and "Looking Backward Four Score Years" in North Providence, by Frank C. Angell, depart from annals, but are interesting town histories nevertheless. County histories of Providence County and of Newport County have been written by R. M. Bayles, and of Washington and Kent Counties, by J. R. Cole. "Tales of an Old Seaport," by Wilfred Harold Munro, opens in the old Rhode Island town and carries the reader around the world with the story of a Bristol ship. Other volumes with historical and geographical setting in Rhode Island include "South County Neighbors" by Carpenter; "The Johnny Cake Letters" by T. R. Hazard; "Early Recollections of Newport," by Channing; "Reminiscences of Newport," by Mason; "Privateersmen of Newport," by Sheffield; "Ships and Shipmasters of Old Providence," anonymous; "Old Wickford, the Venice of America," by Griswold; "The Proprietors of Providence," by H. C. Dorr; "A Picture of Woonsocket," by Man; "Legends of the South County," by M. E. Briggs; "East India Trade of Providence," by Kimball. Similar books relating to the state are: "The Journal of William Jafferay," by Austin; "Picturesque Rhode Island," by Munro; "History of Rhode Island Ferries," by A. A. and C. V. Chapin; "Privateer Ships and Sailors" and "Privateering in King George's War," by Howard M. Chapin.

Lillian B. Miner's "Our State" is a history of Rhode Island for schools; "Once Upon a Time in Rhode Island," by Pyle, a child's story book, the episodes of which are from Rhode Island history. Alice Collins Gleeson's "Colonial Rhode Island" describes the setting of colonial history romantically. Educational histories include volumes by Stockwell and Charles Carroll, besides histories of Brown University by Guild and Bronson, of higher education by Tolman, of the Rhode Island Normal School by Bicknell, and of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction by Stone; financial histories, works by Stokes on Rhode Island finance and banking, and the administration and finances of Providence; judicial history, "Gleanings from the Judicial History of Rhode Island" by Durfee, "Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar" by Updike, "Reminiscences of the Rhode Island Bar" by Payne, and "History of the Codes of Rhode Island" by Wingate Hayes; medical history, by G. D. Hersey, M. D.; church history, Benedict's "History of the Baptist Denomination," Dowling's "Catholic Diocese of Providence," Hazard's "The Narragansett Friends' Meeting in the Eighteenth century," Jackson's "An Account of the Churches of Rhode Island," Updike's "History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett,"

Vose's "Sketches of Congregationalism in Rhode Island," and Goodwin's chapter on church history in the work edited by Field. "Printers and Printing in Providence," by William Carroll and others; "Early Reminiscences of the Printing Trade," by J. E. C. Farnham; "Half a Century with the Journal," by Henry R. Davis, and "History of the Providence Stage," by Charles Blake, more than repay even the casual reader.

Books and monographs on constitutional law began with "A True Representation of the Plan Formed at Albany" and "Rights of Colonies Examined," both by Stephen Hopkins. The latter is the most philosophical presentation of the cause of America written before the Revolution. The constitutional history of Rhode Island is unique, and has engaged the pens of many lawyers and others, including Henry B. Anthony, W. S. Balch, Charles S. Bradley, Charles Carroll, George T. Curtis, Thomas W. Dorr, Job Durfee, Thomas Durfee, Amasa M. Eaton, William G. Goddard, Charles E. Gorman, Arnold Green, B. F. Hallett, Samuel R. Honey, J. S. Pitman, Elisha R. Potter, William P. Sheffield, Francis Wayland and Charles C. Van Zandt. To the list of more than eighty writers of Rhode Island history, Angell, Anthony, Arnold, Austin, Balch, Bartlett, Bates, Blake, Bayles, Bicknell, Bowen, Bradley, Briggs, Brigham, Bronson, Carpenter, two Carrolls, three Chapins, Church, two Curtisses, Cole, Cowell, Davis, Denison, two Dorr, Dowling, two Durfees, Eaton, Elton, Farnham, Fessender, Field, Foster, Frieze, Fuller, Gammell, Gleeson, Goddard, Goodrich, Goodwin, Gorman, Green, two Greens, Griswold, Grieve, Guild, Hallett, Hayes, Hazard, Honey, Howe, Jackson, Janes, Kimball, Knowles, Livermore, Mason, Meader, Miner, Mowry, Munro, Payne, Peterson, Pitman, Porter, Richardson, Roger, Sheffield, Staples, Stockwell, Stokes, Stone, Tustin, Updike, Vose, Wayland, Williams, and Van Zandt—should be added E. Benjamin Andrews, J. N. Arnold, Virginia Baker, Tristram Burges, J. L. Diman, members of the Hazard family, John Howland, Charles W. Lippit, Usher Parsons, J. H. Stiness and Augustus Woodbury, besides authors of town histories, historical tracts, pamphlets and other monographs, and histories of regiments and other military units. The list is still incomplete without Sidney S. Rider, editor and publisher of "Book Notes," whose criticisms of histories and historians led him to make most thorough examination and revelation of primary source material. "Book Notes" was both destructive and constructive, but Rider's finest contribution to Rhode Island history is the Rider collection of pamphlets and manuscripts now included in the library of Brown University. Besides these are Howard W. Preston, learned antiquarian, and Howard M. Chapin, who makes frequent contributions to Rhode Island history by publishing a volume on some subject requiring painstaking research.

Of Rhode Island authors who wrote other than Rhode Island history are Paul Allen, "History of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition," "Life of Alexander I," "History of the American Revolution"; Nathaniel Ames, "Nautical Reminiscences"; E. Benjamin Andrews, "Brief Institutes of Constitutional History, English and American," "Brief Institutes of General History," "History of the United States," "History of the United States in Our Own Time"; William Bailey, "American Naval Biography"; David Benedict, "General History of the Baptist Denomination," "History of All Religions," "Fifty Years Among the Baptists," "Compendium of Ecclesiastical History"; G. Edward Buxton, "History of the Eighty-second Division"; J. A. Doyle, "Puritan Colonies in America"; J. E. C. Farnham, "Quaint Old Isle of Nantucket"; George Washington Greene, "Historical Studies," "History and Geography of the Middle Ages," "Biographical Studies," "Historical View of the American Revolution," "The German Element in the War of America"; Ellen Ryan Jolly, "Nuns of the Battlefield"; Usher Parsons, "History of Battle of Lake Erie," "Life of Sir William Pepperell"; Henry Wheaton, "History of the Northmen." Dana C. Munro, native of Bristol, who maintains associations with Rhode Island, in spite of residence elsewhere, has been a prolific writer of history, his works including "Urban and the Crusades," "Letters of the Crusaders," "Saint Columbian," "Fourth Crusade," "Early Christian Persecutions," "Laws of Charles the Great," "Mediaeval Civilization," "His-

tory of the Middle Ages," "Source Book of Roman History," "Mediaeval Student," "Mediaeval Sermon Stories," "Teaching of Mediaeval History."

Major Ben C. Truman was called by his printer associates while he worked in the Providence "Shaker," because he had attended and taught school at East Canterbury, New Hampshire, after being graduated from the high school in Providence. In later years he was an editor and writer, served in the Civil War, thus acquiring his military title, and was confidential secretary of President Andrew Johnson. His travels carried him to five continents. He wrote: "Campaigning in Tennessee," 1863; "The South After the War," 1866; "Semi-Tropical California," 1874; "Occidental Sketches," 1881; "Monterey," 1882; "Tourists Guide to California," 1883; "Homes and Happiness in California," and "The Field of Honor," 1884; "From the Crescent City to the Golden Gate," 1886; "Pictorial History of the World's Fair," 1893; "See How it Sparkles," 1896; a five-act play, "Life," for the Webb sisters, and a dramatization of "Enoch Arden" for Edwin Adams. Hamilton B. Tompkins of Rhode Island wrote biographies of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr; George Henry Calvert, a "Life of Rubens," "Life and Works of Goethe," and "Shakespeare, a Biographic and Aesthetic Study"; Louise S. and Ralph Boas, "Cotton Mather, Keeper of the Puritan Conscience." Bishop William A. Hickey translated a "Life of Christ" from the French. Other historical books by Rhode Islanders include Theodore Collier's "A New World in the Making"; John William Burgess' "Middle Period of United States History," "The European War of 1914," "Administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes"; Admiral William S. Sims' "The Victory at Sea"; W. H. Small's "Early New England Schools"; Edward C. Kirkland's "The Peacemakers of 1864." Periodicals and other publications by the Newport and Rhode Island Historical Societies, the "Narragansett Register," published by J. N. Arnold, and the programs for observance of patriotic holidays issued by the Commissioner of Education have made available a great wealth of material relative to state history. The romantic and intriguing story of Rhode Island has inspired many to write, and the roster of authors and the list of books are most extraordinary for so limited a territory.

LAW BOOKS—Henry Wheaton of Rhode Island was in his era the most authoritative writer on international law. His books on international law were translated into other languages, including French, which was the language of diplomacy. His works on international law include "Digest of the Law of Maritime Captures and Prizes," "Science of Public or International Law," "Inquiry Into the British Claim to Right of Search," "Elements of International Law," "Histoire du Progres du Droit des Gens en Europe." A more recent Rhode Island writer in the same field is George Grafton Wilson, author of "International Law," besides several monographs. Henry Wheaton wrote also on other legal subjects, including "Considerations on Uniform Bankrupt Laws Throughout the United States," and a "Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States," of which he was reporter for several years. Another Rhode Island writer of law books was Joseph Kinnicutt Angell, who wrote treatises on Water Courses, Property in Tide Waters, Limitation of Actions, Assignments, Incorporeal Hereditaments, Taxation of Corporations, Carriers of Goods and Passengers, Life and Fire Insurance. Samuel Ames collaborated with Angell in a treatise on Private Corporations, and Thomas Durfee completed a treatise on Highways left unfinished when Angell died. Mary A. Greene wrote "The Woman's Manual of Law," besides shorter essays on law and jurisprudence. William A. Staples edited a "Book of Forms," for lawyers; and Walter B. Vincent, a later volume of the same title. William H. Clapp wrote a digest of Rhode Island Supreme Court decisions, known as "Clapp's Index," which has never been equalled for terse and exact statement of rule and accessibility.

John William Burgess wrote on historical, legal and philosophical subjects, his books including "Political Science and Compendium of Constitutional Law," "Civil War and the Constitution," "Reconstruction and the Constitution," "The Reconciliation of Government and

Liberty," "America's Relations to the Great War," "The Russian Revolution and the Soviet Constitution," "The Sanctity of Law—What Does it Constitute?" "The Transfiguration of the Constitutional Law of the United States Between 1898 and 1920."

OTHER SCIENCES—To other fields of sciences and study Rhode Island writers have been prolific contributors, the list including Zechariah Allen, several treatises on physics, among them "Practical Mechanics," "Philosophy of the Mechanics of Motion," "Solar Light and Heat"; E. Benjamin Andrews, books and monographs on history, political economy and economic questions; Oliver Angell, a series of union school textbooks, besides "Elements of Mathematics"; John Howard Appleton, chemistry; Raymond Clare Archibald, books on mathematics, besides "Carlyle's First Love," "Margaret Gordon," "Lady Bannerman"; William Whitman Bailey, botany; Timothy Whiting Bancroft, English literature; Dr. William T. Barry, a practical school textbook on physiology and hygiene; Carl Barus, over 100 books and monographs on physics; Albert Arnold Bennett, "Ballistics" and tables for interior and exterior ballistics; Dr. Albert F. Blaisdell, one of the earliest school physiologies, and a short history of the Civil War, for schools; Zenas W. Bliss, "Fundamental Requirements of Tax Reform"; Walter C. Bronson, a "Short History of Literature," besides collections of American and English poems and essays; George C. Burns, "The American Wool Manufactory"; Alice Huntington Bushee, Spanish textbooks; Alexis Caswell, astronomy and meteorology; Arnold Buffum Chace, translation of Egyptian papyrus; Dr. Charles V. Chapin, health and sanitation, medicine and disease; Stephen Sheldon Colvin, pedagogy and psychology; Clara E. Craig, two monographs on the teaching of reading and writing; Clinton C. Currier, astronomy and higher mathematics; James Q. Dealey, several books on sociology and political science; May C. Dickerson, "The Frog Book"; Luke Drury, who invented a system of geography for schools on an entirely novel plan, with an atlas of forty luminous maps; D. Carl Eggleston, two volumes on "Modern Accounting"; Frederick James Farnell, medical and mental subjects; Caleb Farnum, grammar and penmanship; George Wilton Field, "General Principles of Zoölogy"; Henry T. Fowler, Biblical literature and interpretation; Mary S. Gardiner, public health nursing; Henry B. Gardner, political economy and public finance; Minnie Goodnow, nursing; Samuel Stillman Greene, American authority on English grammar, his books including "Analysis of the English Language," "First Lessons in Grammar," "Elements of English Grammar," "English Grammar," and "Introduction to English Grammar"; Albert Harkness, a Latin grammar and Greek and Latin texts and textbooks; Rowland G. Hazard, treatises on philosophical subjects, besides "Essay on Language," "Causes of the Decline of Political Morality," "Duty of the Individual to Support Science and Letters," "Relations of Railroad Corporations to the Public" and "Resources of the United States"; Joseph Waite Ince, "Chemistry of Farm and Home"; Norman M. Isham, architecture; Dr. Henry B. Jacobs, tuberculosis; John W. P. Jenks, popular zoölogy and "English History in Short Stories"; Henry P. Manning, higher mathematics; Joseph Muenscher, Biblical interpretation, orthography and pronunciation of English; George Washington Patten, books on military tactics; William C. Poland, art and archaeology; Howard W. Preston, "Key to Wild and Cultivated Trees"; Dr. Helen C. Putnam, books and monographs on health problems; Otis E. Randall, drawing; Dr. Dennett L. Richardson, "Infectious Diseases"; Ezekiel G. Robinson, books on theology and preaching; Lorenzo Sears, "American Literature"; Margaret B. Stillwell, Americana incunabula; Reverend John F. Sullivan, church doctrine in form for general readers; William H. Talman, reform movements and sociological subjects; Winslow Upton, astronomy; Herbert E. Walter, "Genetics," "Human Skeleton," "Biology of Invertebrates"; Alonzo Williams, German textbooks. Perhaps Glenna Collett's "Golf for Young Players" should be classified with these serious books. This list of authoritative books by Rhode Islanders is less nearly complete than merely suggestive of the large number of volumes and the wealth of subject matter that might be found in a library of books written by Rhode Island authors.

LITERATURE—"Thinking is the great desideratum of the present," wrote Berkeley as he composed the "Alciphron" in his natural study amid the Hanging Rocks on the Island of Rhode Island. "What can be expected when those who have the most influence have the least sense, and those who are sure to be followed set the worst examples. . . . When modesty is esteemed pusillanimity, and a deference to years, knowledge, religion, law, want of sense and spirit?" For all the seeming pessimism in a complaint that seems so modern two centuries after it was written, in 1730, Berkeley had faith in America, and expressed it thus:

"There shall be sung another golden age,  
The rise of empire and of arts. . . .  
Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,  
Such as she bred when fresh and young . . .  
Westward the course of empire takes its way;  
The four first acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The lines are from a poem "On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," also written in Rhode Island in 1730. Eventually Berkeley abandoned his project for the founding of an Episcopal university in the New World and returned to Ireland; but he and the group who accompanied him had laid foundations for a development of fine arts and literature in Rhode Island. Little more than one hundred years later Anne C. Lynch, herself a poet, gathered together in "The Rhode Island Book" the "floating literature of Rhode Island . . . that was worthy of preservation." The book contains eighty-two selections from the writing of fifty-three Rhode Islanders, beginning with Roger Williams' letter to the General Assembly in relation to the services of Dr. John Clarke. The poets represented number thirty-one, of whom nine were women. The list includes Paul Allen, who published a volume of poems in 1801; Henry B. Anthony, whose "Dorriad," written as a satire of the Dorr War, is more familiar than the "Fancy Ball"; Josias L. Arnold, who wrote in 1791; Dean Berkeley; Reverend George Burgess, afterward Bishop of Maine, whose contribution consisted of extracts from an epic on the "Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul"; Mrs. Eleanor B. Burges, who maintained the proposition "Dress is a Hieroglyphic of the Mind"; Albert G. Greene, with four other poems besides "Old Grimes"; two members of the "graceful" Hoppin family, William J. Hoppin and James Hoppin; Reverend James D. Knowles, who described in verse "An Excursion Down Narragansett Bay"; Anne C. Lynch, who contributed "Paul Preaching at Athens" and an "Elegy"; William J. Pabodie, with "Go Forth into the Fields" and three other poems; Thomas P. Rodman, who contributed "The Battle of Bennington"; Emma Robinson, who wrote in 1785 on "Pettaquamscott"; Cynthia Taggart, whose "Ode to the Poppy" was reviewed by the "Literary Journal" as the work of an author who found "momentary consolation" from the misery of an incurable, wasting disease, in dictating to her friends several poetical effusions; Honorable Joseph L. Tillinghast, whose "Liberty Trees" was composed on the eve of the War of 1812; Sarah Helen Power Whitman, who contributed seven poems; besides George R. Burrill, Reverend Charles F. Brooks, Thomas C. Hartshorn, Sarah S. Jacobs, Thomas F. Jenckes, Mrs. Sophia Little, George W. Patten, Samuel W. Peckham, Sophia M. Phillips, Frances H. Whipple, James O. Rockwell, Reverend Abel Stevens and Roger Williams. The most spirited poem in the collection is W. J. Hoppin's ballad, "Charlie Machrie"; the best remembered, Albert G. Greene's "Old Grimes"; the most poetic in conception and imagery, William J. Pabodie's "Go Forth Into the Fields," based upon a line from Wordsworth, "The World is too much with us." Thomas W. Dorr's "Genius Born; Not Made," in the same volume, contains this unintentionally apropos commentary: "There is an unexampled competition in the poetical lists of England and our own country; yet with all the excitement of ambition, all the accumulations of classic and modern learning, all the labors of patience and industry, all the efforts of real talent, there has appeared but one man in this century whose statue deserves to be placed in the

temple of which we have been speaking, beside the images of Shakespeare and Milton." The Rhode Island poetry was worthy and contained occasional flashes of scintillating beauty and genuinely poetic flight, but even the charming periods of the brilliant Sarah Helen Power Whitman were tinged with ineffable sadness, and in their perfection of rhyme and stately measure, bore earmarks of composition too studied for a poet "whose song gushed from his heart." Mrs. Whitman's poetry was intellectual rather than emotional, and thus reversed Whitaker's "all art is emotional and proceeds from the heart rather than the brain." The prose selections in the "Rhode Island Book" are serious compositions, and include passages from the writings of Zechariah Allen, Dean Berkeley, Tristram Burges, Mrs. Julia Curtis, William Ellery Channing, Thomas W. Dorr, Reverend Frederick A. Farley, William G. Goddard, Rowland G. Hazard, William Hunter, Reverend William Hague, Reverend Edward B. Hall, Jonothan Maxcy, George F. Man, John Pitman, Jonathan Russell, Asher Robbins, Reverend Ezra Stiles, Reverend Francis Vinton, John Whipple, and Francis Wayland. They include selections from sermons and patriotic orations, besides occasional philosophical essays. Francis Wayland's "Relations Which This Country Sustains to the Nations of Europe," was almost prophetic: "Should the rulers of Europe make war upon the principles of our Constitution . . . it is manifest that we must take no secondary part in the controversy. The contest will involve the civilized world and the blow will be struck which must decide the fate of man for centuries to come. Then will the hour have arrived when, uniting with herself the friends of freedom throughout the world, this country must breast herself to the shock of congregated nations. Then will she need the wealth of her merchants, the prowess of her warriors, and the sagacity of her statesmen. Then, on the altars of our God, let us each one devote himself to the cause of the human race; and in the name of the Lord of Hosts go forth unto the battle. If need be, let our choicest blood flow freely; for life itself is valueless when such interests are at stake. Then, when a world in arms is assembling to the conflict, may this country be found fighting in the vanguard for the liberties of man. God himself hath summoned her to the contest, and she may not shrink back. For this hour may He by His grace prepare her."

The greatest present value of the "Rhode Island Book" is its demonstration of the number of Rhode Islanders who were capable of and were doing excellent literary work before 1840. There were two names in the list—Hoppin and Hazard—that were definitely related to unusual family talent. The Hoppin family produced four artists in a single generation, one of whom was trained in art, another of whom deserted law for art, and two who followed art as an avocation. Besides painting and illustrating the writings of others, Augustus Hoppin was himself an author, his published works including "Carrot Pomade," "On the Nile," "Ups and Downs on Land and Water," "Crossing the Atlantic," "Hay Fever," "Recollections of Auton House," "A Fashionable Sufferer," "Two Compton Boys," "Jubilee Days," and "Married for Fun." In the Narragansett Country in the South County lived the Hazards, a family represented by distinguished members through several generations—successful farmers and manufacturers, sound administrators of the family properties, genuine aristocrats maintaining time-honored traditions, generous philanthropists aiding community projects for the improvement of social living, and withal themselves scholarly gentlemen and ladies. Rowland Gibson Hazard's philosophical and economic writings have been mentioned above. Thomas Robinson Hazard, known as "Shepard Tom," thus to distinguish him from other "Toms" among the Hazards, wrote the brilliant "Johnny Cake Letters," an economic treatise under the title "Facts for the Laboring Man," and miscellaneous essays. Caroline Hazard, who became president of Wellesley College, edited the "Works of Rowland G. Hazard," and wrote "Thomas Hazard, Called 'College Tom,'" "Narragansett Poems," "Brief Pilgrimage in the Holy Land," "From City Gates," "Songs of the Heart," "Yosemite and Other Verse," "Anchors of Tradition," "The Homing," and other verse. Her "Anchors of Tradition" was awarded a medal for literary excellence. The volume of Rhode Island literature, prose and verse, additional to the historical and other serious writings already mentioned, is extraordinary.

The poets include Leonard Bacon, "Animula Vagula," "Guinea Fowl and Other Poetry," "Legend of Quincibald"; William Whitman Bailey, occasional poems; Virginia Baker, "Fair Flag of Rhode Island," a patriotic song; Anna C. Lynch Batti; Benjamin Francis Brown, "Poems of Life in the Country and by the Sea"; George H. Calvert, "Joan of Arc"; Anna Page Child; George H. Comer; Reverend Julian S. Cutler, "Roger and I," acclaimed by Kipling as the greatest of dog poems; L. Foster Damon, "Tilted Moons," and "Astrolabe"; James H. Darlington, "Little Rhymes for Little Folks," and four series of "Verses by the Way"; Anne Marjorie Day, "The Guiding Light"; Abby De Wolf, "Heart Songs"; Antony De Wolf; Job Durfee, "What Cheer"; Thomas Durfee, "Village Picnic and Other Poems"; Mrs. E. N. Gladding, "Leaves from an Invalid's Journal and Poems"; Albert G. Greene, "Old Grimes" and other poems; Annette Mason Ham, "There Was One Who Gave a Lamb," a Nativity poem; Ellen Hedge, "Heart Songs"; Mark Martin Antony DeWolfe Howe, "Yankee Ballads"; Jules Jordan, occasional poems, besides songs and musical compositions; Harry Lyman Koopman, a most prolific writer of verse in various mood; Courtney Langdon, sonnets on the World War; John H. Larry, "Life of Christ," in verse; Augustus M. Lord, "Hampton Beach"; Sonia Lustig, "Roses of the Wind"; John Hill Luther, "Old Baylor and Other Poems"; John H. McGeough, occasional verse; George T. Marsh; Susanna Paine, "Roses and Thorns," "Withered leaves," "Wait and See"; Fanny Purdy Palmer; Henry Robinson Palmer, "The Country by the Sea"; Samuel W. Peckham, "Verses in Various Moods and on Various Occasions"; Nora Perry, "After the Ball and Other Poems," "Her Lover's Friend and Other Poems," "Lyrics and Legends," "New Songs and Ballads," "My Nannie O"; Henry Niles Pierce, "The Agnostic and Other Poems"; Dr. W. H. Peters, "My Rhode Island," a patriotic song; Myron T. Pritchard, "Poetry of Niagara"; Albert Gallatin Remington; W. C. Richards, hymns, "The Lord is My Shepherd"; Grace Slocum and Grace M. Sherwood, occasional verse; William Adams Slade, "Star Dust" and other sonnets and poems; Charlotte Perkins Stetson, "Ballads of the Summer Sun," "In This Old World," "On the Pawtuxet"; Reverend John Sullivan, "Lincoln Woods"; Marianna Tallman; Joseph A. Thomas; Constance Witherby, "Sunshine and Star Dust"; Lillie Buffum Wyman, "Syringa at the Gates," "Interlude and Other Poems"; Alice Waterman; Sarah Helen Power Whitman; Ann Williams, "Poems of Every Day Life"; Catherine R. Williams. John R. Rathom found little time in his busy life to write poetry, yet his "Unknown Soldier" will endure as one of the finest tributes in verse. John Hay wrote the greatest of Commencement poems while a student at Brown University. Hezekiah Butterworth, whose name is associated more with the "Youth's Companion" as editor when it was the leading American periodical for juvenile readers than with his native town of Warren, found inspiration for several of his finest poems in the Rhode Island which he knew so well in boyhood. Edgar Allen Poe might have become a Rhode Island writer had his suit for the hand of Sarah Helen Power been successful. Julia Ward Howe did not write the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" in Rhode Island, but she lived on the Island of Rhode Island after the death of her famous husband, Samuel Gridley Howe, and published her later poems in "From Sunset Ridge" and "Later Lyrics," besides original poems and verses which she set to music.

JUVENILES—Of writers for children and juvenile readers Rhode Island claims Mary Hunter Austin, "The Basket Woman"; Margaret Emerson Bailey, "Robin Hood's Band"; Mary Elizabeth Bannicle, "Mr. Hermit Crab"; Hortense A. Boynton, "Dove Colored Twins"; Ethel Crowningshield, "Mother Goose Songs for Little Ones"; William Henry Frost, "Wagner Story Book," "Court of King Arthur," "Knights of the Round Table"; Anna Ward Power, "The Sleeping Beauty," "Cinderella"; Eleanor W. Talbot, "Jack O'Lantern," "The Moth Town Goslins"; M. Eloise Talbot, "The Story of the Little Christmas Tree"; Helen Sherman Griffith, the ten "Letty" books, the four "Virginia" books, two "Louie Maude" books, "Aboard the May Ann," "Her Father's Legacy," "Her Wilful Way," "The Lane," "Her Books," "The Roly Poly Family," "Rosemary for Remembrance," the titles including an occasional novel and

thirty plays for amateurs. "The Adventures of Miltiades Peterkin Paul," a very great traveler, although he was small, were written by Charles Remington Talbot, an Episcopal clergyman, who concealed his identity under the pseudonym "John Brownjohn." Miltiades Peterkin Paul caught Santa Claus at work. The travels of "Marjorie Dean," familiar in another generation, were written by a daughter of Rhode Island.

TRAVEL TALES—Jessie Barker Gardner wrote "From Land's End to John O'Groat's"; Lester George Hornby, "Balkan Sketches," which he illustrated with original etchings; Frederick Hoppin Howland, "The Chase of DeWet," as a war correspondent in the Boer War; Jesse Metcalf, "Wandering Among Forgotten Isles"; James Irving Manatt, sketches of picturesque places in Greece while on a tour of Homeric lands; Marianna Tallman, "Pleasant Places in Rhode Island and How to Reach Them"; Annie S. Peck, "Industrial and Commercial South America."

SHORT STORIES—Mrs. Stebbins, daughter of Gilbert Stuart, was one of the earliest American writers of folklore and short stories, her books including "Tales of the Emerald Isle," "Tales of The Fireside," and "Stories for Children." Avis Howland of Newport wrote "Tales of Rhode Island." Other short story writers are: Mrs. Mary Hunter Austin, "Lost Borders"; Virginia Baker, "Prince Carrotte" and several other tales, including stories of old Warren; H. W. Chaplin, "Five Hundred Dollars and Other Stories"; William Henry Frost, "Fairies and Folklore of Ireland"; Henrietta R. Palmer, "In Dixie Land," "Rhode Island Tales"; Harriet F. Thomas, "Three Stories of the Old Mill," "Along the Shore Stories," "Old Houses with Stories."

Anne Crosby Emery Allinson's stories of Roman life include "Children of the Way," "Juventus Christi," "Credo," "Roads from Rome," "Friends with Life"; with Francis G. Allinson she collaborated in writing "Greek Lands and Letters." Julia Ward Howe's facile pen was busy throughout her life time. Besides poetry she wrote, while living in Rhode Island, "Is Society Polite and Other Essays," a memoir of Margaret Fuller, a sketch of "Maria Mitchell" for "Our Famous Women," and "Reminiscences." Maud Howe Elliott is a prominent figure in the cultural life of Newport, in art and letters. Her books include "Lord Byron's Helmet," "Roma Beata," "Sicily in Shadow and in Sun," "Some Recollections of Newport Artists," "Sun and Shadow in Spain," "Three Generations," "A Newport Aquarelle," "The San Rosario Rancho," "Atalanta in the South," "Mammon," "Phylida," "Louise Bridgeman," "The Eleventh Hour in the Life of Julia Ward Howe," "Life and Letters of Julia Ward Howe." Maude Howe Elliott was awarded the Pulitzer prize for the best American biography teaching patriotism.

ESSAYS—Rhode Island essayists include Leonard Bacon, "Ph. D.'s: Male and Female Created He Them"; Margaret Emerson Bailey, essays on gardens at Tiverton; Henry R. Barker, who wrote frequently on the civic, aesthetic and physical improvement of municipality and countryside, the Metropolitan park system being one of his dearest projects; Henry Walcott Boynton, "Life of Washington Irving," "Golfer's Rubaiyat," "Bret Harte," "Reader's History of American Literature," "Journalism and Literature," "World's Leading Poets," besides "Guenever—A Romantic Play"; William Ellery Channing, "Intellectual Force" and "Experience and Observation"; Mrs. Theodora DeWolf Colt, "Stray Fancies"; Samuel Foster Damon, "William Blake—His Philosophy," and other essays; Sarah J. Eddy, "Alexander and Anne," "Other Cats"; Harry Lyman Koopman, a long list of essays on books and printing; Margaret B. Stillwell, also on books and printing, besides her "General Rush Hawkins as he revealed Himself to His Librarian"; Lawrence Counselman Wroth, "Parson Weems, a Biographical and Critical Survey," "Description of Federal Documents," "History of Printing in Colonial Maryland," "William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America," "Abel Bniell of Connecticut, Silversmith, Typefounder and Engraver," "Thomas Cresap, a Maryland Pio-

neer"; Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, "American Chivalry." Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace wrote "Moral Lessons Incidentally," and "Anti-Slavery Reminiscences"; Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, a biography of Mrs. Chace. John R. Rathom created a new character in Rhode Island literature, Colonel Linkaby Didd, and Bishop Thomas M. Clarke found time to write the adventures of "John Whopper," a newsboy.

Miscellaneous literature by Rhode Islanders includes "Prue and I" and "A Rhyme of Rhode Island and the Times," by George William Curtis, who went from the State to become editor of Putnam's and Harper's Magazines, and "Harper's Weekly"; "History of Women's Rights and Movements," by Paulina Wright Davis; "Adventures of a Sub-Deb," by Sara M. Algeo; "Memoirs of a Negress," by Eleanor Eldredge; "Facing Life" and "Moral Factors in Education," by W. H. P. Faunce; "Just Between Us Girls," by Lloyd Mayer; "Fifty Years in Exile," by Israel R. Potter, which was made the basis for a tale by Herman Melville; "Silver-smiths of Little Rest," by William Dorr Miller; "Letters of a French Soldier to His Mother," by Henrietta R. Palmer; "The Gardners of Rhode Island," by Mrs. C. Elizabeth Rodman Robinson; "A Grand Army Man of Rhode Island," by Lillie Buffum Wyman; "Wild Birds in City Parks," by Herbert Eugene and Alice Hall Walter. Alfred M. Williams, while in Ireland, became familiar with Irish literature; editor of the Providence "Journal," he had much to do with the Irish literary revival by the encouragement which he gave to Irish writers by inviting them to contribute to the columns of the newspaper, and published "Poets and Poetry of Ireland." Professor Horace Reynolds has written a monogram on the Irish literary revival, the first publication of the Study Hill Book Club, the latter so named for William Blackstone's home in Lonsdale.

PLAYS—One of America's most successful playwrights and producers, George M. Cohan, author of fifty plays, has been almost as proud of being a native son of Rhode Island as Rhode Island has become proud of him and his achievements. Other Rhode Island playwrights include Stephen Sheldon Colvin and Albert Ellsworth Thomas, "Priscilla, a Maid of Brown"; Helen Sherman Griffith, "Her Service Flag," "An Alarm of Fire," "The Scarlet Bonnet"; Thatcher Howland Guild, "A New Drama," "Power of God" and other one-act plays; Frederick P. Ladd, "The Woman Pays," "Last of the Puritans"; Albert Ellsworth Thomas, besides his "Cynthia's Rebellion," "Her Husband's Wife," "The Rainbow," "Little Boy Blue," and a long list of plays in which he has been a collaborator; Frederick William Arnold, who writes a play annually for the University Club; Lillian Foster Barrett, "The Sinister Revel," "Gibbeted Gods," and in collaboration with her brother, Richmond Brooks Barrett, "The Hobby House," "The Fledgling," "Birds of Passage"; Richmond Brooks Barrett, "Rapture," and "The Enemy's Gates"; Arthur A. Penn, comic operas "Yokohama Maid," "Your Royal Highness," "Captain Crossbones," "Mam'zelle Taps," "The China Shop," and the songs, "Carissima," "Smiling Through," "Sunrise and You," "The Lamplit Hour," "When the Sun Goes Down," "Across the River"; Brayton Eddy, "Strangeways," "Shallow Wells," "The Way Out," the skits "The Pick-up" and "A Couple of Brokes," a book of children's stories "Night Caps," a novel "Rock Bottom," besides "Plenty Palaver," "Personality of Insects" and "Personality of Water Animals"; Reverend Clarence M. Gallup, "Conscience-Freedom," "The High Calling," "From Tarsus to Rome," besides poems and essays. The line of playwrights is not easy to follow, since so many depart for New York, as a theatrical centre offering larger opportunity. The same is true generally of novelists.

NOVELS—Rhode Island writers of novels have been identified as follows: M. V. Anderson, "The Merchant's Wife"; Walter S. Ball, "Carmella Commands," a prize novel; Charles Brackett, "The Counsel of the Ungodly," "Week End," "That Last Infirmity"; Sarah Warner Brooks, "Blanche: The Legend of the Angel Tower"; Garrett D. Byrnes and James S. Hart, "Scoop"; Robert J. Casey, "Cannoneers Have Hairy Ears," a diary of the front lines, "Four

Faces of Siva: The Detective Story of a Vanished Race," "The Gentleman in Armor," "The Land of Haunted Castles," "Lost Kingdom of Burgundy"; Joseph P. Choquet, "Under Canadian Skies"; James Lippitt Clark, "Trails of the Hunted"; Mrs. Lucy Bonetti Cobelles, whose pen name is Lucille Corbey, "Sadie, a Thief's Daughter," "Joan, the False Friend," "Dangers of Beauty," "The Adventurers," "Count Vurenski"; Edward Fuller, "The Complaining Millions of Men"; May Emery Hall, "The Beckoning Glory," besides "Whiteford's Masterpiece," a short story, and a popular biography of Roger Williams; George T. Marsh, tales of the Hudson Bay country, "Flash, the Lead Dog," "Heart of the King Dog," "Men Marooned," "Toilers of the Trail," "The Valley of Voices," "Under Frozen Stars," "The Whelp of the Wolf," "Sled Trails and White Waters"; Edith Warren Mason (Mrs. Pfizenmayer), "The Treasure Hunt"; Mary E. Pratt, "Rhoda Thornton's Girlhood"; Edith Ballinger Price, "Blue Magic," "Us and the Bottle Man," "Silver Shoal Light," "The Happy Venture," "The Fortunes of the Indies," "Garth, Able Seaman," "My Lady Lee," "John and Suzanne," "Gervais of the Garden," "Ship of Dreams," "The Four Winds," "A Citizen of Nowhere," "The Luck of Glenlorn," the list including poetry as well as fiction; Grace S. Richmond, "The Indifference of Juliet," "The Second Violin," "With Juliet in England," "Around the Corner in Gay Street," "On Christmas Day in the Morning," "On Christmas Day in the Evening," "A Court of Inquiry," "Red Pepper Burns," "The Enlisting Wife," "Red and Black," "Rufus," "Cherry Square," "Strawberry Acres," "Mrs. Red Pepper," "The Twenty-fourth of June," "Under the Country Sky," "Under the Christmas Stars," "Brotherly House," "Red Pepper's Patients," "The Whistling Mother," "The Brown Study," "Four Square," "Red of the Redfields," "Lights Up"; S. G. A. Rogers, "Sombre Flame"; Mary H. Wilbur, "Violet: A True Story." "Phillippa" was written anonymously by a Rhode Island woman. Oliver La Farge, descendant of the Rhode Island Perry family and maintaining residence at Saunderstown, although an extensive traveler, wrote "Laughing Boy," a novel which won the Pulitzer prize, was selected by the Literary Guild, and ranked among the ten best sellers in 1930. "Death in the Mail," by Martin C. Day, was based on the murder of Mrs. J. B. Barnaby and the trial of Dr. Graves. Other fiction partly historical or biographical, written by Rhode Islanders, includes "Candlelight in Colonial Times," and "The Dubertus Caught," by F. C. Clark; "The Star of La Rochelle," the wife of Gabriel Bernon, by Elizabeth Nichols White; "Gertrude of Denmark," by Lillie Buffum Wyman; "Genevieve of Babrant" by Mrs. Charles Tillinghast. George Spink wrote "Good Night, Pleasant Dreams, God Bless You!"

**LIBRARIES**—Inventories of estates in probate reveal the names of a few of the books brought into the wilderness by the early settlers of Rhode Island, usually religious works or practical treatises on husbandry, medicine or law. As economic conditions improved, private collections of books increased in number and size, and included history and literature, poetry and prose, the latter principally. What was probably the first public library in the colony consisted of ninety-nine books on theology, fifty-seven for preachers and forty-two for laymen, at Trinity Church in Newport in 1700. Reverend John Lockyer sent six additional religious books in 1701 "to augment the library at Rhode Island in America." This was a parish library, the word "public" being used to indicate that it was a collection for general use by a society, as distinguished from a private library for family use in a home. The word "public" continued to have essentially similar connotation when used with the word library until the General Assembly began to promote free public libraries for use by all the people. In modern usage "Public library" means "free public library," as distinguished from libraries charging fees for loans to the general public, or libraries supported by the annual contributions of shareholders, to whom their patronage is limited.

**REDWOOD LIBRARY**—Than the Trinity Church library a more pretentious undertaking, from which developed the Redwood Library of Newport, oldest among existing society libraries

in Rhode Island, began with the Philosophical Society founded by Dean Berkeley for "the promotion of knowledge and virtue." From an active debating and discussion club the organization was transformed gradually, after the departure of Berkeley, into a library society, accumulating and maintaining a collection of books for use by its members. The society was incorporated in 1747 as the Redwood Library Company, so named in honor of Abraham Redwood, who had donated £500 for the purchase of books. The charter reads in part as follows: "Whereas Abraham Redwood, Esquire, hath generously engaged to bestow £500 sterling, to be laid out in a collection of useful books, suitable for a public library proposed to be erected in Newport . . . the said Governor and Company do give and grant that the said Abraham Redwood, James Honyman and others be, and are hereby constituted, a body politic incorporate, by the name of the Company of the Redwood Library." Abraham Redwood became the first president of the company. Henry Collins, in 1748, gave land as a site for a building, and the first unit of the series of buildings fronting on Bellevue Avenue was constructed in 1749. Peter Harrison, the English architect who had accompanied Berkeley on his visit to Newport a generation earlier, designed the stone Doric temple in which the Redwood Library was first housed in permanent quarters. Of the 1300 volumes purchased with the Redwood donation more than half were theological. The library suffered from spoliation, depredation and theft while the British army occupied Newport. The building became a clubroom for soldiers, and half the books were gone when Tories persuaded General Prescott to place a military guard over the remaining volumes. Both Kings George IV and William IV, in later years, made donations to repair part of the damage done by the British during the war. The building itself was so substantial that it withstood abuse, and the General Assembly met there in September, 1780, when the State House and other buildings, including churches, had been left by the British unfit for occupation. Newport itself was prostrated, its wharves idle, its shops closed, its population reduced by thousands, its trade dissipated, its wealth replaced by poverty, its culture and luxury laid aside as the inhabitants faced the difficult problem of earning a scanty living. The Redwood Library was closed and remained closed after the war. Even the key was lost for a time, while disuse of building and books continued. Abraham Redwood lived until 1788, but nothing was done until 1790, when the General Assembly revived the charter of incorporation to remedy the suggestion of lapse through failure to maintain succession by the election of members of the society. The Assembly also granted a franchise for a lottery to raise \$3000 for the library in 1806. Solomon Southwick, son of the Newport printer and publisher, gave 120 acres of land in New York in 1813 as a memorial to Henry Collins, who had given Redwood Library the site for its original building. The older Solomon Southwick had been a protege of Henry Collins, who sent him to an academy in Philadelphia to be educated, and assisted him to establish a business in Newport. Solomon Southwick died December 23, 1797, two years after selling his interest in the Newport "Mercury," which he had printed and published from 1768. Other benefactors were Abraham Redwood of London, grandson of Abraham Redwood, for whom the library had been named, who in 1834 gave the Redwood homestead in Newport, his by inheritance; Baron Hollinguer of Paris, who in 1837 donated 1000 francs; Christopher G. Champlin, who gave books and \$100 in 1844; and Judah Touro of New Orleans, who donated \$1000 in 1844 and left the library a legacy of \$3000 in 1854. The Touro legacy ended a long period in which the library, open only twice a week from 1812 to 1855, had been little patronized. The librarian once complained that he and General Winfield Scott were the only persons who used the library. A new board of directors was elected in 1858, \$10,000 was raised, and the library was opened daily. New construction was undertaken in 1876 to meet growing needs, and in 1913 a fireproof stack room was added. The collection in 1930 of this two-century-old library amounts to 78,000 volumes, besides pictures and other works of art in its galleries and museum. Dr. Roderic Terry, librarian for the past nearly twenty years, has been a benefactor as well as an active promoter of the interests of Redwood Library.

PROVIDENCE LIBRARY—A library society was organized in Providence December 15, 1753, after a canvass for subscribers beginning in March. The books were purchased in England, and the society, on request, was granted permission to keep its collection in one of the rooms of the Colony House, where they were accessible to members of the General Assembly as well as the shareholders. The subscribers included Stephen Hopkins, Nicholas Brown, Joseph Angell and others of the group of men who were active at the time in promoting community projects—many of them identified later with the founding of Rhode Island College and the effort in the second half of the eighteenth century to establish a free public school system. Except seventy books, which were out as loans to members of the society, the library was destroyed in the fire which razed the Colony House in 1758. The General Assembly granted a lottery to replace the library, and the new collection was housed in the new Colony House, which became the State House on May 4, 1776, when independence was declared. There the library remained until 1816, when the society found new quarters for it. The library catalogue of 1768 listed sets of Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Pope, Swift, and Addison; Clarendon, Hume and Burnet, of English historians; Herrera, La Hontan, and Prince's "New England Chronology"; Homer, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Sallust and Tacitus, of Greek and Roman classical writers; works on jurisprudence by Coke, Grote, Puffendorf and Vattel; scientific books, including Baker's "Microscope," Newton's "Principia," Franklin's "Electricity," Woodward's "Fossils," and Boerhave's "Chemistry." The collection was catholic and scholarly; perhaps it demonstrated the wholesome effect of a century and a quarter of toleration and soul liberty in relieving active minds from the obsession of religious controversy. The use of the library was offered to the faculty and students of Rhode Island College in 1770. The library society obtained a charter in 1798 under the name of Providence Library Company, new shares were issued and new books were added, but the library's popularity suffered because of inconvenient location. John Howland attributed "losses" of books to the fact that "the doors being left open to accommodate the members of the Legislature, other persons, in the absence of the librarian, had access to the books." Removal from the State House in 1816 was incident to a consolidation, in the course of which the Providence Library absorbed or was absorbed by a new organization. The record indicates that the Providence Library acquired "a very respectable literary establishment which had been purchased by a number of gentlemen," and these gentlemen were "admitted as proprietors on their transferring the same to the corporation." The Providence Library lacked in 1809 and again in 1830 the initiative to construct a building on sites tendered for the purpose, and in 1836 was united with the Providence Athenaeum. The latter had on its shelves in 1930 a few of the books included in the Providence Library of 1754, some of the seventy which escaped the fire of 1758.

OTHER EARLY LIBRARIES—Other libraries organized before 1800 were the Social Library, 1792, in the northern part of Cumberland; Johnston Library, 1794, which continued until 1815; Union Library of Glocester, 1794, located at Chepachet and continued to 1824; Pawcatuck Library, 1797, at Westerly; Warren Library, 1798, which was also called the Fessenden Library; and the Potter Library of Bristol, 1798, which was named for Simeon Potter, who subscribed for 300 of 500 shares. Captain Charles DeWolf purchased 121 shares in the Potter Library, thus leaving only seventy-nine for general underwriting. The Potter Library was discontinued in 1837. The Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, chartered in 1789, accumulated a library, which totalled 6222 volumes in 1877, when it was transferred to the new Providence Public Library. Nine or ten libraries were organized between 1800 and 1810, as follows: West Greenwich, Warwick, and East Greenwich Social, 1804; Foster Social, Coventry, Warwick Central at Apponaug, Barrington, and possibly Bowen's Hill in Coventry, 1806; Scituate United, 1808; Pawtucket, 1809. Except the Foster Social Library, which consolidated with the Foster Manton Library of 1847, the history of these libraries is substantially

similar. They were organized because of the zeal and initiative of a smaller number of persons in each instance, were popular and thrived for a time, were too poorly patronized and inadequately supported after the initial popularity to renew collections by purchasing new books, and were scattered by carelessness or discontinued by agreement. The average life was twenty-five to thirty years, or little more than the life residuum of the active promoters. In consideration of the limited vogue of most books, however, the record is not one of failure, in spite of the short survival after the books had become old. Somewhat similar are the stories of Cumberland Library, 1812; Cumberland Literary Society and Union Library, 1820; Burrillville Library, 1822; Foster West Library, 1830; Woonsocket Falls Library, 1830; Lime Rock Library of Smithfield, 1838. The Ladies' Reading and Library Society of East Providence,\* in 1819, began to circulate a box containing twenty-four books. This prototype of the modern "traveling library" developed into a collection of 800 volumes. It was divided in 1885 between East Providence, Rhode Island, and Seekonk, Massachusetts, the East Providence share going to the East Providence Free Library Association, which was incorporated in 1886. The library of the United Society of Tiverton, 1820, continued to 1845; it was revived in 1860 and lasted for another twenty years. The books of the old library remaining in 1884 were given to the Union Public Library organized at Tiverton Four Corners in 1889. A library of 300 books collected in 1825 for circulation in Kingston was revived in 1836 by Elisha R. Potter, who established a circulating library, which was housed in the Congregational Church, opposite the Court House. The Potter Library passed into the control of the church corporation in 1873, and thence to the Kingston Free Library in 1893. The library is housed in the old State House (courthouse) at Kingston, in 1930. The Old Warwick Ladies' Library, 1834, was discontinued in 1857, but most of the books were gathered later and became part of a public library in 1875. The Rhode Island Historical Society was incorporated in 1822, and until the stone cabinet on Waterman Street, Providence, was built in 1844, stored the papers and books entrusted to it in the State House, first, and later in the counting house of Brown & Ives. The Historical Society, besides collections of historical relics and curios, and a gallery of paintings and other works of art, treasures thousands of books, pamphlets, newspaper files, manuscripts and other papers, which are sources of information about Rhode Island. The library is one of the distinctive and one of the most important departments of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

ATHENAEUM—The Providence Athenaeum was chartered in 1831 with Cyrus Butler named as the first member of the corporation. Tristram Burges was elected as the first President. In five years the new society had accumulated 2400 volumes. It was a new library of new books, and a formidable rival of the Providence Library, which lacked the vigor to achieve a renaissance. The associations were friendly, however, and reached an agreement in 1836 to discontinue both and establish a new society, which purchased the books of the Providence Library and the Providence Athenaeum, the combined collections amounting to 4000 volumes. The General Assembly granted a new charter in 1836 to the Athenaeum on the request of 283 petitioners, the aggregate membership of the old and new societies. The name was changed in 1850 to Providence Athenaeum by amendment of the charter. The new library occupied quarters in the second story of the Arcade from 1836 to 1838, when it was removed to the present granite building at Benefit and College Streets in Providence. The latter was made possible at the time by the heirs of Thomas Poynton Ives, who offered \$10,000, including the value of the site, for a building and \$4000 for new books, both sums to be matched by equal amounts to be raised by subscription. The project was successful. Under the provisions of the Ives gift quarters in the new building were to be made available on lease for the Rhode Island Historical Society and the Providence Franklin Society, and the latter leased part of the building until 1849. The Athenaeum received \$10,000 as a gift from Alexander Duncan in 1849 in memory

\*Then Seekonk, Massachusetts.

of Cyrus Butler; \$10,000 in 1866 from the executors of Thomas Poynton Ives, grandson of Thomas Poynton Ives, whose immediate heirs made the building feasible; and \$10,000 in 1889 from Thomas Poynton Ives Goddard, the income to be used for purchasing "Standard works of permanent value"; besides many smaller gifts of money, and others of books or works of art. The Providence Athenaeum continues as a society library, supported by the annual assessments paid by the shareholders. It has accumulated, by purchase or otherwise, a fine collection of books, which have a large circulation among the members. The library has been enriched also by pictures and other objects of art. The building, a Doric temple, is one of the landmarks of old Providence and as substantial as the granite ledges of Rhode Island from which most of the stone was quarried.

**POPULAR LIBRARY MOVEMENT**—The establishment of public school libraries was promoted by legislation in 1840, which authorized expenditure of school money raised by public taxation for school collections for the use of children. Forty years later the General Assembly began the practice of making annual appropriations to assist school committees in providing dictionaries, encyclopedias, reference works and supplementary reading books for schools. The development of school libraries has been steady; few schools have no library, even if the books for general use be few in number and worn by long use. In several public high schools pretentious libraries, well organized, classified and catalogued, and directed by competent librarians, are maintained. Modern schoolhouse construction includes provision for a library as part of the customary equipment.

A most significant impetus to public libraries was given between 1840 and 1850 by Henry Barnard, who surveyed the public schools and planned a reorganization of administration. Barnard was as enthusiastic in promoting general education by public libraries as he was in urging improvement of public school facilities, and seldom failed, in the course of each of the 1100 meetings which were conducted under his direction in five years, from 1843 to 1848, to urge the need of books available for general reading. For teachers he succeeded in establishing a pedagogical library of at least thirty volumes in every town in the state. The new school act of 1845, which wrote into the statutes the Barnard plan for a public school system, authorized and directed the new state school officer, the Commissioner of Public Schools, to assist in the organization of public libraries and the selection of books, and this continued as one of the duties of the Commissioner without change in later revisions of the laws.

Next came Amasa Manton with an offer to donate to any new public library society which would double his money, \$150, for the purchase of new books; Manton libraries were organized in several towns, and some have continued into the twentieth century. New libraries in Burrillville, Charlestown, Cranston, Exeter, Glocester, Hopkinton, Little Compton, Middletown, New Shoreham, Portsmouth, Richmond, Warwick and Westerly, perhaps others, resulted directly from Henry Barnard's interest. The Charlestown, Exeter and Little Compton libraries were aided by Amasa Manton, the Portsmouth Library by Miss Sarah Gibbs. Other libraries established during the period, and not so definitely related to but probably resulting in part at least from the Barnard movement, were the Lonsdale Athenaeum and the Slatersville Lyceum, both begun in 1847 in Smithfield; the Jamestown Philomenian Society, 1849; four small libraries in North Providence, two of which were in Pawtucket; libraries at Globe Village, Hamlet and Bernon, in what became Woonsocket. Most of these libraries have been discontinued, although many of the books became part of later libraries. The Middletown Library became Miantonomi Circulating Library in 1856, and the books were given in 1875 to the Middletown Free Library Association. The Westerly Library was known as Pawcatuck Library and served residents on both sides of the river that bounds Rhode Island at the southwest corner. Eventually the books of this library became part of the collection in Westerly Public Library. The Jamestown Library was reorganized in 1876, and the Little Compton Library in 1871.

The Union Library Association was organized in 1851, through the initiative of the Howard Lyceum, to provide a public library for Phenix. Resources were obtained through shareholder subscriptions, and gifts of money and of books. The library passed through two fires and was destroyed by a third fire in 1873. The library was revived by reorganization in 1884. Newport Historical Society was organized March 8, 1853, and incorporated in 1854. The society purchased in 1884 and restored the old Seventh Day church edifice, which became its permanent headquarters for library, gallery and museum. The society has gathered a collection of valuable manuscripts, newspaper files, public documents, pamphlets and books, besides many paintings and other works of art, and articles of historic interest and association. The Sons of Temperance of South Kingstown disbanded in 1853 after having passed resolutions which were equivalent to making a "last will and testament" disposing of its property. The latter was offered to the inhabitants of the village of Rocky Brook and vicinity "whenever" they "shall raise the sum of \$1000 for the purpose of building a lecture hall or room and establishing a public library . . . within one-half mile of the Peacedale Post Office." Two years later a public meeting appointed a committee to investigate; the committee recommended a public library, and the Narragansett Library Association was organized October 25, 1855. The 900 volumes in the original collection were housed in a building erected in 1857 for community purposes by the Peacedale Manufacturing Company. The library received a bequest of \$3,000 in 1879 from Isaac Peace Hazard, and a gift of \$3000 in 1890 from Rowland Hazard. Rowland Hazard and John N. Hazard built for the library the Hazard Memorial building in 1891 as a memorial to Rowland G. Hazard, their father, who had been one of the active promoters of the library. Miss Anna Hazard of Newport gave the library \$5000 in 1892, and Rowland Hazard left a bequest of \$20,000 in 1898. The library operates as a free public library.

Pawtucket Library was incorporated in 1852 and opened in April with 1200 volumes. It had acquired by purchase the libraries of Central Falls and of the Masonic society, and received also gifts of 400 volumes. It was removed to larger quarters in 1876, and there Mrs. Minerva A. Sanders, the librarian, introduced the open shelf system, which later was adopted to some extent by most public libraries. Pawtucket Library was also the earliest in Rhode Island to become a genuinely public library, by transfer under the provisions of general laws to public control through publicly appointed trustees. The library was removed again in 1888 to larger quarters, and in 1901 occupied the present building, gift of Frederick Clark Sayles as a memorial to his wife, Deborah Cook Sayles. The building is of white granite in graceful Ionic architecture, and is one of the most beautiful in the state. The administration of Pawtucket Public Library has been most progressive, and its service has been unusual. It was one of the earliest to establish particular facilities for public school teachers and pupils, among other devices providing an extension department in the Pawtucket High School for receiving applications for books and delivering them at the school to pupils.

The People's Library of Newport was incorporated in 1867 as a free public library, and procured a collection of 3000 volumes. These in 1870 were added to a collection of 7000 volumes purchased by Christopher Townsend, who retained control and direction of the library, and in ten years increased the collection to 25,000 volumes, which had cost \$80,000. The Townsend tradition continued even after the death of the philanthropist; when in 1921 the People's Library accepted state support under the general statute, the collection exceeded 80,000 volumes.

East Greenwich Free Library was established in 1869. Two years later a library building was erected, half the cost of \$5000 being assumed by William W. Greene. The library received a bequest of \$13,000 in 1879 from Dr. Charles J. Thurston. Carrington Library in Cumberland was established in 1853 principally through the initiative of Edward Harris and George S. Wardwell. The library eventually became part of the Harris Institute collection. Harris Institute building was erected in 1857 by Edward Harris at an expense of \$70,000 and in 1863 was placed in control of trustees, who had been incorporated as Harris Institute. Mr. Harris contributed \$2500 additional to purchase books, and the library was opened in 1868.



THE ATHENAEUM, PROVIDENCE



STATE SUPPORT FOR LIBRARIES—A new dispensation in the history of public libraries in Rhode Island opened with the enactment in 1875 of the statute providing state support for free public libraries maintaining collections of books and library service approved by the State Board of Education. The active promoter of the new legislation was George W. Greene, who at the time was a member of the General Assembly, representing East Greenwich, and also a member of the State Board of Education, representing Kent County. Of more than sixty libraries established earlier than 1870, barely a dozen continued service in that year, these including the two exclusive proprietary libraries, the Redwood at Newport and the Providence Athenaeum; the Harris Institute at Woonsocket, the Pawtucket Free Public Library, the People's Library at Newport, the Narragansett Library at Peacedale, East Greenwich Free Library, Union Library at Phenix, United Society Library at Tiverton, Pawcatuck Library at Westerly, the Kingston Library, and the library at East Providence. By contrast with the losses before 1870, the State Board of Education reported in 1895 that the seven free public libraries which shared in the first apportionment of money from the general treasury continued to serve the people, and that of thirty-eight free public libraries approved by the Board in twenty years from 1875 to 1895 only one had failed to continue. Of the libraries of 1870, except the Pawtucket Public Library, the most pretentious—the Redwood, Athenaeum, Harris, Narragansett, and People's of Newport—had been liberally endowed financially or were sustained by strong financial support. John Kingsbury had observed in 1858 that the difference between a good district school and an utterly unsatisfactory district school might be related to the interest and liberality of an individual, and expressed a wish that the number of philanthropists might be increased in Rhode Island until all discreditable schools had disappeared. The school committee of Providence discovered in the second half of the eighteenth century that all the children of all the people were not being educated while the maintenance of schools was a care for the few and not a public function. Evidence had accumulated in 1875 that the same general principles applied to public libraries.

Four new public libraries had been established before the new statute became effective—the Ashaway Free Library in Hopkinton, 1871; the Warren Public Library, 1871, which was later known as the George Hail Free Library, so named for the native son of Warren to whom the granite building occupied by the library is a memorial; the Watchemoket Library in East Providence, 1872; the Manville Library in Smithfield, 1873, the last promoted by Samuel Austin of Providence, whose gift of books was the nucleus. The drift toward free libraries at the time was definite, as indicated by the use of the word "free" in names, and the provision for free use of books in the instances of the Harris, Narragansett and People's Libraries. The provision for state support of free libraries confirmed the tendency.

The State Board of Education was liberal in its policy. The one essential requirement for approval and state support was that "the books must be free to all comers, subject, of course, to suitable general regulations." The questions of ownership, control and management "were left for each library to determine for itself. In the first year seven libraries complied with the rules," as follows: East Greenwich Free Library, Manville Library, Warren Public Reading Room, Jamestown Philomenian Library, Narragansett Library, Old Warwick Library, Middletown Free Library. The combined resources were 9350 volumes. Harris Institute and Pawtucket Free Public Library qualified in the following year, and Kingston Library, Ashaway Library, Olneyville Free Library, Union Library of Centredale, Warren Public Library, Crompton Free Library, and Island Library of Block Island in 1877. The movement toward adequate public library facilities had been definitely started. There was one other factor in the new state program that was more progressive than public support, and that was the requirement that the money apportioned from the general treasury should be applied exclusively to the purchase of new books. The state thus undertook not only to assist, but also to provide for the perennial renewal of the collections by new acquisitions; the General Assembly had found a remedy for the dry rot which had destroyed so many ambitious library societies.

The history of public libraries after 1875 almost reversed earlier experience. Libraries that had been discontinued and scattered were revived and reassembled; decrepit libraries took on fresh life; new libraries were organized; public libraries were converted into free public libraries, thus to participate in the apportionment of public money from the general treasury and from town and city treasuries under the statute of 1878, which permitted additional municipal support of public libraries. Ashaway Free Library, East Greenwich Free Library, Jamestown Philomenian Library, Kingston Free Library, Little Compton Free Public Library, Old Warwick Library and Middletown Free Library were among those reorganized or revived. New libraries were established as follows: Olneyville Free Library, 1875; Island Free Library, Block Island, 1875; Whitridge Hall Library, Tiverton, 1875; Crompton Free Library, 1876; Barrington Public Library, 1880, located in Town Hall since 1888; Carolina Public Library, 1881, a part of the collection consisting of books from the Charlestown Library Association; Exeter Library, 1881, including books from the Manton Library Association; Riverside Free Public Library, 1881, in the southern part of East Providence; Central Falls Free Public Library, 1882, housed first in a fire engine station and later in a building constructed for the library, part of the cost supplied by a legacy left by Stephen L. Adams; Greenville Public Library, 1882, serving parts of Smithfield, Johnston, Glocester and Scituate, the collection including the library of Lapham Institute; Pawtuxet Valley Free Library, 1884, replacing the Phenix Library destroyed by fire in 1873; Pontiac Free Library, 1884; Apponaug Free Library, 1885; Willetteville Free Library, 1885, in Saunderstown, North Kingstown; Watchemoket Free Public Library, 1885, in central East Providence, replacing the library established in 1872, which had been destroyed by fire in 1876. Besides these fifteen new libraries, Rogers Free Library in Bristol was founded in 1877 by Maria De Wolf Rogers as a memorial to Robert Rogers, her husband, who had planned to give Bristol a public library. Mrs. Rogers gave land and building, valued at \$20,000, and books valued at \$3000. Her son, William Sanford Rogers, left a legacy of \$4000 for the Bristol Library. In pursuance of its policy of approving and aiding libraries open to everybody, without consideration of control or ownership, the State Board of Education aided the Union for Christian Work Library in Providence, although it was maintained principally by members of one religious denomination.

In the tenth year of state promotion thirty-three free public libraries were operating under State Board approval. The collections of books were 113,000 volumes, patrons numbered 55,000, and 300,500 loans were made. The distribution of libraries by towns and cities was as follows: Barrington, Bristol, Coventry at Anthony, Cumberland at Valley Falls, East Greenwich, Exeter, Hopkinton, Jamestown, Johnston at Olneyville, Little Compton, Middletown, New Shoreham, North Providence at Centredale, Pawtucket, Richmond at Carolina, Smithfield at Greenville, Tiverton, Warren, Woonsocket, one each; East Providence, two, at Watchemoket and Riverside; Lincoln, two, at Central Falls and Manville; Providence, three; South Kingstown, two, at Kingston and Peacedale; Warwick, five, at Apponaug, Crompton, Old Warwick, Phenix, and Pontiac.

Providence Public Library was opened February 4, 1878, after nearly eight years of discussion of plans. The library was chartered first in 1871 under the name "The Board of Trustees of the Free Library, Art Gallery and Museum in the City of Providence." At the time a union was contemplated of five earlier organizations, to wit: Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, founded in 1789, which had a collection of more than 6200 volumes and money, both of which it was willing to contribute to a new association; The Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, organized in 1820; Franklin Lyceum, 1831, a debating society; Rhode Island Horticultural Society, 1845; and Providence Franklin Society, 1823, which had been organized in 1821 as the Philosophical Association. Each of the associations had a collection of books, and the Franklin Society had a museum of natural history. The plan for an enterprise that might incorporate all of the activities of the

associations interested was abandoned in 1875, and an amendment to the charter was obtained, which provided principally for a public library under the name of Providence Public Library. Joseph A. Barker offered \$25,000 conditional upon the raising of \$75,000 additional by subscription, and the provision of a site by the city of Providence. Other gifts of \$10,000 each were received from Alexander Duncan and wife, William S. Slater, Mrs. Anna Richmond, Miss Julia Bullock, B. B. Knight, and Mrs. Adah Steere. The Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers contributed its library and money to raise the value of the gift to \$10,000. The library corporation is self-perpetuating, the Mayor of Providence serving ex-officio in the directorate to represent the municipality. William E. Foster, the first librarian, who was associated with the library until his death in September, 1930, began his duties in the quarters occupied by the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers at Weybosset and Orange Streets. The library opened in the Butler Exchange, to which the books had been transferred. The library was removed to Snow Street in 1880, and thence to the present building in 1900. Providence Public Library, as a free library, participated in the apportionment of the state appropriation, beginning in 1879, but received no support from the city of Providence until 1889. The library received bequests of \$32,000 from the estate of Moses B. Lockwood in 1882, \$275,000 from the estate of Henry L. Kendall in 1883, \$102,000 from the estate of John Wilson Smith; and from John Nicholas Brown the present building, which cost \$268,000. Up to 1900 the library had received gifts of money amounting to \$820,000, and several collections of books, the latter including the libraries of the Franklin Lyceum, Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society, Rhode Island Medical Society, Rhode Island Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, Rhode Island Horticultural Society, and the Barnard Club, besides private collections, among the latter the Harris books on slavery and the Civil War, and the Alfred M. Williams library of Irish, Scotch and other Celtic literature. In half a century the library grew to a collection of 385,000 books, circulating 1,300,000 volumes among 83,750 patrons. The library maintained twelve branches, thirteen stations and deposits for books in over 100 school rooms, factories and stores.

The organization of public libraries after 1885 continued thus: League Library, Warwick, 1886; East Providence Free Library, 1886, a reorganization of an older library; Langworthy Free Library at Hope Valley in Hopkinton, 1887; Natick Free Library in Warwick, 1887; Auburn Public Library in Cranston, 1888, which became a free library in 1892; Union Public Library of Tiverton, 1889, which includes books from an older library that has been discontinued; North Kingston Free Library, 1890, known as Wickford Free Library until 1899, when it received a legacy of \$10,000 from the estate of C. Allen Chadsey, and removed to the new building provided by the town; Summit Free Library in Coventry, 1891; Arlington Public Library in Cranston, 1895; Edgewood Free Public Library in Cranston, 1896; Valley Falls Free Library in Cumberland, 1899, a reorganization.

Pawcatuck Library of Westerly, organized in 1847, transferred its books, for an amount sufficient to liquidate indebtedness, to Westerly Memorial and Library Association. The town of Westerly by appropriation supplemented a gift by Stephen Wilcox, and a fireproof building was constructed and opened in 1894, with accommodations for the library and other community organizations. The building cost \$85,000 originally, and has been enlarged. Mrs. Stephen Wilcox, in 1899, gave the library association the Rowse Babcock estate, consisting of eight acres of land, for use as a public park. The park adjoins the library property, and the whole constitutes an unusual and very beautiful civic center for one of the finest and most progressive towns in the state.

In 1895, after twenty years of state promotion and support, Rhode Island had forty-five free public libraries with 247,250 volumes, from which 421,200 loans were made. Five years later, after a quarter-century of state support, Rhode Island had achieved a free public library system consisting of fifty libraries, with 820,600 volumes, from which 440,000 loans

were made. The fifty free public libraries in 1900 were distributed by towns as follows. Barrington, Bristol, Central Falls, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Exeter, Foster, Jamestown, Johnston, Little Compton, Middletown, New Shoreham, North Providence, Pawtucket, Portsmouth, Smithfield, Warren, Westerly and Woonsocket, one each; Coventry, Hopkinton, Lincoln, North Kingstown, Providence, Richmond and Tiverton, two each; East Providence and South Kingstown, three each; Cranston, four; Warwick, seven. One new library, at Narragansett Pier, in the new town of Narragansett, was added in the next five-year period, but books reached a total of 404,000, and nearly 65,000 patrons borrowed 531,800 volumes. Bernon Library, at Georgiaville in Smithfield, Calvary Institute and North End Libraries in Providence, North Scituate Public Library, and Norwood Public Library in Warwick were new in 1910; besides, the old Manton Library at Chepachat in Glocester had been reorganized. Fifty-seven free public libraries had 503,400 books and loaned 706,000 volumes. Two new libraries in Burrillville, the Pascoag Free Public Library and Jessie M. Smith Memorial Library, and the Audubon Library at Roger Williams Park in Providence were added in the next five years. The sixty public libraries in 1915 had 606,000 books, 91,000 patrons, and made loans passing the million mark, the total being 1,047,500. Four new libraries, one at Davisville in North Kingstown, another at Cross Mills in Charlestown, and two in Providence, the Cranston Street Community and new Elmwood Public Library, with one consolidation in Providence, brought the number of free public libraries to sixty-three in 1920. Patrons passed the 100,000 mark, with a total of 100,361; books numbered 692,500, and 1,266,500 loans were made. The new Elmwood Library reached a circulation of 787 per cent., which meant that the average of loans per book was nearly eight. People's Library of Newport, after more than forty years of service, joined other free public libraries in 1921. New libraries in Coventry, Cranston, and Warwick, brought the total to sixty-seven in 1925, with 899,000 volumes, 140,000 patrons, and 2,096,731 loans, the latter a significant achievement for the semi-centennial of state support. The number of books in sixty-nine free public libraries in 1930 exceeded 1,000,000, and loans were surging toward 2,500,000. The distribution of free public libraries in 1930 by towns was as follows: Barrington, Bristol, Central Falls, Charlestown, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Exeter, Foster, Glocester, Jamestown, Little Compton, Middletown, Narragansett, Newport, New Shoreham, North Providence, Pawtucket, Portsmouth, Scituate, Warren, Westerly and Woonsocket, one each; Burrillville, Hopkinton, Lincoln, Richmond and Smithfield, two each; Coventry, North Kingstown, South Kingstown, Tiverton and West Warwick, three each; East Providence, four; Cranston, five; Warwick, six; Providence, seven. Thirty-six of thirty-nine towns had one or more free public libraries actually within their boundaries.

The Providence Public Library, in extending its service to the people of the city, maintained branch libraries at convenient locations, through which loans were made from the shelves of the branch, or on request, from the central library, which filled orders from the branches daily. Twenty of the free public libraries were located in finely appointed buildings constructed for public library purposes, one of the finest being the Elmwood Public Library in Providence, which was a gift of the Knight family. The state in 1921 supplemented other assistance for public libraries by an annual appropriation to be apportioned to increase the salaries of the librarians, the purpose being to promote a greater public service by keeping libraries open for longer periods weekly.

TRAVELING LIBRARIES—Since 1908 the State Board of Education has conducted two other library services, through the supervision of a library visitor and through the circulation of traveling libraries. The function of the library visitor is not so much supervision, except as the visitor verifies reports made to the Board, as assistance to librarians in classifying

books, cataloguing them and rendering library service more satisfactory and attractive to the people, with the purpose of extending patronage. The library visitor helps librarians in various ways, besides suggesting books for purchase to strengthen collections. The traveling library service is intended to reach communities not served conveniently by free public libraries. A traveling library is a box of books, which may be loaned to a resident of an isolated community who becomes responsible for return upon request, for loans to neighbors, and for keeping a record of loans. The number of traveling libraries in service depends upon the money available; it has exceeded 300, and loans in some years have exceeded 50,000. But the service includes maintaining books in good condition, rebinding and repairing, besides replacement and the outfitting of new collections—books, boxes and canvas covers. The library visitor, who directs traveling library service, reported in one year 9000 books cleaned after return to headquarters, 4300 books repaired; 9600 books shellacked, besides rebinding, revision and repairs of boxes.

Rhode Island is a book state; in the number of volumes contributed to collections made for soldiers and sailors during the World War, Rhode Island stood twenty-six among the states. Few states equalled Rhode Island in the number of books per capita in free public libraries or in the loans per capita annually. Besides the million books in free public libraries, there are other notable collections available, some to the public and some by courtesy. The state of Rhode Island owns a library of public documents and other reference books, principally, which is housed in the Capitol, and a library of law books for judges and lawyers, which is maintained in the Providence County Courthouse. The Rhode Island Medical Society has a collection of professional books in its library in Providence. The Redwood Library of Newport and Providence Athenaeum continue, as do the Rhode Island and Newport Historical Societies. Brown University has a magnificent collection of books, housed partly in the beautiful John Hay Library building; in the Carter Brown Building, now used by the department of economics; and in other departmental libraries on the campus. It has also, in a separate building, the John Carter Brown Library of Americana, gift of John Nicholas Brown, estimated as worth not less than \$1,000,000, besides the building, which cost \$150,000. Rhode Island State College at Kingston, and Rhode Island College of Education, each has a library chosen for service. Providence College has a library, which is growing rapidly.





## CHAPTER XXXVIII. RHODE ISLAND NEWSPAPERS.



JAMES Franklin (1), like so many of his predecessors in Rhode Island, an exile from Massachusetts, where he had been prosecuted and persecuted because the Bay Colony could tolerate a free press in the eighteenth century no more than it had liberty of speech and of conscience in the seventeenth, settled at Newport and established a printing office. So early as 1727 he printed "John Hammett's Vindication and Relation, Newport, Rhode Island." There also he printed the sixth English edition of Barclay's "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same is Held Forth and Preached, by the People Called in Scorn Quakers," in 1729. Three years later James Franklin (1) printed the first Rhode Island newspaper, the "Rhode Island Gazette," at Newport, the earliest issue dated September 27, 1732. The newspaper was continued seven months, and abandoned May 24, 1733, for want of support. Franklin's printing shop at the time was in the basement of the town schoolhouse in Newport. James Franklin (1) died in 1735, but the "Widow Franklin" continued the printing business at the same location. Franklin's son, James (2), who had gone to Philadelphia with his uncle, Benjamin, returned to Newport after learning his trade and entered the family business. The Franklins were printers for the Colony of Rhode Island and published early editions of the laws. James Franklin (2) began publishing the "Newport Mercury" June 19, 1758, and the newspaper was continued as a weekly, except during the British occupation, for 170 years, becoming eventually the oldest American newspaper. James Franklin (2) died in 1762, but the "Mercury" was printed, successively, by his mother, the "Widow Franklin," by the firm of Franklin & Hall, by Samuel Hall as sole proprietor, and by Solomon Southwick from 1768 until the British came. Then Southwick buried his type and presses, and fled precipitately to avoid the probable consequences of his unconcealed advocacy of the patriot cause. The British dug up the printing equipment and published the "Newport Gazette" during the occupation.

EARLY PROVIDENCE NEWSPAPERS—William Goddard, born in New London in 1740, but resident in Providence from boyhood, opened a printing office "opposite the Court House" in 1762, and on October 20 of that year began publishing the "Providence Gazette and Country Journal." The printing office was removed in 1763 "to the store of Judge Jenckes near the Great Bridge" and in 1765 to "the house opposite Mr. Nathan Angell's." Publication was discontinued from May 11, 1765, to August 9, 1766, because of the Stamp Act. In the meantime William Goddard had gone to New York, and the publication in 1766 was resumed by his mother, Mrs. Sarah Goddard. A letter, written by William Goddard, and printed in the "Gazette," summarized the situation. After leaving Providence as much because of failure of financial support for his newspaper as for any other reason, Goddard was urged "by many of my former readers" to return because of "the necessity of their having a public paper to continue such notices as the 'Providence Gazette' used to convey in support of public liberty." Goddard returned "to make trial of their good will" and published a "Gazette Extraordinary," August 24, 1765, "containing proposals for reviving the 'Gazette,' in which it was stipulated that in case I obtained 800 subscribers in five weeks, I would then begin. . . . An arduous trial was made, on which I did everything in my power to insure success, but was not so happy as to meet with it. Under these circumstances, being urged by my friends here\* to return, bring

\*New York.

my printing materials, and establish myself in a more extensive business, in which I was promised their countenance and support, prudence obliged me to follow their advice—in part." The letter continued to relate that Goddard had left his printing equipment in Providence "in the hands of my mother, Mrs. Sarah Goddard, who has enjoyed to do all she can for supporting the printing business in Providence. . . . And as I have lately sent her an assistant to enable her to carry on the business more extensively, I am convinced, if she meets with real encouragement, she will be able to give satisfaction." The assistant was Samuel Inslee, who left for "the westward" in 1767, after having advertised in the "Gazette" for "one or two journeymen printers, who can work both at case and press, and are willing to go to the westward."

William Goddard was one of the earliest Rhode Island printers "to go to the westward." He was subsequently founder of the "Constitutional Courant" of New York, the "Pennsylvania Chronicle" and "Universal Advertiser" of Philadelphia, and the "Maryland Journal" and "Baltimore Advertiser." He married Abigail Angell, daughter of Israel Angell, in 1785. He spent his last years in Rhode Island as a farmer, dying in 1817. Another Rhode Islander who went "to the westward" was Henry Wheaton, who closed his law office in Providence to enter journalism as editor of the "National Advocate," which he established in New York as an active supporter of the policies of President Madison. Through the columns of the "National Advocate" Wheaton established a reputation as an authority on international law, on which he wrote extensively in later years. Almost a generation earlier Solomon Southwick, son of the Southwick who had been editor of the "Newport Mercury," was editor of the "Albany Register." The second Southwick was influential as editor and politician, and was twice candidate for Governor of New York. He published also the "Plough-Boy" in 1821, and the "National Democrat," and finally the "National Observer," organ of the anti-masonic party. Arunah Shepherdson Abell, born in what is now East Providence in 1806, learned the printing trade in Providence. In 1836, with two other practical printers, he started the "Public Ledger," which has since then become one of the leading newspapers of Philadelphia. Although continuing his interest in the "Public Ledger" until 1864, Abell went to Baltimore in 1837, and founded the "Baltimore Sun," a famous newspaper, which was continued after Abell's death in 1888 as an Abell family enterprise. The "Baltimore Sun" under Abell's management, owned the first Hoe rotary press, and was the first newspaper to make extensive use of the electric telegraph. Unlike most printers, Arunah Shepherdson Abell accumulated an estate valued at several millions of dollars. The "Baltimore Sun's" iron building, the first erected in the world, was destroyed in the great Baltimore fire.

John Carter came to Rhode Island in 1767, from Benjamin Franklin's shop in Philadelphia, and became Mrs. Goddard's partner as publishers of the "Gazette." Carter became exclusive proprietor in 1768, and continued as such until 1814, except from 1793 to 1799, when William Wilkinson was his partner. The first number of the "Providence Gazette," October 20, 1762, contained, beginning at the bottom of the first page, following William Goddard's announcement "to the Public," the first installment of "The Planting and Growth of Providence," a history, by Stephen Hopkins. Hopkins was one of those who recognized "the necessity of their having a public paper to continue such notices as the 'Providence Gazette' used to convey in support of public liberty." Hopkins was frequently a contributor to the columns of the "Gazette." His biographer attributes to Hopkins "a large share of its contents." Like the "Newport Mercury," edited and published by the able Solomon Southwick, the "Providence Gazette," published by John Carter, after the withdrawal of the Goddards, and probably edited in considerable part by Stephen Hopkins, supported the patriot cause and the oncoming Revolution, which Hopkins predicted ten years before the storm broke. "The Rights of Colonies Examined," by Stephen Hopkins, was printed by Goddard in

pamphlet form in 1765, and was distributed widely, being reprinted in England; in the following year Mrs. Goddard printed "A Discourse Addressed to the Sons of Liberty," at a solemn assembly near Liberty Tree in Providence February 24, 1766.

The "Mercury" printed the Virginia resolutions on the Stamp Act, which had evoked Patrick Henry's "Caesar had his Brutus" speech. The resolutions were first printed in the "Maryland Gazette" with an article approving them written by Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The number of the "Newport Mercury" containing the resolutions was suppressed as a traitorous publication. The "Newport Mercury" and the "Providence Gazette" were significant agencies for disseminating information about successive episodes preceding but foretelling the Revolution, and for formulating public opinion, thus producing a solidarity in Rhode Island which favored the prompt action taken in 1775 to place the colony in a position of military preparedness, and again in 1776 to clarify the issue by the Rhode Island Declaration of Independence on May 4. The "Providence Gazette" was more laconic than the "Mercury" in its report of the progress of events, but the editor never failed to appreciate the significance of the unfolding drama. The "Providence Gazette" printed a bare announcement of the enactment of the Declaration of Independence by the General Assembly without comment; but the royal arms had disappeared forever from the heading of the "Gazette" when the next issue appeared on May 11, 1776. The same alertness had been displayed following the battle of Lexington, the "Gazette" report of the battle ending with: "Thus has commenced the American Civil War." The observation was an accurate statement of the situation, which in 1775 was defensive. Rhode Island's action of May 4, 1776, meant separation and the elimination of the royal arms was logical. Very discreetly, the destruction of the "Gaspee" was reported in 163 words, and the investigation by the King's commission was barely mentioned. Yet John Carter faced indictment for criminal libel in 1773 for printing a report that a member of the committee of correspondence had testified before the commissioners investigating the "Gaspee" affair. The "Gazette" referred to the attempt to indict thus: "The very extraordinary attempt to destroy the liberty of the press became a matter of great expectation, and did not fail to alarm the Friends of Freedom; their apprehensions, however, soon subsided, the *honest jury* having returned the bill *ignoramus*." The return was characteristic; the King's commissioners found nobody in Rhode Island who knew anything about the "Gaspee" affair.

The colonial newspapers were small sheets, the "Rhode Island Gazette" measuring 8½x12 inches, the "Providence Gazette" 8x14 inches, neither more than half the page size of a modern "tabloid." The setting of type, reduced after the first issue by repeating advertisements, required four days of full time probably. The papers were printed on primitive presses, improved but little over the devices used by Gutenberg and others in the fifteenth century; inking was accomplished by using leather balls as it had been for most of three centuries. Paper was scarce and high-priced. John Waterman started a paper mill on the Woonasquacket River, near Olneyville, in 1764, and from 1769 to 1777 conducted a printing office with the factory, the product including several books and pamphlets, among them Silas Downer's oration at the dedication of the Liberty Tree in 1768, a catalog of books in the Providence Library, a volume of sermons, one of songs "for the use and edification of such as love the truth in its native simplicity," and in 1775 an edition of the "New England Primer." Waterman had purchased type and press from the estate of Samuel Kneeland of Boston. Waterman died in 1777, and the printing office at Olneyville was discontinued. John Carter bought the Kneeland-Waterman outfit of type and press in 1779 for one of two reasons, the former probably, (1) forestalling the setting up of an establishment in Providence to rival his, or (2) obtaining a new dress of type for the "Gazette." He had ordered new type in England just before the Revolution, but the type had been confiscated in the New York custom house by the King's officers. The Kneeland-Waterman type probably was older than the "Gazette" type, which had been

flattened and worn by fifteen years of use at least, if it had been new when William Goddard bought it. John Carter sold the Waterman outfit in 1779 to Solomon Southwick, fugitive editor and printer of the "Newport Mercury," "at the cost price to himself, with a verbal promise that they should not be set up in the town or used to oppose a friend in business who had served him in distress." Southwick opened a shop first in Rehoboth, but on April 1, 1779, mark the day, began with Bennett Wheeler as partner, to publish a newspaper, the "American Journal and General Advertiser," at Updike house, next door to John Carter, who was then located at 21 Meeting Street. Southwick had obtained part of the public printing, another disappointment for Carter, and had taken away from Carter's shop Wheeler, who had worked there as a journeyman printer. Within the year of 1779 the Southwick & Wheeler shop was "removed from the house of Captain John Updike to the store of Mr. Thomas Jones, next door but one to the sign of General Washington, on the west side of the Great Bridge." Solomon Southwick had already departed, to resume publication of the "Mercury" at Newport, from which the British withdrew in October, 1779. Bennett Wheeler continued to publish the "Journal and Advertiser" until August 29, 1781. For seven months it had been printed as a semi-weekly. From 1784 to 1803 Wheeler published the "United States Chronicle." He died in 1806, after having been for two years proprietor of a general store. The "Gazette" printed extra editions on October 25, 1781, to announce the capture of Yorktown; on November 8, 1781, the surrender of York and Gloucester; and on December 3, 1783, was the first American newspaper to report the signing of the treaty of peace with England, thus: "By the brig Don Golvez, Captain Silas Jones, arrived in the river from London, we have received a copy of the long looked for definitive treaty. which we embrace the earliest occasion of announcing to the public." At the end of the Revolution Rhode Island still had two newspapers—the "Newport Mercury" and the "Providence Gazette."

NEWPORT NEWSPAPERS—The first number of the "Mercury" following the evacuation of Newport was issued January 5, 1780, by Solomon Southwick and Henry M. Barber as partners. Southwick was the sole proprietor from 1787 to 1795, and Barber succeeded him, 1795 to 1800. The "Mercury's" competitors for the period were the "Newport Herald," 1787-1791, Peter Edes, editor, printed in opposition to the issuing of paper currency, and discontinued when the controversy had been terminated by ratification of the Federal Constitution; the "United States Chronicle," 1791-1802; the "Rhode Island Museum," six months in 1794; the "Weekly Companion and Commercial Centinel," 1798-1799, and the "Guardian of Liberty," 1800, both published by Oliver Farnsworth as sole proprietor, or by Oliver and Havila Farnsworth. In 1800 Oliver Farnsworth founded the "Rhode Island Republican," with the motto "An indissoluble Union of the States is essential to their liberty and existence." The "Republican" was as short-lived almost as any of the early rivals of the "Mercury"; it was discontinued in 1802. The "Mercury" had no competitor from 1802 until 1809, when William Simons started another "Republican." The second "Republican" was discontinued in 1841, sixteen years after Simons had sold his interest and removed to Providence. The "Rhode Islander" followed the "Republican," issued from the same plant, until it was absorbed in 1846 by the "Herald of the Times."

Three other Newport weekly papers were short-lived—the "Anti-Masonic Rhode Islander," 1829, organ of the anti-Masonic party; the "Freedmen's Advocate and Impartial Inquirer," 1830, which supported President Andrew Jackson's policies; the "Rhode Island Gazette," 1834, purporting to revive James Franklin's enterprise of 1732. The "Herald of the Times" was established in 1830, renamed as the "Herald of the Times and Rhode Islander" in 1846, and continued from 1849 to 1856 as the "Herald of the Times." The "Newport Journal," 1867, was established as a weekly issue of the "Daily News." Newport's first daily

newspaper, the "Newport Daily News," was established in 1846 by Orin F. Jackson. Jackson was succeeded by William H. Cranston in 1848, and the latter by George H. Norman in 1849. Under these able editors the "News" became a strong newspaper. It absorbed in 1849 the "Daily Herald," which had been published for a short time previously by S. S. Eastman from the office of the "Herald of the Times." Another "Herald," the "Newport Daily Herald," was established in 1892 by the Herald Publishing Company. At the same time the "Providence Democrat" removed to Newport, and was continued for a short time as a weekly edition of the "Herald." The "Herald" eventually became an independent Republican newspaper. It absorbed, in 1894, the "Season," a daily paper published first in 1886, and in 1888 continued as the "Daily Observer and the Season." The "Newport Daily Advertiser" was first published in November, 1849, and printed as a daily for the last time on April 1, 1850; in January, 1850, the editor started the "Newport Weekly Advertiser," which continued until 1882. Other Newport publications included three historical quarterlies, the "Newport Historical Magazine," 1880-1884; the "Rhode Island Historical Magazine," 1884-1887; and the "Magazine of New England History," 1891-1893, besides a large number of periodicals that were short-lived. At the end of the nineteenth century Newport had two strong daily newspapers, the "News" and the "Herald," and two weeklies, the "Mercury" and the "Journal," the latter published by the "News." The "Mercury" was published by the veteran John P. Sanborn from 1872. The "Mercury" was acquired by the "News" in 1927, and has been issued since then as a weekly edition of the "News," replacing the "Journal." "L'Alba Russo," a weekly newspaper, was also published in Newport in 1930. The "Mercury's" original press, the same one which the elder James Franklin set up at Newport so early as 1727, was sold in 1859 to John B. Murray, who promised to place it in the Patent Office at Washington or in some other suitable place for preservation and exhibition. Instead, it was presented to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association in 1864, on the anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birth, as the first press on which Benjamin Franklin had worked. Murray placed in the Patent Office in 1841 a press on which Benjamin Franklin had worked while in London.

PARTY ORGANS—John Carter continued to publish the "Providence Gazette" as sole proprietor until 1792. He had been postmaster at "Providence" from 1772, and in 1793 formed a partnership with William Wilkinson, who had been appointed as his successor as postmaster. Both post office and printing shop were removed to the firm's new building, years afterward known as the "Old Coffee House," which had been erected at what is now the corner of Canal Street and Market Square. The partnership ended May 9, 1799, when Wilkinson withdrew. The association had not been happy, and it ended in an open quarrel. It is possible, even probable, that the appointment of Wilkinson had been political. Carter, after supporting the Revolution vigorously, had opposed the ascendancy of the paper money party in Rhode Island, and also the ratification of the Federal Constitution. In the first instance, the positions were not contradictory, but Carter failed to shift from anti-federalism when so many prominent Rhode Islanders urged ratification as a relief from economic evils attending inflation of the currency, and the rising commercial interest in the state feared the effects of isolation upon their trade. Neither the Federalist party in its early history, nor the Republican party later, hesitated to use federal patronage to promote party purposes. The combination of newspaper publisher and postmaster was ideal as a method of helping the publisher economically through the salary or fees, and of assuring a loyal party organ. John Carter had been shrewd enough to form a partnership with the new postmaster, but it is scarcely possible that he could forget the succession. Toward the end of the partnership Carter, in the columns of the "Gazette," openly accused the postmaster of withholding letters addressed to Carter. Disputes arose in final accounting, and Carter by innuendo accused his

partner of proposing "submitting matters and things to referees" and requiring "sixteen months to manufacture tragicomic accounts for their inspection and amusement." So late as 1802 Carter announced the invention of a new system of bookkeeping not requiring "Cash book, sale book, journal, invoice-book and such like lumber" by an "ingenious projector" whom he styled "William Swindle, Esquire, Master of Arts and Professor of Legerdemain." The "Gazette" removed from the Canal Street building in 1812 to College Street. It was sold in 1814 to Hugh H. Brown and William H. Wilson.

John Carter died August 20, 1815. Walter R. Danforth was editor, 1820-1825, and Albert G. Greene, 1825, until October, when the "Gazette" was united with the "American." The press and book and job type were retained by Hugh H. Brown, who continued to maintain a printing office at the old stand, College and South Main Streets, after the partnership had been dissolved, until his death in 1863. The equipment was sold for junk in 1863. The "Gazette's" earliest competitors were the "American Journal and General Advertiser," 1779-1781, published by Solomon Southwick and Bennett Wheeler; and the "United States Chronicle," political, commercial and historical, 1784-1803, published by Bennett Wheeler. A building for the "Chronicle" was erected in 1796 at Westminster and Exchange Streets; Wheeler offered "to receive of any of his customers or of any person indebted to him, ranging timber, joists, boards, plank, shingles, laths, clapboards, nails, lime, brick, stone, or mason's and carpenter's work," adding "Those who are indebted and cannot supply any of the above articles, will please to furnish a little cash, which will also be wanted." The "Chronicle" opposed Governor Fenner and was condemned in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1801 for "slandering and defaming the Governor, Supreme Court and other constituted authorities of this State."

Other competitors were the "State Gazette" and "Town and County Advertiser," published in 1796 by Joseph Fry; and the "Impartial Observer," anti-Federalist, 1800-1801, published by Benoni Williams. John Carter, Jr., published the "Providence Journal and Town and County Advertiser," 1799-1802, from the "Gazette" office, then owned by his father. The "Journal" had a contract for publishing the laws of the United States, and printed them so that a half-sheet, containing only the laws, could be separated from the rest of the paper and bound in a complete volume without other matter. Practically John Carter and son were publishing a semi-weekly newspaper, the son issuing the "Journal" on Wednesdays, and the father the "Gazette" on Saturdays. The end of the century was reached with four newspapers—the "Gazette," "Chronicle," "Journal" and "Observer," all but the "Gazette" destined to early demise.

Three rivals of the "Providence Gazette," which scarcely survived the turn of the century, were succeeded by others—the "Impartial Observer," 1801-1803; "Liberty's Centinel," 1803; the "Rhode Island Farmer," 1804-1805; the "Providence Centinel and War Chronicle," 1812, the latter with George R. Burrill as editor. The "Providence Phoenix," a Republican weekly, was established in 1803, one of the owners being Senator Theodore Foster. The newspaper changed owners and editors frequently. Josiah Jones and Bennett H. Wheeler, who obtained control in 1807, changed the name to "Phenix" and later to "Columbian Phenix," and again to "Columbian Phenix or Providence Patriot." From 1814 it was known as the "Providence Patriot Columbian Phenix." It was a semi-weekly from 1819 to 1832; in the latter year it was discontinued. Bennett H. Wheeler was a son of Bennett Wheeler, whose name had been associated with several enterprises since his partnership with Solomon Southwick in 1779. Bennett H. Wheeler was postmaster in Providence 1824-1831, and was removed by President Jackson in 1831. Thereafter he took little interest in public affairs; he died in 1863. His connection with the "Phenix," or the "Patriot" as it was more commonly known, continued actively for sixteen years, and the paper during that time "was a terror to the Feder-

alists of Rhode Island." Of the "Patriot" the "Gazette" said in 1820: "The 'Patriot' has the largest circulation and their advertising patronage is the largest, notwithstanding it is a Democratic paper and the town is Federal." The paradox has been repeated in Providence in the twentieth century. William Simons, who had been publisher of the "Newport Republican," which he sold in 1825, became editor of the "Patriot" following Wheeler, continuing four years, at the end of which he became editor of the new "Republican Herald" of Providence.

The "Rhode Island American," 1808, was first published as a semi-weekly at the sign of the "American Eagle," opposite the Market, and in 1812 removed to the building previously occupied by the "Gazette." William G. Goddard, son of William Goddard, who founded the "Gazette," was editor of the "American" from 1814 to 1825, when the "American" and "Gazette" were consolidated, with Francis Y. Carlile and H. H. Brown as owners. B. F. Hallett, who had been editor of the "Journal," became editor of the "American and Gazette" in 1827. The "American and Gazette" acquired W. R. Danforth's "Microcosm," which had been established as a weekly in 1825, and continued the paper. The "American and Gazette" purchased also the "Cadet and Statesman," which had been founded in 1826 as the "Literary Cadet and Saturday Evening Bulletin." The name of the principal weekly paper resulting from the consolidation for a time was "Rhode Island American, Statesman and Providence Gazette." The "Providence Daily Advertiser," the first Rhode Island daily newspaper, was issued from the "American" office July 20, 1829, anticipating the "Providence Daily Journal" by one day. The "Advertiser" was discontinued a few months later. The "Gazette" was last published under the name "City Gazette." The "Daily Advertiser" printed its own death notice January 11, 1833, thus: "The patrons of the 'Daily Advertiser, and American and Gazette' are hereby informed that those papers will be discontinued on February 1, 1833. The patrons may inquire what are the reasons for this sudden change? The answer is, I have hinted that a Methodist clergyman is suspected of having committed an atrocious murder in Tiverton, in this State, and have displeased the church; and these papers I intend shall give the whole history of that most foul transaction, without fear or favor, and the subscription list then, in my opinion, will be of no value. The 'Microcosm' and 'Weekly American,' not being concerned in the sin of exposing this foul murder, will be continued with unabated energy, and will be forwarded to all subscribers of the 'Rhode Island American' after the first of February. Whilst managing these papers, as a printer, I have endeavored to go by the rule I followed whilst tilling the ground—that is to deal justly in all business transactions, live soberly, and work early and late. I have made no new debts since I have been a printer, that are unpaid, to my knowledge; if there are any, I am ready to settle them. The labor and paper I have always paid for weekly. I have, therefore, a clear conscience, a stout heart, and some money in my pocket." The notice was signed by Daniel Mowry, 3d, who had become proprietor of the newspapers by dissolution of partnership.

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL—The "Manufacturers and Farmers Journal and Providence and Pawtucket Advertiser," was issued as a semi-weekly paper on January 3, 1820. The name was shortened to "Manufacturers and Farmers Journal," May 1, 1848. The new paper was published by John Miller and John Hutchins. The first editor was William E. Richmond, a lawyer, who fifty years later wrote: "It was almost exclusively in the night season that the 'Journal' was edited, as a relaxation from the daily labors of another profession; and it was understood from the beginning, that so soon as the 'Journal' could be considered as securely established, another editor should be procured." Successors of Richmond before 1840 were Benjamin F. Hallett, who left the "Journal" April 2, 1827, to become editor of the "American and Gazette" April 3, 1827; Thomas Rivers, who was editor when the "Daily Journal" was started in 1829; Lewis S. Clark, George Paine, John B. Snow, Thomas H. Webb, and Henry

B. Anthony. The motto of the new paper was "Encourage National Industry," and the proprietors disclaimed interest in "the party or local politics of the day," since "their discussion might call attention from the main objects of our 'Journal,' and create collisions highly detrimental to our patrons and ourselves. . . . The support of that system of domestic and foreign politics, which has obtained the approbation of all parties, and is emphatically denominated 'The American policy,' will occupy our attention. To sum all up in a few words: Our 'Journal' will be devoted to the support of the Manufacturing and American policy. It will be a medium of scientific, manufacturing and mercantile information, and a faithful reporter of the passing news. . . . The manufacturing and agricultural interests are inseparable. A principal, and in our opinion a conclusive, argument in favor of manufactures arises from the consideration that they encourage the cultivation of the soil by furnishing a home market for its products. The manufacturing and farming interests must, therefore, rise or fall together. We pledge ourselves that the interests of the most useful and honorable class in the community will be faithfully supported in the pages of our 'Journal.'"

The paper had the support of Benjamin Aborn, William and Richard Anthony, Samuel Arnold, James Burrill, Timothy Green, Joseph Harris, Richard and George and Nathan W. Jackson, Amasa and William H. Mason, James and Christopher and William Rhodes, Samuel and John Slater, William Sprague and his sons, Amasa and William Sprague, William Valentine, and David Wilkinson, all manufacturers or interested as investors in manufacturing. The "Independent Inquirer," a weekly established in 1823, was acquired by the "Journal" in 1825, and issued as a weekly under the name "Rhode Island Country Journal" until 1897. The "Providence Daily Journal" was issued July 21, 1829, action being precipitated by the first printing of the "Providence Daily Advertiser" on the day preceding. The era of weekly newspapers, which ended in Providence in midsummer, 1829, may be summarized for clarity thus: The "Providence Gazette" had one competitor, the "Phenix" from 1803 to 1808; two, the "American" added, from 1808 to 1820; three, the "Journal" added, from 1820, counting only separate establishments. The "Gazette" and "American" consolidated in 1825, leaving three rival weeklies. A fourth weekly, the "Republican Herald," was published first on July 1, 1828. A year later the "Daily Advertiser" was issued, and the "Journal" appeared as a daily one day following the "Advertiser." The "Phenix," in 1832, and the "Advertiser," and "American and Gazette," in 1833, were discontinued, leaving the "Journal" and the "Herald." The "Herald" continued as a weekly, the "Journal" was issuing a daily, the "Manufacturers and Farmers Journal" as a semi-weekly, and the "Rhode Island Country Journal" as a weekly. Four short-lived dailies—the "Free Press," 1830; the "Daily American," 1831; the "Public Ledger," 1831, and the "Daily City Gazette," 1833—and two weeklies—the "Literary Subaltern," 1829-1833, and the "Chronicle of the Times," 1831, had been established and discontinued. The "Free Press" was anti-Masonic, and the plant had been moved from Pawtucket. The explanation of the frequency of new ventures previous to 1860 lay in (1) the low cost and still primitive nature of the equipment necessary, and (2) the practice of hiring out the composition and press work. Instead of investing in a plant, the publishers might contract with the proprietor of an established commercial printing business to print their newspaper. Within the period of relatively a few issues the probable success or failure could be estimated accurately. The paper was discontinued if circulation and advertising patronage failed to measure up to expectations. Type was hand-set as it had been from the beginning of printing, and little improvement in printing presses had been accomplished. Market Square was the center of the printing business; the "Journal" lists the "Providence Patriot," the "Microcosm," the "Literary Cadet," the "Christian Telescope," the "Religious Messenger," the "Pawtucket Chronicle," and the "anti-Universalist" as published there in 1827; and among other papers of the period 1827-1829, the "Investigator and General Intelligencer," the "Gospel

Preacher," the "Juvenile Gazette," the "Toilet or Ladies' Cabinet of Literature," the "Original," the "Beacon Light," the "Little Genius," the "Literary Subaltern," and the "Brunonian."

The "Patriot," commenting on the issuing of two daily newspapers in Providence on successive days, said:

There was a tremendous flurry among the editors and printers in this town on Monday last. An amalgamation of the American and Cadet was announced, and succeeded by the eruption of daily sheets from the conjoined presses. Soon comes the Journal with a fiery handbill, announcing their intention of immediately commencing a daily—and a general alarm ensued. The weeklies, semi-weeklies and the dailies flew about the streets like frightened pigeons on the firing of a Fourth of July salute. Amidst the general confusion, our devil,\* in the cock-loft, undismayed by the howlings of the storm, issued his manifesto in the following terms, which added ten fold to the terrors of the surrounding scene: "To the Public—If sufficient encouragement can be given, on and after the first day of August next, the Providence Patriot will be published three times a day, viz., morning, noon and evening—so that our readers may have a paper at each meal. For those who indulge in hearty suppers just before going to bed, we shall issue a small Night Bulletin, by way of a digester."

The "Journal" was little more prosperous than its competitors, in the beginning; there were frequent changes of ownership and removals. Knowles & Burroughs bought the paper in 1838, and Henry B. Anthony acquired an interest a short time later. Meanwhile Burroughs had been replaced by John W. Vose. The combination of Anthony as editor and Knowles as practical printer was successful, the former making the paper popular and influential, and the latter assuring economical management. For a time, while Burroughs was a partner, the "Journal" used a unique news service. New York was the news center of the country, and news gathered in New York for the "Journal" was set into type there, and shipped via Stonington by boat and train to reach the "Journal" office early the next morning; the advantage lay in having type ready for printing at the time when a rival newspaper was in possession only of copy, and that involved hours while newspapers were hand set. The "Journal" utilized telegraph service for collecting news in 1848, the year in which Zachary Taylor defeated Lewis Cass for President. The first important change in mechanical equipment was made in 1856, when the "Journal" installed a Hoe single-cylinder press operated by steampower. Following the use of telegraph, the work of setting type and printing, which in early days had ended usually before supper, was shifted from day to night; thus to use to the most advantage the new process of collecting news and printing it early. In application the same principle led to the printing of an afternoon newspaper, the "Bulletin," during the Civil War, thus to relay to the people the latest dispatches from the front. The "Evening Bulletin" made its first appearance on January 26, 1863. The "Bulletin" was not the first evening newspaper published in Rhode Island.

DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPERS—The "Republican Herald" continued as a Democratic newspaper under administration of members of the Simons family. It was issued as a semi-weekly January 7, 1832. Its office was a gathering place for the Democratic politicians of the period—James Fenner, who was Governor—1807-1811, and 1824-1831; Dexter Randall and Jones Titus, who with Colonel Simons, editor, were called the "Big Four." The Dorr movement was not so clearly a Democratic party movement as to win support by the "Herald." As a party the Democrats hesitated to support Dorr in the critical stages of the movement, and again to rise to the possible advantages to them that lay in the extension of suffrage under the new Constitution. James Fenner, old line Democrat, became the Law and Order party candidate for Governor and was elected as the first Governor under the new Constitution. Colonel Simons, on the other hand, was a personal friend of Dorr, and the latter went to the

\*The printer's apprentice.

Simons house when returning to the state to face trial for treason. The "Herald" "explained" its position later, asserting that it had the choice of silence or destruction of its plant, and chose discretion. The Dorr movement suffered, somewhat, probably, for want of an efficient public newspaper, although the "New Age," a weekly and the "Daily Express" were issued as "Dorrite." The "Journal" at the time opposed public violence, and as the Dorr movement ran its erratic course after Dorr's initial failure to act, ridiculed the leader; nevertheless, the "Journal" favored a new Constitution as a solution of the situation, provided the new Constitution were drafted, adopted and put into effect by orderly processes, and the newspaper's vigorous opposition, both to the "lawless procedure" of Dorr and to reaction that might have forestalled action in 1842, did much to help the Law and Order party to find itself. The "Journal" emerged with new prestige; the "Herald" had alienated support.

A newspaper, the "Providence Daily Gazette," was issued April 20, 1844, by Joseph M. Church from the printing office of William Jones Miller. Neutral at first, it became Democratic; and in March, 1845, issued a weekly edition, the "Democratic Republican." Although the "Daily Gazette" claimed the largest circulation in Rhode Island in 1845, it was discontinued in November, 1846. Four years later Welcome B. Sayles, the postmaster in Providence, and William Jones Miller published the "Daily Post" and "Weekly Post." Clement Webster was editor. The new papers were Democratic. Aaron Simons was admitted to the partnership January 1, 1853, when the "Republican Herald," after nearly a quarter of a century of existence, was consolidated with the "Post." The latter was then the only Democratic newspaper and the strongest rival of the "Journal." The "Post" reached the apex of prosperity in 1860, when the size of the paper was increased and a cylinder press was installed. Gideon Bradford, Collector of the Port, had replaced Welcome B. Sayles in the partnership in 1858. Edwin Metcalf, first, and Thomas Steere, later, succeeded Clement Webster as editor. Along with the Democratic party, the "Post" lost prestige during the Civil War, and in 1863 the proprietor offered to sell the newspaper to Democratic politicians, with the alternative of discontinuance. The "Post" suspended publication on May 20, 1867, the weekly being continued as the "Herald." The "Morning Herald" was issued from the "Post" plant on May 20, 1867. Both morning and weekly papers were controlled eventually by the A. & W. Sprague Company, and both were discontinued May 21, 1873, anticipating by only a few months the total collapse of the Sprague interests. The Democratic party had no newspaper for a few years following the suspension of the "Herald."

FRESH VENTURES—If Providence were limited in the years following 1833 practically to two newspapers, it was not for failure of others to test fortune by adventure. Daily newspapers having short life included the "Commercial Advertiser," the "Evening Star," the "Daily News," in 1834; the "Evening Chronicle," besides the Dorrite "Daily Express," in 1842; the "Daily Sentinel," 1846; the "Daily Star" and the "Morning Mirror," 1849. None was successful enough to warrant continuance. Other papers that had also passed since 1833 were the "Voice of the People," 1834; the "New England Family Visitor and Literary Journal," 1834, a weekly edition of the "Commercial Advertiser"; the "Penny Post," 1835, which within the year became the "Weekly Visitor," and thereafter in the same year was discontinued; the "Morning Courier," 1836, which was absorbed by the "Journal" in 1840; the "Gaspee Torchlight," issued by the "Journal," and the "Extinguisher," printed by the "Herald," both as campaign papers during the presidential contest of 1840; the "Narragansett Chief," 1842, a weekly issued by the "Evening Chronicle"; the "Independent," 1844; the "Tribune of the People," 1846. More successful was the "Daily Transcript and Chronicle," 1844; which became the "Daily Evening Transcript" in 1847, and was continued until 1855. The founder was Israel Amsbury; A. Crawford Green was editor from 1847 to 1855. The

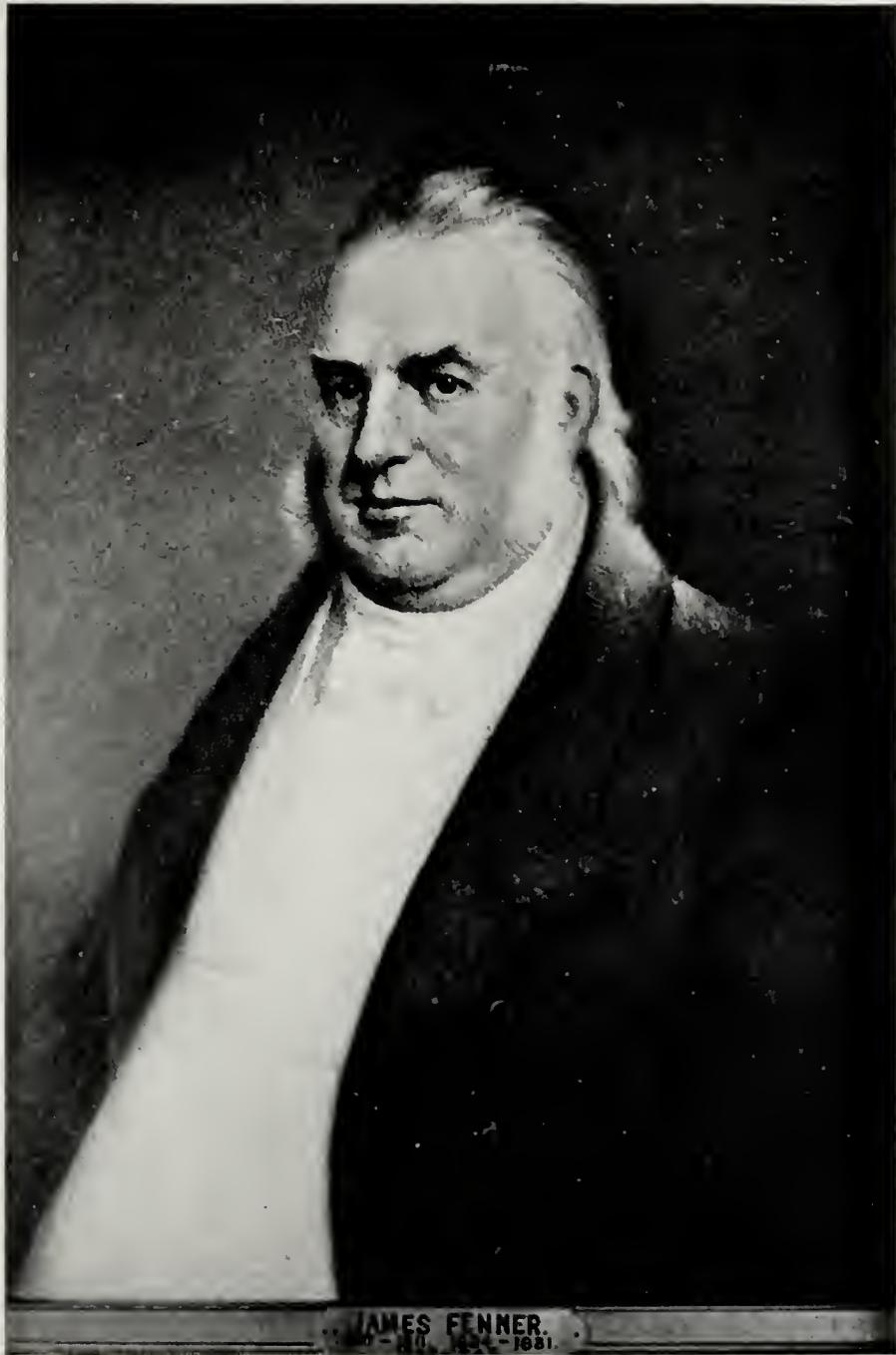
"Providence General Advertiser and Weekly Gazette," 1847, was not a newspaper so much as an advertising medium. It was distributed gratis, and lasted until 1886. Besides newspapers, periodicals and magazines in large number were published in Providence, the "Providence Visitor," the Catholic weekly, and the "Brunonian," published by Brown University students, being alone as survivors of those issued before 1875. The long list of seventy included literary, juvenile, religious, women's, temperance, scientific, political, high school student, fraternal, anti-slavery and educational periodicals. Most were short-lived, the exceptions being the "Hopkinsian Magazine," 1824-1840; "Rhode Island Schoolmaster," monthly, 1856-1875, consolidated with "New England Journal of Education"; "Voice of Truth," monthly, 1864-1873.

Consolidations and discontinuances of newspapers had left the "Journal," daily, semi-weekly and weekly, and the "Herald," semi-weekly, as rivals in Providence in 1833. Except by short-lived newspapers there was no invasion of the field until the "Daily Transcript and Chronicle" appeared in 1844 to continue eleven years, and at the same time the "Daily Gazette," which lasted only two years. Next came the "Post" in 1850, which absorbed the "Herald" in 1853. Providence then had three newspapers—the "Journal," "Post" and "Transcript." In the same year A. Crawford Greene, who had been editor of the "Transcript," started the "Providence Daily Tribune," which continued six years. The "Tribune" became an advocate of prohibition, and the organ of the Know Nothing party. It said, editorially, on January 1, 1856: "Still do we believe intemperance a great social and moral evil, to be uprooted by the combined power of moral suasion and legal prohibition. And still we can see no reason why we should lay aside our armor and remit our opposition to popery, that other curse, though assuming the hallowed name of religion; and against it, therefore, shall we war with all the weapons committed to us, to battle its errors and resist its encroachments." The "Transcript" was discontinued in 1855, leaving the "Journal," "Post" and "Tribune" until 1859. The "Providence Plain Dealer" and the "American Citizen," 1855, and the "Evening Telegraph," 1858, died each almost in the burning. George W. Danielson, who had come to Rhode Island to work as a journeyman printer in 1844-1855, went to New York, and returned in 1846 to publish the "Daily Sentinel." He was for a time editor of the "Daily Transcript," but in 1848 became editor of the "New England Arena" at West Killingly, Connecticut. Back in Providence in 1851, he was marine editor and a compositor on the "Daily Post." With Albert R. Cooke as partner, Danielson established the "Evening Press" March 14, 1859, continuing with the "Press" until October, 1862. In January, 1863, he became business manager and managing editor of the "Journal," and on January 26, 1863, began publishing the "Evening Bulletin" as an afternoon newspaper from the "Journal" office. The "Press" continued after the withdrawal of Danielson. From its office were issued the "Rhode Island Press," weekly, 1861 to 1886, and the "Morning Star," 1869 to 1887. The "Press" itself was discontinued September 30, 1884. The Providence daily newspapers were "Journal," "Post" and "Press," 1859-1863; "Journal" and "Bulletin," "Post," and "Press," 1863-1867; "Journal" and "Bulletin," "Herald," and "Press," 1867-1869; "Journal" and "Bulletin," "Herald," "Press" and "Star," 1869-1873. The "Herald" suspended in 1873, leaving two establishments, one issuing the "Journal" and "Bulletin," the other the "Star" and "Press." The "Journal" and "Star" were rival morning papers until 1887; the "Press" and "Bulletin," rival evening papers until 1884. The "Evening Telegram" was first published in 1879, and continued as a competitor of both "Press" and "Bulletin."

THE JOURNAL AS A PARTY ORGAN—The "Manufacturers and Farmers Journal" had been established during the "Era of good feeling," or "Era of good feelings," as it was called by some. The reconciliation of the "Journal's" proclamation of neutrality in "the party or

local politics of the day" with the reëlection of President Monroe in 1820-1821 without opposition is not difficult. With advocacy of "the American policy" of promoting manufacturing as its major purpose, it was entirely consistent for the "Journal" to avoid the distraction of quarrels of men, rather than parties, into which the presidential campaign of 1824 descended, with five candidates, all "Republicans," contesting the election. In state politics, after the hectic campaign of 1818, there was little opposition to the succession of Governors—Knight, 1818-1821; Gibbs, 1821-1824; Fenner, 1824-1831. With the publication of the "Daily Journal" in 1829, announcement was made by the editor: "It will be his industrious care to render his paper as interesting and useful as practicable; and while he consults the feelings of the manufacturing and commercial part of the community, he will not be unmindful of general readers who seek for literary and political intelligence. It is his wish to make his paper a general vehicle of correct information in all interesting and important topics. As heretofore, he will strenuously support the great interests of the nation, agriculture, commerce and manufactures, believing them united by the strongest ligaments, and that whatever injures one of them would be prejudicial and ruinous to them all." Earlier in the year, discussing criticism that the "Journal" had "at different times" incurred the "dissatisfaction of a few of the members of both parties," the editor said: "There is nothing in the disputes of party politicians which is worthy of the serious regard of a great people. . . . It is time for the people to set themselves earnestly about their own affairs; that they should discharge all meddling and busy mischief-makers from office; fill the public offices with the best men among them, and turn their attention with harmony and mutual good will to the promotion of the public interests. Their interests are the protection of home industry and the economical application of all our internal means; the creation of new sources of public management by the public money, and the consolidation of our military defenses. These objects are truly worthy of their attention, for they are truly national. If pursued with candor and good temper and honesty, they need not awaken any of those petty disputes and rivalships by which we have been so much disgraced." The editorial referred, without doubt, to the four years of unpleasantness or "bad feeling" which had followed the presidential campaign of 1824. The editor continued: "For the promotion of national sentiments like the above was this 'Journal' established: It recognizes neither parties nor men to the exclusion of principles. It combats errors wherever they may enter into general politics; and as the cause for which it contends is, essentially, that of the community, it asks no other patronage than that of the public."

No newspaper could avoid discussing the five failures to elect a Governor of Rhode Island in 1832, however; and the radical economic policies of President Jackson scarcely could commend him to a newspaper advocating "the American policy." It was to be expected that the "Journal," because of its outlook on economic issues, would ally itself with the new party of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. The "Journal" became definitely Whig in both national and state politics, abandoning neutrality. In 1836 it carried the name of Daniel Webster as its candidate for nomination and election as President in a conspicuous place until it was certain that Webster could not be elected. It was definitely a partisan political newspaper before Henry B. Anthony became editor. With Henry B. Anthony as editor the "Journal" became not merely the party organ of the Whig party first and the Republican party later, but even the oracle which formulated the policies of the party—the Rhode Island Bible. Anthony gathered around himself, the "Journal's" own account says: "the choice spirits of the day in business, politics and society; for here, they had learned, was the opportunity for exerting an influence in the policies controlling the State. Not only was the editor an individual of flesh and blood, but his seat of power was a place which attracted the leaders in thought whose ideas seemed to be amalgamated, for each visitor at the 'Round Table' might see enough of his own ideas put into practice to forget the ones that had been discarded, because the inter-



JAMES FENNER (1771-1846)  
Three Times Governor of Rhode Island



change had offered better ones. There were no Sunday papers then, and the suspension of the edition one day in seven gave opportunity for gathering free from interruption. So Sunday came to be the day for the assemblies in the sanctum, and these soon became known as the 'Journal' 'Sunday School.' The modern political 'boss' had not been developed, and the leadership in politics was scarcely entrusted to one man; hence the arrangements made in the Anthony editorial room were more the combined judgment of the men who gathered there. The influence of the visitors to the office may have imperceptibly decreased, and the influence of the host increased until he was recognized as a leader, but the representative nature of the gatherings was not lost in Mr. Anthony's time."

The members of the Sunday school included, at different times, of course, William P. Blodgett, James M. Clark, Charles Hart, Nathan F. Dixon, Stephen Harris, George Rivers, Chief Justice Samuel Ames, Judges Walter S. Burges, Sylvester Sherman, Elisha R. Potter, John P. Knowles, Thomas Durfee, and George A. Brayton, Governors Henry Howard, Ambrose E. Burnside, W. W. Hoppin, William Sprague (occasionally in the early days) and Henry Lippitt, Lieutenant Governor Samuel G. Arnold, James F. Simmons, Mayors Amos C. Barstow and Thomas A. Doyle, Thomas A. Jenckes, Doctors J. J. DeWolf and A. H. Okie, Ward Cowing, Charles Sabin, Wingate Hayes, Ephraim Jackson, Henry W. Gardner, Darius Sessions, Albert C. Greene, James P. Dunwell, Robert Sherman, Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey, John Oldfield, Christopher Robinson, Charles H. Parkhurst, Wilkins, and Charles and Walter Updike, William H. Potter, Jonah Titus, James M. Ripley, B. F. Thurston, Thomas Nixon, Samuel Noyes, Henry L. Fairbrother, Edwin C. Mauran, Rufus Waterman, William R. Watson, Thomas Jackson, Samuel B. Wheaton, George F. Wilson, Thomas P. I. Goddard, Dr. Isaac Hartshorn, James H. Coggeshall, Augustus Hoppin, Allen O. Peck, and William B. Greene. "On the death of Senator Anthony, the 'Sunday School' sessions lost their interest to many and the attendance eventually decreased. . . . Finally the members of the historic institution straggled down to the office one morning to find the editorial room locked. . . . So the 'Journal' 'Sunday School' passed into history." Gathering, as it did, many of the most influential men in Rhode Island, some of them Democrats, for they, too, were welcomed to the round table, the Sunday school for nearly half a century was a dominating factor in determining state policies, and the "Providence Journal" was its mouthpiece.

Henry B. Anthony served two years as Governor, 1849-1851, declining renomination, perhaps wisely, because of the ascendancy to which Philip Allen led the Democrats for three years thereafter. Henry B. Anthony was elected as United States Senator in 1858, 1864, 1870, 1876, and 1882, serving continuously from March 4, 1859, until his death September 2, 1884. James S. Ham and James B. Angell, who afterward was President of the University of Michigan, served the "Journal" as editors, relieving Senator Anthony. Mr. Angell was editor from 1860 to 1866. George W. Danielson purchased an interest in the "Journal," and on January 1, 1863, took "especial charge of the important department of local intelligence." With the departure of Mr. Angell in 1866 to become President of the University of Vermont, Danielson remained in full charge of the "Journal" and "Bulletin," which he had established in 1863, "aided at first by the counsel, and sustained always by the hearty friendship and encouragement of Mr. Anthony." For twenty-one years Danielson gave unstintedly of indefatigable service to the publication of "Journal" and "Bulletin." Danielson's administration extended to every department, for he was first of all a practical printer.

The "Journal" removed in 1871 to the Barton block, 2 Weybosset Street, and installed there a four-cylinder press with a capacity of 10,000 impressions an hour. Four years later a six-cylinder press, capable of printing 12,000 papers an hour, was installed. A Hoe web perfecting press with stereotyping apparatus was introduced in 1881, and a second press in 1882. The page size of the paper was changed in 1881, and from four pages and forty

columns the paper went to eight pages and sixty-four columns. All of these changes were intended to provide accommodations for the steady growth of the "Journal" and "Bulletin" under Danielson's management. The newspaper became a genuine agency of collecting news, and the "Journal" editorials maintained their appeal to the people. Danielson became Senator Anthony's successor in the Sunday school, his state representative in politics, and more certainly the controlling influence in the Republican party of which the "Journal" and "Bulletin" were still the oracle. Both George W. Danielson and Senator Anthony died in 1884, the former in March, the latter in September. To the funeral of Mr. Danielson the General Assembly sent a delegation, an unusual procedure in the instance of one who never had held public office. Among the tributes to Mr. Danielson was one pronounced by Bishop Hendricken: "I cannot leave the altar without expressing regret for the death of Mr. George W. Danielson. I utter these words of regret, not only for myself, but I speak for the 50,000 Catholics in the city, and for the 150,000 Catholics in the diocese. . . . Though never personally acquainted with Mr. Danielson, I have received many favors from him for myself and for the church. . . . He was an exceptionally able man—a very able man. He was most gentlemanly in the use of his pen, from which no vulgar expression has ever been seen. He was above everything mean, just, as far as he could see, as far as he could be. As a man, I hold a deep respect and regard for him, and in his death the 'Journal,' the city, and even the state, sustain a great loss."

TELEGRAM AND RECORD—The suspension of the "Herald" in 1873 left four daily newspapers in Providence—the "Journal" and "Bulletin," the "Star" and "Press." The "Sun," weekly, appeared in December, 1875, as a Democratic newspaper. Interest in the Hayes-Tilden election and the hope for Democratic success produced the "Daily Sun" November 20, 1876, which set, for the last time when the Electoral Commission reported. An evening edition of the "Sunday Telegram" was issued in 1879. The paper, first published by Charles C. Corbett, passed into the ownership of David O. Black. Early in 1889 the "Telegram," which had become an influential newspaper under Black's efficient management, reversed its theretofore friendly attitude toward organized labor, and refused to meet the scale of wages adopted by the Typographical Union. A strike followed, and the Typographical Union issued the "Evening Call," to give employment to the strikers and to compete with the "Telegram." The latter was sold in September, 1889, to the Telegram Publishing Company, of which Joseph Banigan was one of the largest stockholders, and David F. Lingane became editor. The reorganized "Telegram" was a Democratic newspaper. It refused, however, in 1891 to support the Democratic candidate for Mayor of Providence, and the "Evening Record" was established some time in 1891 as a protest, continuing until August 4, 1892.

The "Record" was issued first from 54 North Main Street, and removed to the loft of a low brick building at the corner of Exchange Street and Exchange Place, on the present site of the old Industrial Trust building. Demolition of the building caused another removal, but the "Record" was the last tenant to depart, remaining until roof, sides and front of the building had been torn down and the wreckers threatened removal of the stairway. The "Record" was awarded a contract for part of the printing of the city of Providence, but the money earned on the contract was attached. From its third habitation, on Friendship Street, the "Record" was constrained to remove when two brawny men with monkey wrenches dismantled and carried off the press. A printer with a press was found, and the "Record," after forms had been carried for several days, removed to his shop on Eddy Street. One of those who knew told the final chapter thus: "Everything in connection with the 'Record's' publication was now being done on a cash basis. The man who furnished the paper had to have his money before he left his bundle; the expressman with the 'plate matter' presented a c. o. d. ;

and even the printer, with whom the publishers had practically cast their lot, demanded his hire before beginning to print. Notwithstanding these and many other drawbacks, the 'Record' lived on and would have undoubtedly lingered longer but for this exacting printer meeting with the same hard luck as the 'Record' in having his press taken away one day by two brawny, but different men. That event and the demise of the 'Record' occurred the same day, no effort being made to find another home."

The "Telegram" survived. It occupied the Barton block, in 1892, which had been previously the home of the "Journal," and in 1899 removed to the Francis building on Westminster Street. One of the dramatic episodes in the history of Rhode Island journalism is related to the "Telegram" and its editor, David F. Lingane. The "Telegram" had persistently attacked through its columns a certain Osceola Cook, until the latter threatened to horsewhip Lingane on sight. Cook was a much larger man physically than Lingane, and when the twain met on Weybosset Street in Providence, as Lingane alleged because of Cook's threatening attitude, Lingane shot Cook. Lingane was indicted, and was tried three times by a persistent Attorney General, the jury failing to convict in each instance. The "Telegram" was sold in 1906 to a group of men from the "Journal," who changed the name to "Tribune" and its politics to Republican.

Other daily newspapers, none of them successful, were established in Providence as follows: "Evening Chronicle," 1874; "Providence Evening Times," 1877; the "Mail," 1884; "Evening News," 1884-1885, issued from the "Press" and "Star" office after discontinuance of the "Press"; "Evening Star," 1886; "Evening Dispatch," 1886; "Daily Republican," 1887; "Daily Dispatch," 1887.

GROWTH OF NEWSPAPERS—The history of daily newspapers in Providence after the deaths of George W. Danielson and Henry B. Anthony in 1884 is related to politics, to new methods of collecting news, to an amazing change in mechanical equipment, and to the growth of advertising of retail stores. The "Journal" had been owned and conducted by a partnership, the style of which was Knowles & Anthony after 1848, and Knowles, Anthony & Danielson after 1863. Joseph Knowles had died in 1874, his share in the business being acquired by the other partners after the death of his widow. In May, 1884, following the death of Danielson, the business was incorporated as the Providence Printing Company. The charter was amended in 1885, the name being changed to Providence Journal Company. The Journal Company reorganized with William A. Hoppin as president and Richard S. Howland as treasurer and manager. Alfred M. Williams, who had entered the service of the "Journal" as a reporter in 1875, had become associate editor January 1, 1883. He was editor from 1884 until he resigned in 1891. The definite association of the "Journal" with the Republican party as official organ ceased with the death of Senator Anthony. The "Journal" opposed the nomination of James G. Blaine for the presidency in 1884, but after Blaine's nomination supported him in preference to Grover Cleveland. In state politics the "Journal" assumed an attitude of independence. It supported John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate for Governor, against George Peabody Wetmore, Republican, and was formally read out of the Republican party, assembled in convention on May 3, 1888. Resolutions adopted included: "We deem it expedient at this time to put on record the fact that the newspapers published by the Providence Journal Company, have long ceased to represent the Republican party in this State." The resolutions continued with a denunciation of the "Journal's" policy. The "Journal's" answer included this significant declaration of the "Journal's" future policy: "Nevertheless, despised and cut off from party fellowship as it is, there are certain rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States among which is the privilege which the 'Journal' will claim of supporting Republican candidates when it believes them entitled to the suffrage of honest and

intelligent citizens, and advocating Republican principles when it believes them calculated to subserve the interests of the country, incidentally telling the truth as it sees it at all times and courting the good will of no party or individual to whom the truth is offensive or honest criticism objectionable." The "Journal" had not returned to its original policy of neutrality in "the party or local politics of the day," although the names of men prominent in the affairs of the corporation indicated a renewed association with the larger manufacturing interests, thus: Lucian Sharpe, Henry D. Sharpe, Jesse Metcalf, Stephen O. Metcalf, Jesse H. Metcalf and others. As a matter of fact, the "Journal," as an independent paper, had become one of the most significant influences in state and municipal politics, as the weight of its support was thrown to party or candidate which met its approval.

The Republican party was left without a party organ. The "Morning Star" had been discontinued in 1887; the "Telegram" was soon to become Democratic. The state elections were closely contested. The Democrats had elected their candidate for Governor in 1887; the Republicans theirs in 1888. Followed three elections in which, although the Democratic candidate polled a plurality of votes, there was no popular election, and the Republican candidate twice, and the Democratic candidate once, were chosen by the General Assembly. Next, after a year in which D. Russell Brown's majority was less than 250 in a total of nearly 55,000 votes, the disagreement of the houses of the General Assembly in 1893 led to the holding over of Governor Brown because the popular vote was not counted and the General Assembly chose no successor. The Republican party needed a newspaper organ. The "Providence News" was established in September, 1891, by John L. Heaton and wife, and was endorsed March 15, 1892, as the "official organ of the Republican party of Rhode Island." Governor D. Russell Brown obtained control of the "News" in 1892. The popularity of the "News" was diminished by a lockout of union employes in 1892, and the quarrel with the Typographical Union continued for four years. The "News" on July 15, 1897, announced that it had become a "newspaper, not a party organ." It was then under new management, which continued until September 22, 1897, when J. W. Watson became publisher, and three newspaper men from the "Journal" undertook to make the "News" a successful newspaper. They were Martin C. Day, George F. Mackinnon and Charles H. Howland. The enterprise failed, and the plant returned to control of D. Russell Brown. Of the three "Journal" men, Mackinnon subsequently became assistant clerk of the Sixth District Court, and Day and Howland returned to the "Journal" after Exodus in 1906. The "News" was sold in 1906 to Messrs. Trumpler and Dillenback to become the "News-Democrat," a Democratic newspaper.

THE TRIBUNE—Exodus in Providence newspaper history refers to the withdrawal from the "Journal" in 1906 of Matthew S. Dwyer, Frederick H. Howland, Frederic N. Luther, Timothy F. Dwyer, Daniel J. Dwyer, Albert C. Rider, John J. Rosenfeld, Edmund E. Eastman, Charles R. Thurston, Frank E. Jones, Horace G. Belcher and Thatcher Thurston, all of whom had held responsible positions on the "Journal" staff, and with them a larger number of reporters, compositors, stereotypers, pressmen and clerks. They went out from the "Journal" to the plant of the Telegram Publishing Company, which the men named had purchased, with the purpose of establishing a new paper, the "Evening Tribune," March 12, 1906, and a new morning paper, the "Morning Tribune," July 4, 1906. The "Morning Tribune" was the "Journal's" first morning rival since the suspension of the "Star" in 1887.

Exodus followed varying fortune of the "Journal's" "independent" policy. Of complete independence there was no shadow of doubt in the period during which Richard S. Howland was manager and Albert M. Williams was editor. Opposition to the "mighty" appealed to the chivalry of the latter; he had become a martyr to the Fenian cause in Ireland, when, going there as a reporter for the "New York Tribune," he had been arrested and jailed on suspicion of being an American officer sent to aid the rebels. He had advocated woman suffrage in

the Massachusetts Legislature in 1870. He became interested in the Indians as "another down-trodden race suffering cruel wrongs from those whose superior firearms and military organizations had conquered the lands belonging to their ancestors." He had published a Republican newspaper in Neosho, Missouri, in a neighborhood which was overwhelmingly Democratic. Richard S. Howland was a thorough business man, intent upon building to even greater prosperity the enterprise which had been developed by the masterful George W. Danielson. In national politics the "Journal" opposed an excessively high protective tariff; on the issue of bimetallism it stood squarely for the single gold standard. In the free silver campaigns of 1896 and 1900 it supported William McKinley against William J. Bryan. The intensity of feeling aroused in the free silver campaign carried the "Journal" almost back to orthodoxy in state politics in the support of the Republican party, although it did not become the party's official organ. When Lucius F. C. Garvin became Governor the "Journal" referred to him as "Doctor" Garvin, instead of "Governor" Garvin. The political conscience of the "Journal" had been removed from the editorial sanctum to the headquarters of the city editor, of which the extremely able John J. Rosenfeld was in charge. David S. Barry, fresh from Washington, became editor-in-chief in July, 1904. Frederick Hoppin Howland replaced his father as manager in February, 1905.

Then came a counter-revolution; the men who owned the "Journal" were not willing to support George Peabody Wetmore for Senator, nor yet to help Samuel Pomeroy Colt to achieve his ambition to become United States Senator. Frederick Roy Martin was elected editor and treasurer of the "Journal" in February, 1906, returning after an absence during the Barry régime. The counter-revolution meant that the "Journal" was to resume its independent policy. The group named above purchased the "Telegram" in the same month, and renamed it the "Tribune" in March. John R. Rathom was among those, new and old, who came or returned to the "Journal" in 1906 to replace those who had gone to the "Tribune." In 1912, when Martin retired to join the Associated Press, Rathom became editor and general manager, continuing until his death in 1923.

The "Tribune" became Republican and supported Colonel Colt for Senator; the "Journal" and "Bulletin" supported Colonel Robert Hale Ives Goddard, running as a Democrat and independent. In the following year the General Assembly failed to elect a Senator from the three candidates—Colt, Goddard and Wetmore. In 1908 George Peabody Wetmore was elected as Senator. The "Morning Tribune" and "Evening Tribune" were both penny papers. Their initial success was without precedent. The "Morning Tribune" achieved a circulation of 11,000 within a year; the "Evening Tribune's" circulation attained an average of 32,000, an increase of 15,000 over the "Telegram," which it had superseded. Both papers were patronized liberally by advertisers. The "Morning Tribune" was not a permanent success, however; it was abandoned after a trial beyond the political campaign which had justified its initial issue had demonstrated that Rhode Island would not support a second morning newspaper. The price of the "Evening Tribune" was raised to two cents after several years of publication as a penny paper. Like the "Journal," it became an independent paper. The newspaper outgrew its quarters on Westminster Street, and removed to enlarged quarters in an extension of the Barton block. Its advertising patronage indicated reasonable prosperity in the years in which it had ceased to be a political organ. It was sold in 1929 to the "News-Democrat," the reorganized newspaper being issued as the "News-Tribune" and continuing as a Democratic newspaper.

CHANGES IN NEWSPAPER METHODS—The early Rhode Island papers were not newspapers in the modern sense. No attempt was made to collect local news; perhaps it was assumed that everybody knew what was happening in the small community of the day. The

reporter was unknown. Letters from other places were printed, and as the custom of exchanging newspapers developed, "clippings" were copied freely. The "Journal's" new news service in 1838, through which type instead of dispatches was brought from New York, gave the "Journal's" readers New York news earlier than they would receive it directly from the New York papers. The telegraph revolutionized national and international news service, resulting in the development of associations for gathering news and furnishing it to newspapers. The telephone also became a significant factor in news service, particularly in the local field. The "Journal" as its resources developed displayed enterprise in collecting news by utilizing public conveyances, as in the instance of the New York service, and by arranging occasionally an express by relays of horses. Special effort was made to collect election returns; in the early days of the Stonington railroad a locomotive without train brought returns from towns along the route from Westerly, as carriers from polling places delivered them at railway stations. When Lawrence Keegan was arrested for the murder of Emily Chambers, the "Bulletin" reported the preliminary arraignment on the day on which it occurred, although the hearing was conducted at a village in Scituate, miles from the nearest telegraph office or telephone. Two race horses, Athalena and Jakey Joseph, working in relay, carried messages from the "Bulletin" reporter at the trial to a telegraph operator, who had tapped a wire and operated a sending instrument from a seat by the roadside. The "Journal" tested the possibilities of the DeForest system of wireless telegraphy by publishing the Block Island Wireless, beginning June 9, 1903, on the island, news dispatches from the "Journal" in Providence being relayed by wireless telegraph from Point Judith to Block Island. William R. Doran, who was foreman of the "Journal" printing plant on Block Island in the summer of 1903 was known years afterward among printers as "Swordfish Bill." The "Journal" was also the first Rhode Island corporation to use automobiles for commercial purposes, and the automobile soon replaced the string of small express wagons drawn by mustangs, used in delivering bundles to dealers.

Out of the "Journal's" election night service emerged a system of local reporting covering the towns of Rhode Island, and eventually the modern plan of eight editions daily from the "Journal" presses, thus doubling the prediction made by the "Patriot's" "devil" in 1829. The "Journal" prints four editions daily, one for the city of Providence and three with suburban news gathered in and included for circulation in as many sections of Rhode Island. The "Bulletin" service includes four different editions with the same purpose. Three editions of the "Sunday Journal" are printed. The illustration of newspaper has kept pace with other developments. The "Journal" installed a photo-engraving department in 1902 for rapid reproduction of photographs as half-tone engravings for printing. In modern development the time between exposing a photographic plate and the actual printing of a picture as part of a daily newspaper may be a matter of minutes only; it has been accomplished in thirty minutes.

Improvement of printing machinery was delayed almost until the second half of the nineteenth century. The first presses used in Rhode Island were made principally of wood. The Ramage press used by the "Journal" was of wood, with wooden plates and stone bed. The first iron press was introduced in 1823, and at that time ink balls were replaced by rollers as devices for spreading ink. The first power press was a Ruggles, operated by a treadle. The "Morning Mirror" was printed on a Hoe cylinder press, the wheel of which was turned by man-power. "John Neafi, an Irishman, whose office name was 'John Mickey,' was employed to turn the wheel," a contemporary said. The first steam-power cylinder press was the "Journal's" Hoe of 1856. The "Providence Press" installed a power-press in 1861, which was operated by a double cylinder air engine, designed by Stephen Wilcox, Jr., of Westerly. The cylinder press carried a sheet of paper on a circular plate over a flat bed holding the type, which moved forward with the cylinder, and raced back to be in position to catch it again for

another revolution. The "Press" installed a double cylinder press, also in 1861. The new device had two cylinders, the second designed to take an impression as the bed of the press moved backward. Four and six-cylinder presses carried double cylinders rising in tiers. The "Journal's" six-cylinder press at Barton block had a capacity of 12,000 impressions an hour. It was superseded by a rotary cylinder press on which type was locked in forms curved to fit the cylinder; none of the motion wasted in the backward and forward rocking cylinder presses was lost in this new machine. With the introduction of stereotyping the "Journal" installed a web perfecting press, which took paper from a continuous roll, and delivered eight-page papers at the rate of 24,000 an hour. These papers were not folded; folding devices were introduced in 1886.

The "Providence News" installed the first multicolor printing press used in Rhode Island. The "Journal" in 1905 installed two sextuple perfecting presses with capacity of 48,000 eight-page papers per hour, or 24,000 per hour of ten to twenty-four pages. The "Journal's" most recent presses deliver papers folded in two sections of multiples of four up to sixty-four pages. The "Journal" and other newspapers increased their printing capacity by installing larger and faster presses to meet the demands of increasing circulation first, and later to provide for the advertising patronage which followed changes that revolutionized retail trade, particularly in dry goods and clothing. The "Journal" had reached eight pages before it left its quarters in the Barton block to remove to the Fletcher building on Westminster and Eddy Streets, occupying the western half of the present site. The "Bulletin," particularly, was patronized by advertisers, and the size of the paper was increased to furnish the space bought by enterprising merchants. Other newspapers shared in the same extension of business; it is advertising principally that accounts for the large newspapers of the present time. The newspaper is constrained by the cost of white paper to hold its editions to the smallest number of pages that will float the advertising in a reasonable percentage of "reading matter." The same economy limits printing to the number of papers needed for actual circulation. In spite of the 47,000 editions of morning and 80,000 evening newspapers printed by one large Rhode Island paper, it is difficult to find copies in the street or on newsstands even a few hours after printing.

The "Journal" was the first New England newspaper to install the Mergenthaler linotype machine, and the first American newspaper to demonstrate the practicability of the new device. The new machine had been exhibited in Baltimore, and a small number in each instance had been installed in the "New York Tribune," "Louisville Courier Journal," and "Chicago News" offices when the "Journal," in 1889, on the advice of Lucian Sharpe that the machine had possibilities, equipped the composing room in its new plant in the Fletcher building with a battery of eleven linotypes. With the machine came John Burger and Ernest F. Klausch, machinists who had worked with Mergenthaler on the development of his models. One of the first successful operators was William Carroll, chosen later by Richard S. Howland to be foreman of the composing room. The "Journal" removed its equipment of type and cases to the new building, but the arrangement was in the nature of insurance against the vicissitudes of the experiment. No Boston newspaper installed linotypes within four years after the "Journal." The machines accomplished a revolution in newspaper making, one of the immediate effects being a reduction in working hours. Fortunately for printers—compositors and pressmen—the introduction of typesetting machines and of improved printing presses preceded by only a short time the increase in the size of newspapers by reason of advertising patronage, and the remarkable gains in circulation made by modern newspapers. Threatened reduction in the number of positions for employment was offset by the larger amount of work to be accomplished.

Constantly increasing prosperity of newspapers, derived principally from advertising,

made possible wages commensurate with changing economic conditions. But the introduction of machinery—that is, power presses of the perfecting type, linotype machines, stereotyping apparatus and photo-engraving plants, etc.—to mention only the more significant elements in the equipment of a modern newspaper plant—discouraged the establishment of new enterprises. No entirely new daily newspaper has been established in Providence since 1891. The "Tribune" occupied the "Telegram" plant and enlarged it; the "News-Democrat" absorbed the "Tribune." The amount of money required to equip a modern plant, and the credit for supplies and labor through the stages of proving a need for a new paper, give pause to ambitious journalists or politicians seeking an "organ." Whereas \$5000 might suffice in 1875, \$500,000 might not be enough in 1930.

**SUNDAY AND OTHER WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS**—The "Sunday Dispatch," a four-page newspaper without special features, was first published in Providence in 1874, and was continued for twenty years, during which the ownership and place of printing were changed frequently. The "Sunday Telegram," first printed in 1876, was predecessor of the "Evening Telegram," of which it continued to be a Sunday edition. The "Sunday Tribune" replaced the "Sunday Telegram," and the "Sunday News-Tribune" continues the "Tribune" and "Telegram." The "Journal" issued its first "Sunday Journal" in 1885. Other Sunday newspapers not connected with daily papers, have been the "Sunday Gazette," 1878; "Sunday Morning Transcript," 1879-1885; "Sunday World," 1886-1892; "Sunday Courier," 1887-1890; "Sunday News," 1889; "Sunday Republican," 1889-1891; "Sunday Times," 1890. Early Sunday papers were newspapers; the modern Sunday morning paper with departments, special sections, features, color and artgravure supplements and tabloid magazines, was developed through an evolutionary process. In modern newspaper offices the Sunday paper is a stabilizer, most of the labor of production being performed at times during the preceding week when the pressure of daily work is relieved. The publisher thus provides work for the force of employes carried to meet the exigencies and emergencies of prompt printing of news.

The "Weekly Visitor," established in 1875, became the "Providence Visitor" and official newspaper of the Catholic diocese of Providence; though published on Thursday, the largest distribution occurs at church entrances on Sundays. The long list of periodicals issued from Providence presses after 1875 include French, German, Italian, Hebrew and Scandinavian weeklies, some printed in foreign languages; fraternal, religious, industrial, political, and commercial monthlies and weeklies; high school and college publications, the latter including the "Brown Magazine," "Brown Daily Herald," "Brown Alumni Monthly," and "Sepiad"; the "Narragansett Historical Register," 1882-1891; Sydney Rider's "Book Notes," 1883-1916; the "Manufacturing Jeweler," from 1893; "Baker's Illustrated Monthly," 1884-1894; "Rhode Islander," 1884-1894; "Outlook," 1885-1895; "Beulah Christian," 1892-1904; "Olneyville Times," 1888 and after; "Independent Citizen," 1889-1898; "Board of Trade Journal," 1889, continued under several different titles and published in 1900 as the "Providence Magazine"; "New England Torchlight," 1890-1897; "Home Guard," monthly, 1891-1900; "Rhode Island Republican," 1892-1907. Over 100 new periodicals were issued in twenty-four years from 1875 to 1900; few were so successful as to warrant continuance for more than a brief period in each instance. The number of new enterprises has been somewhat smaller since 1900. The Providence publications in 1930 included the "Daily Journal," morning, and "Bulletin," evening, with the "Sunday Journal," all published by the Journal Company; the "News-Democrat," evening and Sunday; the "Providence Visitor," Catholic weekly; the "Providence Magazine," issued by the Chamber of Commerce; "Svea," a Scandinavian weekly, first published in 1900; two Hebrew papers, the "Jewish Herald" and the "Jewish Record"; an Italian paper, "L'Eco del Rhode Island"; a Portuguese paper, "Voz da Colonia"; and the "Rhode

Islander," whose mission was principally political. Students at Brown University published the "Brown Daily Herald," the "Brunonian" and the "Jug," the last a comic monthly. "Brown Alumni Monthly" also was related to the college.

NEWSPAPERS ELSEWHERE—Besides Newport and Providence, Pawtucket, the Pawtuxet Valley, Westerly and Woonsocket were served by daily newspapers in 1930. Pawtucket's weekly "Gazette and Chronicle," 1839, succeeded the "Pawtucket Chronicle and Manufacturers' and Artisans' Advocate," 1825, and the "Pawtucket Gazette," 1838; the "Gazette" had absorbed the "Chronicle." Early rivals of the "Gazette and Chronicle" were the "White Banner," 1827, Masonic; the "Mercantile Reporter," 1829; the "Battle Axe," anticipating Carrie Nation's favorite weapon against the saloon, and suppressed, the owner alleged, by emissaries of liquor dealers, who dumped his printing equipment into the river; "Sparkling Fountain," "Midnight Cry," and "Rose and Lily," all with original names; "Temperance Regulator," "Truth's Advocate," "Pawtucket Herald" and "Pawtucket Observer." All the rivals were short-lived. The "Gazette and Chronicle" issued the "Evening Chronicle," a daily newspaper, April 10 to May 2, 1885. Three days before the "Evening Chronicle" was discontinued George O. Willard published the "Pawtucket Evening Times." David O. Black and Peter J. Trumpler, late of the "Providence Telegram," which they had sold in 1889, purchased the "Times" in 1890, and laid the foundations for a successful and prosperous newspaper. The "Times" was sold in 1906 to Nelson W. Aldrich, Samuel P. Colt and Marsden J. Perry, but was returned in 1916 to members of the Black family. The "Times" continued in 1930 as an evening newspaper of metropolitan size, with large circulation in the Blackstone Valley and liberal advertising patronage. Few cities were so well served as were Pawtucket and Central Falls by the "Times." The "Pawtucket Evening Tribune," 1888-1899, and the "Evening Post," 1893-1897, were Democratic newspapers. The "Post" was issued for a few weeks before discontinuance as the "Sun." J. B. S. Brazeau established "Le Jean Baptiste" in 1897, as a French weekly newspaper, circulating in Central Falls and Pawtucket. From the Times building are issued the "Automobile Journal," the "Accessory and Garage Journal," and the "Motor Truck Journal."

The "Pawtuxet Valley Daily Times," first published in 1892 and continued as a prosperous newspaper serving a thickly populated area of the state, was issued from a plant removed from Westerly, where Frank H. Campbell had used it to publish the "Westerly Journal," 1888. The "Literary Echo," Westerly's first newspaper, published in 1851, became "Westerly Echo and Pawcatuck Advertiser" in 1856, and "Narragansett Weekly," 1858, when the enterprise was acquired by the Utter family. The "Sabbath Recorder" was issued from the same establishment, 1861-1872, having been published previously in New York; it was removed to Alfred, New York, in 1872. The "Westerly Daily Sun" was published August 7, 1893, from the "Narragansett Weekly" office. The weekly was discontinued later. The "Beacon," a weekly published by students of Rhode Island State College, and the "Record," official paper of the Rhode Island Republican Club, are printed at the "Westerly Sun" plant. The "Westerly Sun" was not the first daily newspaper published in Westerly. The "Rhode Island Telephone" was removed in 1884 from Wickford to Westerly, and published there as the "Westerly Times and Rhode Island Telephone." The name was changed to "Westerly Tribune" in 1888, and in that year the "Tribune" became a daily under the title "Westerly Daily Tribune." The "Tribune" was discontinued in 1897, and revived as the "Westerly Herald," which lasted until 1899. The "Westerly Times," a weekly, has been published at Wickford.

From the office of the "Weekly Patriot," 1833, Woonsocket's first newspaper, the "Daily Patriot" was issued in 1876. The establishment at the time was owned by Samuel S. Foss, who had constructed a telegraph line to Providence to improve his newspaper service. The

"Patriot" was absorbed in 1881 by the "Evening Reporter," which continued the "Patriot" as a weekly. Rivals of the "Patriot" included the "Rhode Island Advocate," 1835; the "Rainbow," 1836, devoted to "literary miscellany and the arts"; the Dorrite "Independent," 1842; the "Woonsocket Sentinel and Thompsonian Advocate," 1842-1843; the "News Letter," 1850. The "Farm and Fireside," 1867, an agricultural fortnightly, was published in the "Patriot" plant. The "Woonsocket Reporter," after the merger with the "Patriot," was successful for a number of years. The "Evening Call" was established in 1892, as an independent Democratic newspaper, but has changed political inclination. Other daily newspapers, all short-lived, were established in Woonsocket as follows: The "Valley Republican," 1886; the "Evening Sun," and the "Evening Star," both in 1899. Woonsocket's French population is served by "La Tribune," an evening daily newspaper, first published in 1895. Several other French papers were unsuccessful, the list including "Courier Canadien," 1880; "Courier de Woonsocket," 1892; "Le Canadien," 1892, "La Cloche du Dimanche," 1899; and "La Travailleur." "La Reveille" was established in 1867 and discontinued in 1897. "La Progres," a humorous weekly, is published in Woonsocket.

TOWN WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS—In spite of the space given by city newspapers to suburban and rural town news, and the publication of daily editions of city newspapers for circulation in towns, with the purpose of establishing a state-wide clientage, a few of the older town weekly newspapers have survived. The "Bristol Phenix," founded in 1838, continued in 1930 as a semi-weekly. It had been preceded by the "Mount Hope Eagle," 1807; and the "Bristol Gazette," 1833-1838. The "Bristol Eagle," 1840, was a short-lived rival.

The "Barrington and Warren Gazette," semi-weekly, was established in 1867 as the "Warren Gazette"; it had been preceded in Warren by the "Herald of the United States," 1792-1812. Other Bristol County newspapers included: "Bristol County Register," 1809; "Columbian Post-Boy," 1812; "Telescope," 1813-1817; "Clarion or Bristol County Advertiser," 1823-1824; "Telegraph," 1825; "Northern Star," 1825-1855; "Rhode Island Telegraph," 1855-1862.

"Hope Valley Advertiser" was established in 1876 as "Wood River Advertiser"; it consolidated in 1881 with the "Shannock Sentinel" as "Sentinel-Advertiser," and the name was changed to "Hope Valley Advertiser" in 1894.

"Rhode Island Pendulum" of East Greenwich was established in 1849 at Phenix as "Kent County Atlas," and continued under the same name after removal to East Greenwich in 1852; the "Pendulum" was issued following a reorganization. The "Pendulum" absorbed the "East Greenwich Enterprise" in 1881, after the latter had been published for two years.

The "Narragansett Times" of Wakefield was established in 1858 as the "South County Journal"; the name was changed in 1859. It has been continued by the heirs of Duncan Gillies, who was the original publisher.

The "Wickford Standard" was established in 1888.

The "Bristol Phenix," "Barrington and Warren Gazette," "Hope Valley Advertiser," "Rhode Island Pendulum," "Narragansett Times" and "Wickford Standard" constitute an old guard of weekly newspapers serving their communities and circulating beyond town boundaries and occasionally beyond the state as they reach subscribers who wish to maintain a contact with old neighbors. Newer town papers include the "Cranston News," "East Greenwich News," "East Providence Standard," "Newport County Sentinel" of Tiverton, and "Providence County Times," successor to "Olneyville Times."

Among the Rhode Island weekly town newspapers that have passed into history are the "Pascoag Herald," the "Cranston City Times," the "Pawtuxet Valley Gleaner," the "Hope Valley Free Press" and the "Narragansett Herald." The "Pascoag Herald," 1892, acquired in 1895 the "Burrillville News-Gazette," which had survived the consolidation in 1892 of the

"Burrillville Gazette" and the "Burrillville News." Other short-lived town papers were the "Eagle," "Rhode Islander," "Record," and "Mirror," all of East Providence; the "Cranston Leader"; the "Rhode Island Citizen" and the "Tribune," both of Olneyville; the "Block Island Budget," later called the "Mid-Ocean." As with daily newspapers the modern tendency is toward a smaller number, although it is possible yet to establish a country weekly newspaper with relatively small capital and to earn from the publication of legal notices as paid advertising a fair return on the investment.

The weekly town or rural newspaper of the twentieth century is the nearest surviving representative of the colonial or early nineteenth century press. With the exception that it prints local news of the community which it serves in larger amounts than did its colonial predecessor, its columns otherwise are filled in much the same way with regular advertising patronage and gleanings from exchanges or rewritten news stories from other newspapers. If the page size of the modern weekly is larger than that of the twentieth century tabloid, which marks a return to the size of the colonial newspaper, the reasons are principally "patent inside" and "boiler plate." A "patent inside" consists of a page or pages of a newspaper furnished in plate for printing or in printed form by a central agency, and distributed to subscribing newspapers, each of which adds to the "patent" a page or pages of community news to give local color to a newspaper which otherwise is identical with many others issued in as many places. When a newspaper article has been set in type, it may be reproduced by stereotype or other plating process; the plate is called "boiler plate" by printers. Plate is sold in quantities, and used by small newspapers to fill their columns. The use of plate constrains the small newspapers to a standard column width. The use of "patent inside" and "boiler plate" is but a modern exemplification of a much older process common in printing offices which issued more than one newspaper—that is, transferring type set for one newspaper to another or others.

The modern daily newspaper is scarcely so much a development of a colonial prototype as a completely new institution. Its principal business is collecting news and printing it while news is almost in the process of making. By use of telephone, telegraph, cable and radio, contacts are established with near and far places where events are transpiring; the modern newspaper collects information and distributes it in printed form sometimes in almost hourly editions through day and evening. Newspapers not only use the speediest method of communication, but also are and have been active in promoting them. The rapid extension of intercity telegraph service was due in large part to the interest of newspapers, some of which bought stock in telegraph companies or built their own lines. Through his newspapers the Rhode Islander is as well informed as to what Congress is doing as if he lived in Washington, as to what Parliament is doing as if he lived in London, as to what military movements are underway during a war as if he were on the line of combat; he knows more about what is transpiring in China than millions of Chinese. To assure completeness of news service the principal newspapers are members of a vast association—the Associated Press—the function of which is principally serving as a clearing house for news sent in to central offices for classification and distribution to newspapers according to the extent of local interest. The newspaper as printed contains all the news in some form—short flash bulletins announcing remote events in bare statement, longer articles with more detail concerning episodes afar but yet of some local interest, complete details of happenings of especial local interest, and community news treated according to editorial estimate of importance. Through his newspapers the poor man may have almost as complete information of the progress of current events throughout the world as the millionaire may have. No older institution served for earlier generations the purposes of a modern daily newspaper—it is almost the most modern thing in a completely modern world.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### RHODE ISLAND IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN AND WORLD WARS.



RHODE ISLAND was prepared to furnish troops promptly when Congress declared war against Spain on April 20, 1898. Plans for mobilizing the Brigade of Rhode Island Militia had been worked out carefully in detail in the preceding December, and in February, after inventories of military property had been made, new equipment and new uniforms were provided. On the day following the declaration of war the General Assembly made an appropriation of \$150,000 to be expended by the Governor for military and naval expenses; a second appropriation of \$150,000 was made June 15. President McKinley called for 125,000 troops, of which Rhode Island's quota was 720; Governor Dyer offered to raise and equip a regiment as a Rhode Island unit. In reply to a suggestion from Washington that the first quota be filled from the active militia, Governor Dyer urged that the active militia was less than a regiment of infantry of United States Army standard, but that a regiment of volunteers could be mustered in and equipped in a week. The Governor called for volunteers, and recruiting proceeded rapidly. For a regiment of 1150 men, 2303 applications for enrollment were received, 1647 men were examined, 1264 enrolled and 1217 were sent to camp at Quonset Point. Governor Dyer appointed First Lieutenant Charles W. Abbott, Jr., of the Twelfth United States Infantry, as Colonel. Lieutenant Abbott had been United States army inspector of Rhode Island militia for two years; after returning from service in the Philippines, Colonel Abbott served as Adjutant General in Rhode Island. The Rhode Island regiment left Rhode Island on May 26, 1898, "a splendidly drilled regiment, perfectly uniformed, armed and equipped," as described by the Governor. It was the "best looking and best equipped regiment that passed through Washington," according to a report from the capital city. The regiment was assigned to Camp Alger, at Falls Church, Virginia, which it reached on May 30. Rhode Island, by prompt and enthusiastic response to President McKinley's call for troops, had sustained the reputation achieved in 1861.

Governor Dyer, answering the President's call for more troops, offered a second regiment on May 28. While the second regiment was not mustered in, 1566 volunteers offered themselves; of these 1193 were examined, 799 were enrolled, and 816 were sent to camp at Quonset. For the two regiments projected, 3869 men volunteered. Some of those who volunteered for the second regiment were mustered in and sent as recruits to the First Regiment when that was ordered increased to the new army standard of 1300 men. Besides these, Rhode Island raised and equipped two batteries of light artillery, 210 men; a division for the United States Hospital service, 60 men; 150 naval militia for service in the fleet guarding the coast; 25 men for the U. S. S. "Vulcan," and 6 men for the signal corps, a total of 1780. The war was popular in Rhode Island. Cuba's long struggle for independence had aroused sympathy; the destruction of the Maine precipitated wrath. None was more enthusiastic for war than veterans of the Civil War, many of whom offered themselves as volunteers. General William Ames presented a stand of colors to the First Regiment. President E. Benjamin Andrews, of Brown University, himself a veteran with an enviable Civil War record, addressed the students at assembly and the college turned out en masse for drill in preparation for enlistment. Many students left before commencement as officers or privates in the First Regiment.

The First Regiment remained at Camp Alger until August 3, when it began a march across Virginia to a new camp at Thoroughfare Gap. On the way it crossed Bull Run and passed through Manassas. From the Mayor of Manassas Colonel Abbott received a letter, saying: "It

affords me much pleasure, in forwarding the enclosed Manassas newspaper, to give my personal testimony in favor of your command. While here they have been extremely courteous, both officers and men, efficient in the discharge of their duties, and will leave behind them a reputation unsullied by a single act of conduct unbecoming a soldier." While on the march notice was received that the regiment was soon to go to Porto Rico, but the order for active service was not issued. After two weeks at Thoroughfare Gap, August 8 to August 21, the regiment moved to Camp Meade at Middletown, Pennsylvania. Malaria attacked many while in Virginia; on October 21, the sick list reached 282, of whom 209 had been removed to hospitals. Newspaper correspondents with the regiment reported the names of the sick and removal to the division hospital. When, however, transfers were made from the division hospital to public and private hospitals in Philadelphia and elsewhere, trace was lost sometimes, and Governor Dyer made every possible effort to establish contact. The following correspondence is characteristic: Governor Dyer:—"Will you please see that the sick Rhode Island soldiers in your hospital receive everything they possibly need for care, comfort and nourishment, and if they become critically ill, or any cases terminate fatally, please wire me at once. Any comforts our men require, not furnished by the hospital, the state of Rhode Island will provide, if you will let me know." The answer, signed by Sister Mary Borromeo for the Sisters of St. Francis: "Accept our heartfelt thanks for your kind telegram in behalf of your soldiers. We are giving them our best care and attention, and we will let them relate what was done for them at St. Agnes. Our hospital does not enjoy any state or city help; what is done for the soldiers we do for God's and the country's glory, and for Christ's dear sake. If Rhode Island wishes to give us any financial assistance it will be deeply appreciated, as our hospital is dependent upon public charity; but let this not trouble your honor, as all are tenderly cared for, and every comfort and luxury allowed by the physicians is given them. We will wire you immediately should any of the men become dangerously ill, or die; we will bear your generous message to them in turns, as they recover, so as to comfort them for many years to come." Governor Dyer reported fourteen deaths in the regiment before January 31, 1899.

The First Regiment moved to Columbia, South Carolina, starting on November 13, with the expectation of embarking for Havana. Rhode Island sent the regiment a turkey dinner for Thanksgiving Day; Horace Vose of Westerly shipped 200 turkeys. With the turkeys went three barrels of cranberries, and money with which to purchase in South Carolina things needed for the dinner. Orders for Havana were not issued. The regiment passed the winter at Camp Fornance, near Columbia, in canvas tents. During the blizzard of February 14, 1899, the temperature reached six degrees below zero, and the camp was buried in ten inches of snow. The regiment was mustered out at Columbia on March 30, 1899. Returning to Rhode Island in a body, the regimental colors were returned to Governor Dyer at Dexter Training Ground, in Providence, on April 1. Though never called to active service, the First Regiment maintained its splendid record to the end. The City Auditor of Columbia wrote to Governor Dyer: "I take advantage of this opportunity to express my opinion, as a citizen and an official, of the splendid regiment sent out by your state. It gives me pleasure to say that in the First Rhode Island Regiment no more gentlemanly set of men were sent out by any state. From the day of their arrival in this city, they impressed our people with their gentlemanly conduct and soldierly bearing. It was with feelings of regret and sorrow that we parted with the Rhode Island boys, and I trust that the good feelings and associations formed with them will always linger as pleasantly in their memories as it will in the memories of the boys and girls of the 'Sunny South.'" A large number from the First Rhode Island enlisted in the regiment raised by Colonel Abbott for service in the Philippines.

A FLOATING MACHINE SHOP—The war with Spain was sharp, short and decisive; otherwise so fine a regiment as the First Rhode Island must have reached the battlefield. Glory for Rhode Island, as in other wars, was won on the water, though the chief actors were landmen,

rather than sailors. Among other measures taken to increase the efficiency of the navy was the fitting out of a repair ship to accompany the fleet. For this purpose the steamship "Chatham," which for many years had plied between Providence and Baltimore as one of the fleet of the Merchants and Miners Transportation Company, was refitted, armed and renamed as the "Vulcan." New boilers were installed and additional coal bunkers were provided; the "Vulcan" had a steaming radius of 6000 miles. The armament consisted of six-pounder rifles. The equipment was extraordinary, consisting of a complete metal and machine factory. It included machine, boiler, blacksmith, coppersmith, pattern and carpenter shops, as well as an iron foundry cupola, and two furnaces for the melting of copper, tin and other metals in crucibles; also a brass and iron foundry, with flasks, sand and ladles. Five separate lines of shafting were driven by stationary engines, from which lathes, planers, drill presses, bending rolls for boiler makers, blowers and exhaust fans, milling and other machines derived their motor power from belting. The cargo included everything that could be thought of for the repair of ships that would suffer in action from an engagement with the enemy, and the purpose was to repair and refit ships without the necessity of sending them home to a shipyard. The "Vulcan" reported to Admiral Sampson on June 1, a few minutes before the bombardment of Santiago began. After the decisive naval battle, in which the Spanish fleet was wrecked, the "Vulcan" anchored in Guantanamo Bay, remaining there for four months, working steadily on repairs of American ships, and on refitting ships of the Spanish fleet which were not absolutely unseaworthy. The "Infanta Maria Teresa" was prepared for sailing north, the work consuming five weeks. The ill-fated vessel was wrecked in a severe gale and lost at sea. The Rhode Island men on the "Vulcan" were commanded by Gardiner C. Sims of Warwick, and were rated as chief machinists. Classified by land occupations, they were: James Devine, Providence, brass finisher; Charles P. Wormwood, John A. Murray, Martin Fallon, Samuel McDonald, George E. Littlefield, Charles Lang, John E. Fraser of Providence, and Francis Flannery, William Flannery, Frank Joseph of Pawtucket, machinists; Treffe Brunette, Pawtucket, steam fitter; Patrick F. Lavin, of Providence, copper-smith; Andrew J. Moffit, Pawtucket, and Leon J. Adams, Providence, electricians; Philip H. Catlin, Pawtucket, brass moulder; Thomas P. Cooney, Providence, boiler maker's helper; James H. Millett, Pawtucket, iron moulder; Jeremiah Collins, Providence, blacksmith; Michael J. Lynch, Pawtucket, carpenter; Cornelius Sullivan, Newport, boilermaker; J. Herbert, Gilbert S. Allen, J. Reid, Charles A. Dunne, J. J. Donovan, A. M. Palrang, T. F. Higgins and William McCloud, helpers. Commenting upon the service of the "Vulcan" and forwarding to Gardiner C. Sims a new commission as Chief Engineer in the United States Navy with rank of Lieutenant Commander, Secretary Long wrote: "This action is taken by the department in recognition of the conspicuous and valuable services rendered by you while in charge of the workshops of the U. S. S. 'Vulcan.' This vessel, in its capacity of a repair ship, the department considers, performed a duty during the war second to none other in importance; and for the quantity and excellence of the work done for the fleet in Cuban waters the department understands it is, in a very large measure, indebted to your skill and experience."

The 150 members of the naval militia who were mustered into the United States naval service, with their commander, W. McCarty Little, were assigned to duty on a fleet of vessels guarding the approaches to Narragansett Bay and Newport. The signal corps maintained a station on Block Island. The forts near Newport were garrisoned during the war by troops from the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment. The Rhode Island militia maintained its peace time organization practically intact as a home guard. Recruiting was conducted to fill up companies depleted by enlistments in the First Rhode Island Volunteers.

THE DISASTER OF THE WAR—As in most wars in which soldiers from temperate regions have invaded southern climates, the American army in the war with Spain suffered more from disease than from casualties on the field of battle. Few New England men returned from the colonial expeditions to the West Indies in England's wars with France and Spain. The soldiers

who participated in the invasion of Cuba in 1898 were attacked by the fevers of the tropics, and the end of the war found the United States army endangered by disease. Montauk Point, at the extreme eastern end of Long Island, was chosen as an ideal spot for a recuperative camp, and thither 18,000 sick and debilitated soldiers were taken. In many respects otherwise an ideal location, Montauk was entirely unsatisfactory for a hospital camp, because the water supply was unfit for drinking and could not be used in hospitals. "It produced serious purgative effects when used by those who went there in good health," wrote one who visited Camp Wikoff and was familiar with the situation. In the haste to remove the army from Cuba, transports were overcrowded and vessels unfit for transport service were requisitioned. Soldiers whose vitality had been sapped by exposure to the Cuban climate collapsed on the voyage back to northern waters. Besides that, many soldiers who had contracted tropical fevers in the incubating stage, sickened after the transports were at sea, and exposed their comrades to infection. The building of a hospital camp at Montauk in the summer of 1898 was delayed, and the accommodations there were overtaxed from the outset. There was immediate danger of a disaster at Montauk from disease. The single-track railroad was inadequate for maintaining suitable communications with New York.

Rhode Island took up the work of relief, which was organized by the Rhode Island Sanitary and Relief Association. The association enrolled 710 members, for the most part patriotic women, and raised \$21,496 for relief work. The advisory board consisted of His Excellency Governor Elisha Dyer; Right Reverend Thomas M. Clark and Professor Wolcott Gibbs, who had been members of the Sanitary Commission of 1861; Right Reverend Matthew Harkins, Right Reverend William N. McVickar, and Hon. John H. Stiness. Branches were organized at Barrington, Bristol, East Greenwich, Jamestown, Kingston, Middletown, Newport, Pawtucket, Providence, Tiverton, Warren, Westerly, Wickford, and Woonsocket. The association was active from the beginning of the war, but rose to a great opportunity for service at Montauk Point. Thirteen relief expeditions to Montauk were conducted, the work including transportation of food and supplies to the camps and hospitals there, and removing soldiers from Montauk to Rhode Island hospitals for treatment. A summary of these expeditions follows: First, August 28, Mrs. Howard Walter and Mrs. Kautz of Newport, carried sixteen army wagon loads of supplies on U. S. S. "Vicksburg" to Sixth U. S. Infantry. Second, August 30, Mr. and Mrs. A. Livingston Mason and Major T. K. Gibbs, of Newport, carried sixteen army wagon loads of supplies on the transport "Specialist" to First U. S. Artillery and general hospital. Tug "Henry T. Sisson" brought back to Newport two officers and thirteen men for hospitalization. Third, August 31, Mrs. Howard Walter and Mrs. Kautz carried supplies on U. S. S. "Leyden" to Second U. S. Cavalry. Fourth, September 2, Colonel R. H. I. Goddard and family and others of Providence and Newport, carried supplies on steamer "City of Fall River" to Fourth U. S. Infantry and general hospital, and brought back sixty-eight patients. Fifth, September 6, Richard S. Howland, editor of "Providence Journal," with Dr. G. L. Collins, carried supplies on tug "Gaspee." The supplies on this expedition comprised canned soups, cereals, fresh eggs, extract of beef, liquid foods, condensed milk, malted milk, crackers, bananas, lemons, oranges, chocolate, canned fruits, preserves, jellies, wines, liquors, pipes and tobacco, 3000 bottles and several casks of carbonated waters, lithia, apollinaris, and ginger ale. The cargo aggregated thirty-five tons. This expedition furnished special relief for sick soldiers of the First Illinois Volunteers, who had been waiting five hours for a train which was to carry them to New York and a special hospital train for Chicago. Supplies were also distributed to the Seventh and Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, and First, Second and Third U. S. Cavalry. Sixth, September 7, Mrs. Howard Walter of Newport, carried four wagon loads of supplies on tug "Henry T. Sisson." Seventh, September 7, Colonel R. H. I. Goddard and family brought 131 sick soldiers on steamer "City of Taunton" to Providence and Woonsocket hospitals. Eighth, September 7, Mr. and Mrs. A. Livingston Mason carried six army wagon loads of supplies on



GROUP OF WORLD WAR MEMORIALS

BARRINGTON  
WEST GREENWICH

NORTH PROVIDENCE  
LINCOLN

MANVILLE  
NARRAGANSETT



tug "Henry T. Sisson" to Second U. S. Infantry; brought back two patients who were seriously ill. Ninth, September 6, Pawtucket and Lonsdale branches of relief association, under direction of Captain John R. Bartlett, carried supplies on U. S. S. "Aileen." Tenth, September 13, Richard S. Howland of "Providence Journal" carried supplies on tug "Gaspee" to Ninth U. S. Cavalry. These supplies included 125 bushels of oysters and 125 boxes of oranges for the colored troops who saved the Rough Riders in the first day's battle at Santiago. Otherwise the cargo comprised carbonated waters, groceries, hospital utensils and supplies, clothing and toilet articles, small packages of brandy and whiskey, emphasis being placed on gathering articles known to be needed from information obtained on the first "Journal" expedition. Besides the Ninth U. S. Cavalry, the First, Second, Third and Tenth U. S. Cavalry, the Twenty-first and Twenty-fourth Infantry, and Second U. S. Artillery shared in the distribution of the "Gaspee's" cargo. Eleventh, September 20, Mr. and Mrs. A. Livingston Mason of Newport carried supplies on steamer "Baltimore," and brought back to Newport sixteen patients. Twelfth, September 26, Mrs. William Ames and Colonel R. H. I. Goddard, brought 71 patients on steamer "City of Lawrence" to Providence hospitals. Thirteenth, October 7, Mrs. A. Livingston Mason brought to Newport on steamer "George W. Danielson" 21 patients. The War Department began to withdraw soldiers from Camp Wikoff in mid-September. The steam yacht "Red Cross" carried a dozen patients, the last in the general hospital, to Newport on October 13. The relief work organized in Rhode Island included care for 358 sick or wounded soldiers brought to Rhode Island hospitals; of these all but eight recovered and were discharged for return home or to their regiments.

Of Spanish-American War colors at the State House, besides the flags of the First Rhode Island Infantry and of the First Rhode Island Light Artillery, Batteries A and B, are those of the U. S. S. "Sarah Bruen" and U. S. mortar schooner "Rachel Seaman," both of which were manned by the Rhode Island Naval Battalion.

THE WORLD WAR—Save for the suppression of the Aguinaldo insurrection in the Philippines, the United States had been at peace for over fifteen years when the beginning of the World War in 1914 was announced through flashes on newspaper bulletin boards. From the crowd gathered in front of one newspaper office in Providence an agent for one of the largest textile corporations in Rhode Island, who had read the announcement, turned away and walked off hurriedly. For several hours afterward he was busy in placing orders by telegraph and long distance telephone for raw cotton and other supplies. His company faced almost financial embarrassment temporarily by reason of the volume of his purchases, but within a month his associates realized that his prompt action in buying at prices prevailing on the day that war was declared, not only had relieved the factories of doubt as to the source of raw material, but also had assured magnificent profits through prospective sales at prices for manufactured goods which were rising rapidly as agents for countries at war entered the American markets as purchasers. Another who read the bulletin, agent for a chemical house, bought available supplies of khaki dye and raw materials used in its manufacture; the chemical corporation reaped a tremendous profit through its control of the market for a color wanted in almost unlimited quantities. As a manufacturing state, Rhode Island experienced, almost immediately after the opening of the war, a quickened movement, short-time summer schedules were abandoned for full time, first, and later overtime was the prevailing order as production was speeded up to meet an unprecedented demand for most Rhode Island staple lines for export. Cotton, woolen and worsted cloth, iron and steel and rubber goods were wanted, and Rhode Island had facilities for producing them. When the manufacture of munitions was undertaken, jewelers found ready employment in assembling containers for explosives, and many jewelry shops were transformed temporarily into factories for the manufacture of hand grenades and bombs. Emotional sympathy for either group of contestants in the European War was developed in rather leisurely

fashion; the war was 3000 miles away, and had been precipitated by quarrels, some of them dynastic, which for the time being apparently did not concern America seriously except as war made business good, excellent as a matter of fact in Rhode Island, because of the market created for American goods. Rhode Island's first interest was economic and principally financial.

The early rapid advance of the German armies confirmed the iteration of irresistible Teutonic thoroughness and efficiency which had been accepted in America as true since the Franco-Prussian War. For a while America awaited announcement that the war had ended with the Kaiser in possession of Paris and dictating thence terms of peace to France, Belgium, England and Russia. America expected another congress of European nations and a readjustment of European national boundaries with the purpose of restoring the diplomatic balance of power. Then from the smoke of battle emerged the heroism of Belgium and the unconquerable Cardinal Mercier in the ruins of Louvain, the dogged persistence of a "ridiculous" little British army which did not know that it had been beaten and which was sacrificed in France while time was sought to recruit another and replace it, and the mighty military strategy of Joffre and Petain at the Marne. America rang with "They shall not pass!" Paris had been saved, and Teutonic efficiency had been checkmated. Still America hesitated. The Allies had halted the German advance, but were themselves unable to undertake an effective offensive movement.

Once more the end of the war seemed near, when one afternoon a newspaper bulletin announced that the Germans were throwing explosive shells into Paris from a distance estimated as seventy-five miles. Meanwhile, however, a resentful public opinion hostile to Germany was being developed in America as tales of German cruelty, albeit thoroughness, were printed in the newspaper press. America was plodding on, business the order of the day, and business took precedence over emotion and sympathy. Rhode Island was very much part of and like America, because Rhode Island was very busy. But not all of Rhode Island had been unresponsive. Professor Henri F. Micoletau of Brown University sailed for France on receiving news of the war; he joined his regiment in the French reserve, and was killed at the Battle of the Marne. Others also, Americans and Rhode Islanders by birth, found their way to Europe, or to Canada to join the expeditionary forces being recruited there. One also there was, citizen of the world and of Rhode Island, John R. Rathom, editor of the "Providence Journal," who seemed to have penetrated Teutonic purposes at the outset, and who uncovered and exposed German propaganda at work in the United States. Using the resources of a great newspaper, Rathom gathered and published evidence connecting German agents with the destruction of American factories engaged in producing ammunition and other supplies which would be used in neutral trade and reach the Allies rather than Germans eventually because of the blockade, and indicating the participation of German diplomatic agents in alleged plots involving the neutrality of the United States. The "Journal" achieved unique international distinction at the time, and became one of the most powerful influences molding American public opinion, and particularly public opinion in Rhode Island. Followed the German ruthless submarine campaign, the destruction of the "Lusitania" and of American vessels engaged in legitimate commerce. The war, which in 1914 had seemed far away, 3000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean, was brought very near to Rhode Island when, on October 7, 1916, the "U-53," a German submarine, sailed into Newport harbor "to post a letter," and then sailed out again, without violation of neutrality. The next day six unarmed merchant vessels were torpedoed by a submarine or submarines near Nantucket. The "Deutschland," German submarine, visited New London on November 1, 1916.

**RHODE ISLAND PREPARED**—Rhode Island had been preparing for war. In 1916 it appeared that war with Mexico was imminent, possibly as a threat or diversion in the strategy of world diplomacy to prevent American adhesion to the cause of the Allies and participation with them in the war against the Teutonic powers. The latter was indicated by increasing tenseness in the

relations between the United States and Germany because of utter disregard by the German submarine commanders of the inviolability of neutral commerce under international law. On June 3, 1916, 53,000 men and women, carrying small American flags, marched in a "preparedness parade" in Providence. The procession, besides being the largest in the history of the state, was remarkable for the steady pace without interruption at which unbroken divisions poured unceasingly over the route of march. It was a magnificent demonstration of loyalty and a significant gesture of unanimity. Scarcely two weeks had passed when President Wilson, on June 18, ordered the Rhode Island militia mobilized for service on the Mexican border. Early in the morning of the day on which orders were received, Battery A, Field Artillery, Captain Everitte S. Chaffee, in heavy marching order and with complete equipment, had begun a two weeks tour of practice duty in the field. From this it was recalled and ordered to Quonset Point to prepare as rapidly as possible for departure for the southwest. The battery moved on June 29, and on the following day entrained at Davisville for Fort Bliss, twelve miles from El Paso, Texas. Battery A was the contingent in the Rhode Island National Guard that continued the life and traditions of the Providence Marine Corps of Artillery, chartered in 1801, and known as the "Mother of the Rhode Island Batteries." From the Marine Artillery had been recruited at the beginning of the Civil War the First Rhode Island Battery, which was engaged at Bull Run. From the Marine Artillery Armory, recruited through the initiative of the Corps, had gone also nine other Rhode Island batteries, known, respectively, as Batteries A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H, in the Rhode Island Light Artillery, and Tenth Battery, a total of 2373 fighting men and officers, of whom 379 were killed, wounded or reported as missing. As Battery A, a contingent of 110 men and officers had enlisted for the Spanish-American War, nearly one-quarter of whom after discharge reënlisted for service in the Philippines. In 1916 Battery A was first away for whatever might happen to be its mission somewhere 2500 miles from home along the Rio Grande. Battery A was not engaged in actual fighting; the prospective war with Mexico evaporated when the United States made a convincing demonstration of preparedness. The Rhode Island battery was assigned to the Fifth Field Artillery and brigaded with the Eighth United States Regiment, regulars. With the exception of one battery from New Mexico, Battery A was the only National Guard unit appraised as ready for brigading with regular troops and for immediate service. Of eighty-five batteries of field artillery from the National Guard of the several states called to the border in 1916, Chaffee's Rhode Island battery received the highest military rating. The Rhode Island cavalry, also fully equipped and mounted, was ordered to the border on July 8, 1916, and rendered creditable service on patrol and other duty as assigned. Both artillery and cavalry received on the border in four months of 1916 excellent and intensive training, which was valuable preparation for the service to which they were called in 1917.

Other preparation preceded the declaration of war against Germany by Congress on April 6, 1917. Six companies of coast artillery of the National Guard were mobilized in February, and assigned to guarding railroads and bridges, reservoirs and other public property. Battery A and coast guard companies were ordered to recruit to war strength in March. Immediately after the declaration of war steel nets were stretched across the entrances to Narragansett Bay as a protection against submarines. Volunteers were called for by President Wilson in anticipation of the draft through which a national army was to be raised, and large numbers of young men flocked to recruiting stations maintained by army and navy and the Corps of Marines. Many went from other parts of Rhode Island to Newport to enter the navy. The National Guard was called for mustering into the service of the United States. Authorization to recruit Battery A as a battalion of three batteries was obtained, and the work went forward rapidly. About the senior organization as a corps, three batteries, A, B and C, were gathered by voluntary enlistment. The Marine Corps of Artillery, through its active representative, Battery A, Rhode Island National Guard, was still the "Mother of Rhode Island Batteries." Batteries A, B and C became part of the One Hundred Third Regiment, Fifty-first Brigade, Twenty-sixth

or Yankee Division, Major General Clarence R. Edwards commanding, and all participated in active service on the western front. As part of the Yankee Division, they were among the first Americans, other than regular army and marine corps contingents, to go overseas and to participate in actual fighting. The Rhode Island Squadron of Cavalry, except Troops B and M, went forward with the Yankee Division as the One Hundred Third Machine Gun Battery, under command of Major Walter G. Gatchell. Troop B became the One Hundred First Supply Train, Captain Davis G. Arnold commanding. Troop M was consolidated with the battalion of Field Artillery in the One Hundred Third Regiment. The Rhode Island Ambulance Company was transferred to the Yankee Division as an ambulance contingent. Rhode Island units which were first away were mobilized on July 25, 1917, when 3898 men paraded in Providence before leaving for Quonset Point. The next movement was to Boxford, Massachusetts.

RHODE ISLAND OVERSEAS—Batteries A and B sailed October 9 from New York via Halifax for Liverpool on the steamship "Baltic." They crossed England by rail from Liverpool to Southampton, and the Channel to Havre on steamship "Viper," October 29-30. Their first camp in France was at Coetquidan, where the batteries, reorganized as heavy artillery, were armed with French 155-millimeter\* howitzers instead of the three-inch field pieces with which they had been equipped while in the National Guard. At Coetquidan active preparation was begun for participation in the trench and siege warfare along the Western front. Battery C was sent south from Boxford in September to Newport News. Captain Chaffee followed with Battery D of the One Hundred Third Regiment. Captain Chaffee was promoted to be Major, and placed in command of Camp Hill at Newport News. A detachment of Battery C, with 1000 mules and horses, sailed from Newport News for France on October 21 on the transport "Panaman." Other detachments of Battery C, with other consignments of horses and mules, sailed successively on the steamships "Arcadian," "El Sol," and "Sewanee." Eventually Battery C was reunited with respect to detachments and with Batteries A and B at Coetquidan. Major Chaffee reached Coetquidan in January. Batteries A, B and C received intensive instruction in handling and firing the howitzers, in range firing, in establishing and maintaining communication, and in all the details of service that make a well-trained and efficient artilleryman. Other units of the Yankee Division, including the Rhode Island cavalry, reorganized as the One Hundred Third Machine Gun Battery, light artillery, were in the same neighborhood, all preparing under the direction of instructors, assigned from the French army, for active service. The Yankee Division moved on February 4, 1918, from its training camps to the Chemin-des-Dames sector. To Battery A had fallen the honor of being the first National Guard unit to fire the new French howitzers in practice, and it was also the first, on February 11, 1918, to send a shell into the German lines. On April 7, 1917, the day following the declaration of war, four squadrons of Rhode Island naval reserves were ordered to Boston for the navy. Commander Richard E. Byrd, at the time, was instructor of naval militia in Rhode Island, and was active in preparation and recruiting the reserve to war strength. In June the construction of a training camp for 6000 naval recruits was begun at Newport.

THE SELECTIVE DRAFT—Had there been no valid military reason for avoiding the rivalries and jealousies and the errors of other wars coincident to raising armies consisting of units enlisted by states and commanded, in the first instance, by officers appointed by state governors, perhaps the exalted idealism of President Wilson and his effort to interpret the "new democracy" for the American people would have persuaded Congress to order a registration of men of military age and a selective draft. As it was, army officers, trained to national ideas at West Point, had recognized the deficiencies of state recruiting, and the representatives of the Allies who came to America immediately after the declaration of war stressed nothing more certainly, along with the desirability of raising an effective American army promptly and placing it over-

\*Approximately six inches plus.

seas at the earliest possible moment, than the necessity for maintaining America's productive power unimpaired. Thus military expediency pointed to the conclusion which President Wilson must have reached in his approach from philosophy, that the drafting of an army is more democratic than volunteering because the responsibility for service is thus more definitely imposed upon all of the people. Eventually, as the reconstruction of the social and economic order proceeded in relation to military necessity, every citizen found his place in an intricate system of national defence established practically upon a legal basis. Those who were not drafted and sent to the colors were assigned positions in the economic organization. In January, 1918, the General Assembly enacted a "work or fight" statute, the enforcement of which was aimed at loafers and slackers.

The first national registration day was set for June 5, 1917, when men of ages twenty-one to thirty were enrolled as the first preliminary for the draft. On that day 53,000 Rhode Islanders registered. Later each man enrolled furnished detailed information, in the form of answers to an exhaustive questionnaire, to be used in the process of selecting those preferred for drafting. Governor Beeckman ordered a military census of youth and men over sixteen years of age, and of women from sixteen to sixty years of age, which was taken on June 11. The national draft was selective in the sense that men of military age were classified in ways emphasizing health and physical ability for military service, occupation or training for occupation, and the responsibility of the person for the support of members of a family dependent on him. The exposure and severe physical strains attending modern warfare urged the wisdom of rejecting men who were not in perfect health and strength; men who were sick or who suffered from disabilities were not wanted at the front to increase the burdens of hospitals. The war was an economic as well as a military struggle, and America, as an effective associate of the Allies, must continue food production and manufacturing of useful articles without abatement; hence men engaged in "necessary" occupations were sent back to work. Besides that, it was easier to train raw recruits to be reasonably good soldiers in a short time than to replace skilled mechanics. In the crisis of war an increase of public dependency must be restricted so far as possible to the victims of warfare; hence men with dependent families were excused.

In the allocation of draft quotas states and divisions of states were credited with voluntary enlistments following the declaration of war in any military or naval service of the United States. The town of Barrington was exempt from the first draft because enlistments had exceeded the town quota. Rhode Island enlistments preceding the order for the draft had been 64.6 percent of the state quota, which was far above the average for the country; eventually, with 5998 enlistments against a quota of 6277, only 4.5 percent of the Rhode Island quota was obtained by the first draft. The contingent for the new army left Rhode Island in three groups, 111 on September 5, 884 on September 19, and 884 on October 3. The preparation for the first draft disclosed one condition which was not highly satisfactory. Of 9379 men called for physical examinations, 6309, or 62.27 percent, were accepted, and 3070, or 32.73 percent, were rejected as unfit. The percentage of rejections was exceeded only by Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, West Virginia, Massachusetts, and Delaware, that is, four other New England states, two coal mining states of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and Delaware. The first draftees were splendid young men, in the vigor of wholesome, healthy manhood, and they went to camp, as a rule, with light hearts and few cares, as if starting on a great adventure. America had risen to save democracy for the world, and America had begun to sing, as in other wars, besides patriotic anthems, the carefree lilt of "Tipperary," the cheering "Smile, Smile, Smile," the comforting "Keep the Home Fires Burning," the yearning "Long, Long Trail," and eventually the strident, triumphant "Over There," the last written by a distinguished native son of Rhode Island, George M. Cohan.

Following the first registration, two others were ordered by Congress, one on June 5, 1918, of men who had attained majority within the preceding year, and another, on September 12,

1918, of men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who had not been enrolled previously. The total registration in Rhode Island was 134,515, of whom 94,822 under age thirty-six were classified on the basis of answers to questionnaires. Of the 94,822 registrants classified, 66,005 were exempt, as follows: Necessary occupations, 505 in agriculture and 3048 in industry; dependent families, 35,859; aliens, 11,738; in service, 5631; physical disabilities, 7181; other causes, 2043. Only 710 of 12,148 men called for final examination were rejected. The selective draft included workers as well as soldiers. In February, 1918, 5000 men were enrolled in Rhode Island for service in shipyards in the construction of the fleet of merchant vessels planned to offset losses by submarine warfare. In March, 182 machinists, chauffeurs and draftsmen were drawn to go to Kelley Field at San Antonio, Texas. The drawing of soldiers continued. In April, 817 left for Camp Dix at Wrightstown, New Jersey. Earlier in the same month a flag was raised in honor of the 12,000 men who within a year after the declaration of war had entered military or naval service. The 12,000 were equivalent to twelve regiments of the old standard of 1000 men. In June, 1257 Rhode Islanders left for Camp Meade, in Maryland, and a month later, 1275 more went to Camp Upton, besides 219 negroes, who were sent to Camp Devens. The quota to be drafted in July, 1918, was announced as 1800. Altogether Rhode Islanders who were engaged in some military or naval service during the war numbered close to 29,000.\* Rhode Island State College reported at the end of 1917 that sixty-three percent of men students had gone to the colors; the college furnished an unusual number of officers because of the training received in the cadet battalion. One student who left shortly after war was declared to enlist in the navy rose during the war to command a destroyer; Lieutenant Commander Emmet Driscoll of Rhode Island and Rhode Island State College was the youngest naval officer in charge of a vessel during the war. Brown University also had witnessed the same departure of students that had occurred during the Revolutionary, Civil and Spanish-American wars. Both colleges received contingents of the student training corps established by the War Department, and during the war period were practically under military law, as the student corps was commanded and directed by United States army officers. Brown University, as a war measure in 1918, announced an all-year program without summer vacations, thus to enable students to complete the course for graduation in three years instead of four.

HOME FIRES KEPT BURNING—The home spirit during the war was magnificent, and the people responded generously and enthusiastically to every call for service, sacrifice or money. In April, 1917, a campaign to promote the naturalization of so many as possible of the 44,000 aliens living in Rhode Island was started. An analysis of the registration of aliens in the first enrollment on June 5, 1917, showed that more than four-fifths of alien men of ages between twenty-one and thirty were of national origins that classified them with the Allies. The number of draft evaders and of persons arrested as active sympathizers with the Teutonic powers was small, in view of the very thorough censorship and espionage established. Among other war measures, public officers executed a new engagement of service, and the State Board of Education prescribed a "Pledge of Loyalty" for public school teachers. In tribute to the loyalty of the public school teachers it should be recorded that only two of nearly 4000 questioned the form of the pledge, and that these two with all their colleagues in public education service took the pledge by oath or affirmation. The pledge of loyalty has been prescribed since the war as one of the requirements for certification. The study of German language and literature was practically banished from the public schools during the war, and after the lapse of a dozen years has not regained the place which it once held in the curriculum. To the suggestion that German propaganda had been permitted to reach the public's children through textbooks, the Commissioner of Education responded with an inquiry, and appointed a commission of superintendents to examine all books used for instruction or reference. The commission found that there was little in the books used in Rhode Island that might be interpreted as propaganda, though there

\*28,080 in United States service, 737 in allied armies.

were, in the instance of texts used for German language study, quotations from the writings of German authors who expressed Teutonic opinions vigorously. A few books were withdrawn for use in the schools on recommendation of the commission, but the investigation in its major aspects confirmed the people's faith in the integrity of public education in Rhode Island.

In the vast extension of governmental service during the war many Rhode Islanders were engaged without remuneration or salary other than the one dollar a year paid to identify them as "employees" entitled to use the government frank on letters carrying public papers. Rhode Island for the draft was divided into twenty-two districts, each with a local organization that was for the most part voluntary, although all were under federal direction and supervised thoroughly by agents of the United States Provost Marshal. Lawyers and school teachers gave their assistance freely to registrants struggling with the details of the intricate questionnaires in use.

Housewives discovered on October 19, 1917, that the supply of sugar for sale had been practically exhausted, and learned then by actual experience what war meant for non-combatants removed from the actual field of conflict. America in its engagements with the Allies had undertaken not only to place an army on the western front, but also to maintain its army in every detail, besides assisting in feeding the hungry people behind the battle lines. It was a big contract, and it involved conservation of food in quantity and also by selection. The amount of food that must be sent overseas suggested economy in transportation by sending food which concentrated into small bulk the largest possible nutritive values. Hence sugar, wheat and beef were preferred, and Americans were requested to use substitutes. Rhode Island early in the war was placed on a régime of wheatless and meatless days, and to provide for a fair distribution of the limited amount of sugar available rationing was resorted to. Actually there was no shortage of food except of sugar; the sacrifice required was the use of substitutes for meat and wheat on specified days. In the instance of wheat, flour sales were conditional for a time on purchases of other cereals with wheat. The regulations of the food administrator, Alfred M. Coats, were accepted graciously, and the people as a rule responded loyally to the program.

George H. Holmes,\* as fuel administrator, faced a somewhat different problem. The price of anthracite coal after the strike of 1902, never returned to the level of earlier years, and there had been complaints before the war opened that the price charged consumers was regulated by combinations to which operators, railway and water transportation companies, wholesalers and retailers were parties. On the other hand the extraordinary movement of men, munitions and food from west to east, and the fuelling of transports and freight steamers engaged in the transatlantic service required coal in unprecedented amounts, and conservation of coal had become necessary. The fuel administration must protect the general public from extortion, and assure a distribution of coal that would meet reasonable requirements. The people were asked to use fuel sparingly and to maintain lower temperatures so far as possible, and Monday was designated as a heatless day in public buildings, including theatres. The winter of 1917-18 was the most severe in the past half-century. Frost penetrated so deeply into the ground as to reach water mains placed inches below the normal freezing level. Heavy snowstorms followed, blanketing the frozen ground against thawing; had they preceded the freezing, water pipes would not be reached. In Providence, on January 11, 1918, fire hydrants were opened to provide water for people whose household supply had been cut off by freezing. Narragansett Bay was covered by heavy ice, and shipping was frozen in at dock or anchorage. Explosives were used to break the ice and free shipping. Schools were closed in some places because no coal could be had.

The suffering because of intense cold and fuel shortage was increased by an epidemic of "influenza." Yet the people carried on. Influenza returned in the fall of 1918, and at the end of September the Governor was requested to order all theatres closed to prevent its spread. The opening of Rhode Island State College was postponed, and the public schools of Central Falls,

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\*Succeeded in 1918 by Malcolm G. Chace.

Cranston and Cumberland were closed October 1 as preventive measures. Two days later shore leave for sailors at Newport was discontinued, and on October 4 Providence public schools and theatres were closed. The epidemic was prevalent also in military cantonments, and many Rhode Island soldiers died. Still Rhode Island carried on, and in the midst of the epidemic went over the top with the fourth liberty loan. In the completeness of devotion to the triumph of democracy women joined with men, and in many occupations replaced those who had gone to the colors. In August, 1918, the postmaster at Providence announced that he must hire women as letter carriers to replace men. A month later the Pawtucket Chamber of Commerce reported that an investigation disclosed that 9500 women were needed in industry. Not all of the women who were employed replaced men, however; production in many lines had been increased, and the women filled new positions. During the war women were employed in greater numbers than ever before, and for the first time in some occupations; the unprecedented entrance of women into employment and its effect upon economic and social conditions never have been readjusted. Radio had not been perfected, and the possibility of reaching millions of homes and larger millions of listeners with any message of national importance could not be realized. The wartime substitute was the loyal band of four-minute speakers who appeared nightly at theatres and other places where people congregated, with messages of cheer or service. The talks, as indicated, were short and planned to present some matter of public import in a positive and direct appeal. The aims and purposes of public measures were explained, and pleas for support of good causes were made. The fruits were shown in loyal popular support of wartime projects. The public press in Rhode Island rendered invaluable service also.

**LIBERTY LOANS**—The ultimate support of military programs is derived from public taxation, and this was true of the World War. In the period in which war taxes were unabated federal revenues gathered in Rhode Island reached the amount of \$36,000,000 annually, or \$60 per capita on a population of 600,000 in round numbers. The billions for immediate war purposes in 1917 and 1918 were raised principally by popular subscriptions to bond issues. To four liberty loans and the final victory loan floated after Armistice Rhode Island responded worthily. For the first liberty loan in March, 1917, 66,000 persons subscribed \$25,335,500, exceeding the state quota of \$24,180,000 by \$1,155,500. In October, 1917, 125,000 persons contributed \$42,214,800 to the second liberty loan, exceeding the quota of \$30,000,000 by \$12,214,800. For the third liberty loan, April, 1918, the quota was \$25,000,000, and 87,000 persons subscribed \$30,661,950, or \$5,661,950 more than the quota. In September, 1918, the state quota of \$50,000,000 for the fourth liberty loan was exceeded by \$15,889,150 and 143,830 persons contributed. The final bond issue, known as the victory loan of 1919, was over subscribed to the amount of \$7,842,700 when 63,100 persons contributed \$45,342,700. The total of bond sales in Rhode Island was \$209,444,100, or \$42,764,100 more than the total of quotas, which amounted to \$166,680,000. In addition Rhode Island bought liberally of war savings stamps and thrift stamps, the total of purchases reaching probably \$4,000,000. To every call for money the response was generous. Before the declaration of war Brown University collected money for three ambulances for the American field ambulance service in France. In May, 1917, nearly \$11,000 was subscribed for the Joffre fund for homeless French children. Other contributions included \$10,000 to the Providence "Journal's" "Our boys' tobacco fund"; \$30,000 to the Knights of Columbus fund for soldier huts; \$5000 by Hebrews, for relief of war victims in Belgium; \$30,000 for the relief of Halifax, following the explosion of munitions; \$52,531 for the Boy Scouts; \$14,000 for the Salvation Army relief fund; \$1,500,000 for united war relief; \$879,576 in 1917 for the Red Cross, exceeding the quota by \$129,576; and, in 1918, \$1,144,812 for the Red Cross, besides the enrollment of 128,849 members. The list is not exhaustive so much as illustrative of the devotion of the people of Rhode Island. A soldiers' and sailors' club was opened in Providence in August, 1918.

WAR TIME CONSTRUCTION—Active work in Rhode Island directly affecting war purposes included the construction of a monster cantonment at Newport for men training for the navy. In October, 1917, the United States government leased thirteen acres at Field's Point for the construction of a boiler-making plant. The Lord Construction Company leased 232,000 square feet of land at Field's Point in March, 1918, and erected a plant for outfitting vessels of the new emergency fleet of merchantmen being built by the United States Shipping Board. The "Coyotte," first of the emergency fleet, arrived May 20 for outfitting. The Aberthaw Construction Company began the building of concrete ships near Field's Point in May. At East Greenwich a plant for the construction of airplanes was erected. Besides these, a great many manufacturing plants were engaged in filling government contracts for supplies of various kinds, and special temporary plants were constructed for certain purposes, including the manufacture of explosives. Because of the importance of some contracts, and the destruction of property in other parts of the United States by alleged German sympathizers, many industrial plants were carefully watched by armed guards, and extraordinary precautions were taken. Public buildings were guarded also, and watchmen were on duty at the State House and at the Butler-Duncan mansion on Smith Street, which had been loaned as an annex to be used by new divisions of service established during the war. Coast defences were manned, and the entrances to Narragansett Bay were guarded by the navy. A German submarine was reported off Newport on June 3, 1918, and on the fifth of June the gate in the net closing the harbor entrance against submarines was ordered closed from 8 p. m. to 5 a. m. daily. Noise of heavy explosions on one night during the summer aroused a large part of the population from slumber, and many remained awake, anticipating a raid by German naval vessels; in the morning fear was abated when it was announced that the noise was occasioned by blasting along the shore at East Providence.

In the development of the industrial program for new manufacturing and speeding up other production, and also as part of the project for building a fleet of fabricated vessels, a need for vocational training appeared, and the United States government called upon the new federal-state organization for vocational education created in 1917. Under a ruling of the Federal Board for Vocational Education that in war times every man of military age is a potential draftee, and may be prepared in evening schools for any occupation that is supplementary to war service, including manufacturing for war purposes, evening classes were established for training men for new war time occupations. In Rhode Island the new evening classes were supported by federal and state appropriations, and were located at convenient places for training the type of workers needed. They served the purpose of training men engaged in non-essential occupations for entrance into employment in essential industries, including many that were positively related to war service. The foundations for successful conduct of a long war were being laid at a time when the effect of America's entrance upon the war was underestimated.

WAR SERVICE OF RHODE ISLANDERS—The Rainbow Division, composed of soldiers from more than twenty states, was characteristic of the national army in the World War. The military policy of the War Department negated the identity and importance of state origins. After the initial mustering of National Guard units into federal service and the organization of these into divisions for the purpose of landing an army in France at the earliest moment possible, volunteers were accepted as individuals and others were drafted without reference to states other than a distribution of quotas equitably. Regiments did not bear state names, as they had in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. For the reason that the navy is recruited and organized on a national rather than a state basis, state contributions to naval achievements are difficult of identification, except in such instances as the creation of the first United States navy from a fleet of Rhode Island vessels commanded and manned principally by Rhode Island captains and sailors under Admiral Esek Hopkins, and the Rhode Island expedition to Lake Erie in

1813 led by Oliver Hazard Perry. Similarly the courageous deeds of brave Rhode Islanders in the World War for the most part are merged in the general story of the success of American arms. In the World War the rôle of staff military correspondent accompanying the army was suppressed by an effective censorship; hence newspapers printed little more than brief dispatches from which anything that might comfort the enemy or give him information about the movement of troops was rigorously deleted. Long letters home were as thoroughly "verboten" in the allied armies as were many activities within the Teutonic lines. When a soldier was permitted to write home, he sent a postcard dated "somewhere in France" and recording little more than a wish that everybody at home was well; the card was evidence that he had been alive when it was mailed some weeks earlier than its receipt.

When the boys came home they were not communicative about their experiences; gallantry and enthusiasm had passed out of war. Their reticence indicated their wish to forget, and their short answers to questions were broad hints that they did not choose to be interviewed. The American Legion, although a closely knit fraternal organization, has not preserved the romance that was characteristic of the Grand Army of the Republic. The World War was not like the Civil War; it was not romantic, and the memories of the trenches, of barrages, of blind charges into No-man's-land and over the top are not pleasant. It was all too terrible in stark realism. The identification of Rhode Island service is limited to a few units that originated in Rhode Island and maintained their identity. One of these was the One Hundred Third United States Field Artillery, including Batteries A, B and C, which had been recruited in the expansion of Battery A, Rhode Island National Guard. The three Rhode Island batteries participated in the major movements in which the Yankee Division was an important factor in 1918, but, as they were assigned from time to time to different positions, the stories of the batteries vary in detail, particularly in the instance of Battery C, whose fortune apart from Batteries A and B was determined in the first separation at Camp Boxford, from which it moved first, though destined to reach France last. The service of the three batteries after leaving their French training camp at Coetquidan was as follows:

*Battery A* was stationed first at Bucy le Long in the Chemin-des-Dames sector, and won its first citation for promptness and accuracy of firing from Chemin-des-Dames on February 19, when it was called upon to cover a French attack. The battery removed from Bucy le Long in March to the Brienne area for division manoeuvres with the Yankee Division, but the manoeuvres were abandoned and the battery was dispatched to the Toul sector as part of the Allies' defence against the German drive on Amiens. General Pershing had placed his American army at the disposal of and under the command of Marshal Foch, and the Yankee Division relieved the First Division, taking over the defence of sixteen miles on the front at Toul. Battery A was assigned to man several guns, including "Betsy the Sniper," the most advanced cannon on the Toul sector. The official historians of Battery A relate the story of Betsy the Sniper thus: "No camouflage concealed her; no camouflage ever could, so prominent, so conspicuous was her little 'place in the sun.' The infantrymen knew Betsy, for she was usually roaring as they silently marched to the trenches. By them she was called 'The Ground Hog,' because after firing it was customary to run her into a casement or garage for protection. . . . As the sniper gun was only a kilometer distant from the enemy's front line trenches, it was possible to fire with uncanny accuracy and damaging effect. Thus by day and by night Betsy harassed and annoyed with marvelous success. For this reason the Germans shelled" Betsy's position "more frequently than any other gun position in the sector. With consistent regularity were received 'morning hates, afternoon hates, evening hates and midnight hates.' . . . Bar none, every gas in their repertoire was employed by the Teutons. Tear gas and sneezing gas, chlorine, phosgene and mustard gas were used and re-used in an effort to silence Betsy. But Betsy always replied, gas for gas, and the ground around her was dotted thick with

holes made by shells of various calibres. So often was Betsy "shelled and gassed that the position became known throughout the sector as 'Hell's Half Acre.'" During the German attack on Seicheprey, for twenty-four hours beginning April 20, not less than 2,000 shells were dropped on Betsy's position, but, "though shells were bursting in tens and twenties around her, Betsy never ceased to roar." Three hundred fifty-three rounds of ammunition were fired in the twenty-four hours by the sniping gun alone, with Captain Barker acting as a member of the gun crew. Sergeant Joshua K. Broadhead, on detached service with Battery B was killed April 20, being the first member of Battery A to die in action.

Other incidents during occupation of the Toul sector included the "Million Dollar Barrage" on May 31, so called because of the money value of the ammunition used, in the course of which the German first, second and third lines of defence at Richécourt were completely demolished; the repulse of a German surprise attack in the battle of Xivray, June 16, and the German effort to destroy Betsy the Sniper on the afternoon of June 19. The Germans concentrated the fire of three batteries of 150-millimetre and 210-millimetre howitzers on Betsy, directing the gunners from two observation balloons. For two hours shells with slow fuses were fired at intervals of three minutes; then followed a deluge of shot and shell at a rate of sixty per minute. Dugouts were smashed, a powder magazine was penetrated and the contents exploded. Eight men were killed, including one from Battery A, and others were buried in debris, from which they were released by shovelling. Betsy was silent, overwhelmed for the time being by so much extraordinary attention, and night fell while the batterymen were digging vigorously in the effort to rescue comrades. Betsy had recovered from her embarrassment when morning dawned, however, and was still in service when the Twenty-sixth Division was relieved a week later, and Battery A was replaced by other artilleryists. Betsy the Sniper was withdrawn then and removed with the battery.

Battery A participated in hard and continuous fighting, moving forward steadily from old to new and more advanced positions in the American movement from Chateau Thierry in July, 1918, and was ordered relieved on August 4 and sent to the rear for rest and recuperation. Early in September the Yankee Division, including Battery A, was recalled to participate in the American drive on the St. Mihiel salient. Battery A was engaged in the artillery preparation for the steady advance of American infantry. In the Verdun battle Battery A was assigned to a position in Death Valley, which was shelled steadily by the Germans; from the valley Battery A laid barrages for several attacks. The armistice of November 11 ended the fighting with Battery A in position near Verdun. The losses included three killed in action, three deaths by accident, six deaths from disease, and thirty-four wounded.

*Battery B*, after a period of service with little fighting at Bucy le Long, entrained on March 18 for Chavanges, which was reached the following day. The battery then traveled, mostly over the road, some 300 miles in eighteen days through French villages, with the purpose of reviving French hope by demonstration that the *Americans had come*. Battery B next was assigned to the Toul sector, the position being near the famous Dead Man's curve, which was constantly under German fire. The battery was exposed to heavy cannonading on April 20, during which Lieutenant Dyer and Sergeant Broadhead, of Battery A, assigned temporarily to service with Battery B, were killed. Battery B lost several effectives by wounds. Along with the ambulances in a dangerous trip around Dead Man's Curve came Father William J. Farrell, chaplain; he was wounded while ministering to the men who had been stricken, and himself was carried back in an ambulance to a hospital.

Battery B was shelled on May 5, 1918, the Germans using Russian shells and ammunition, some of which had been manufactured in Rhode Island. For the time being these "messages from home" were not appreciated. The battery also participated in the "Million Dollar Barrage" of May 31, and was under heavy fire on June 16, when the Germans attempted to silence

American batteries in preparation for the battle at Xivray. Private Fred Harmon was killed in action. In these engagements Battery B and Battery A were defending the same sector, though assigned to different positions. Battery B was withdrawn from Toul on June 28 and started for what was expected to be a period of rest and recuperation. From the latter, even before it had begun, the battery was recalled when the Yankee Division was ordered to relieve the Second Division and the Marines after the decisive German reverse at Belleau Woods. The Yankee Division did more than relieve; it moved forward in the advance from Chateau Thierry which drove the Germans from their trenches and necessitated the Teuton general retreat in midsummer of 1918. Paris had been saved, and the Rhode Island batteries had participated in the movement. Battery B was in action almost continuously through the month of July and until August 5, when it was relieved. After two weeks of rest at Leugley, Battery B moved again on August 25, and, traveling partly by rail and partly by road, joined in the American drive against the salient at St. Mihiel. The attack opened on Friday, September 13, and reached the Hindenburg line; Battery B's first position in this movement was at Saint Remy. On October 10 the battery was relieved and took up the march to the rear. On October 12, because of a mistake in taking the wrong turn at a junction, the battery marched forty-one miles, twenty of which were not necessary, consisting in making and retracing a hike of ten miles in the wrong direction. The battery was called back for service in the American drive on Verdun, its position being at Bois de Balcourt, five miles from the city. In this position Battery B remained, under fire and firing, until November 11 and armistice. Of Battery B, three were killed in action, two died from wounds which proved to be fatal, one as a result of gassing, and three from disease.

*Battery C's* first position on the actual fighting front was at Allemont, near the Soissons-Laon road, in the Chemin-des-Dames sector. There it maintained a steady exchange of fire with the Germans. After an excessively heavy bombardment on the night of March 16, 1918, the battery was withdrawn on March 18. The prospect of rest was dispelled by orders assigning Battery C to the Toul sector to relieve Battery F, Fifth Field Artillery, First Division. Actually the battery had been moved as a contingent of the Yankee Division to the same front along which Batteries A and B were operating; for the time being the three Rhode Island batteries were "together, though separated." Battery C was engaged in the battles at Bois Brule, Apremont Wood, Xivray and Richecourt, the latter known as the "Million Dollar Barrage." At Seicheprey, Lieutenant Lawrence S. Ayer was killed in action. There also a detachment, which had sought refuge in a dugout when the Germans opened their drive with a heavy barrage, emerged to find themselves in the midst of a horde of the enemy; the Yankees were surrounded and sent to the German rear as prisoners. Corporal Edward L. Veaudry of Battery C was cited for gallant conduct at Seicheprey, for which he was awarded the Croix de Guerre. The battery was withdrawn for rest on June 27, but was recalled almost immediately for service near Chateau Thierry. Battery C was at Hill 204 on July 15, when the German drive was repulsed, and in the final bombardment by the Germans on July 19 three were killed—William Osmolski, David Papineau, and Frank Sylvia. In the American counter-drive the battery was constantly engaged in the successive battles at Epieds, Courpoil, Beuvarde and the Ourcq. After a short rest the battery was recalled to service in the St. Mihiel sector and before Verdun. Seven members were killed in action on October 24—Bacon, Eicke, Humphreys, Bourne, Becker, Rumsey and Dennis. A German shell landed in the gun pit of the first section, killing Bacon, Humphreys, Rumsey and Becker. Bourne was killed by a second shell while going to the assistance of his comrades. Eicke and Dennis were killed by a third shell while attempting to reach the gun pit. Distinguished service crosses were awarded to Russell Bourne, one of the dead, and to Thomas Hickey and Walter F. Lyons for bravery in an effort to carry assistance to comrades.

Battery C at the time held a position near Samogneux. Lieutenant Emmet O'Neal's verses recall the incident :

THE LITTLE PLATOON THAT STAYS ON GUARD.

"It doesn't seem right that we should go,  
And leave you here on guard;  
We always shared the watch, you know,  
And made the hours less hard.  
But orders came from 'Command on High'  
That you, the little platoon,  
Should keep your posts as the years pass by  
At Glory's shrine—Verdun.

"As now we turn away from you  
And move toward love and home,  
We try to laugh and sing, 'tis true,  
But leaden thoughts will roam  
Back there to you in the sacred heath,  
Where not a flower is seen;  
They go to place a memory wreath  
Of love forever green.

"We go; you stay; we know not why—  
Sealed orders made it so;  
The Marshal from his place in the sky  
Has spoken, not the foe.  
The silent courier's whisper brought  
A smile, no sign of loss;  
A promise of tokens in Heaven wrought,  
A shining bit of His Cross."

Private Alfred M. E. Meyerowitz was cited for distinguished service when, on November 3, after being wounded severely while repairing a telephone communication line, he continued inspection to the end before reporting for surgical assistance. On November 11 Battery C was in position near Fort Douaumont. The three batteries returned to Rhode Island with other contingents of the Yankee Division.

OTHER RHODE ISLAND UNITS—Closely associated in active service with Batteries A, B and C of One Hundred Third United States Field Artillery was One Hundred Third Machine Gun Battery, comprised principally of troops from the cavalry, Rhode Island National Guard. The flags of these Rhode Island units are designated for the same engagements, thus: "Chemin-des-Dames sector, France, February 6-March 21, 1918; Toul (Boucq) sector, France, April 3-June 28, 1918; Aisne-Marne offensive, France, July 18-25, 1918; St. Mihiel offensive, France, September 12-16, 1918; Troyon sector, France, September 17-October 8, 1918; Meuse-Argonne offensive, France, October 3-November 11, 1918." Other Rhode Island units were the Four Hundred Seventeenth Telegraph Battalion, United States Signal Corps, designated for "Marbache sector, France, September 25-November 11, 1918"; and Three Hundred First United States Engineers, designated for "St. Mihiel offensive, France, September 12-16, 1918; Toul sector, France, September 17-November 11, 1918."

Of Rhode Island men who enlisted as volunteers or who were drafted many had not been called for mobilization when armistice was announced, and others who had been called and sent forward to cantonments remained in camp after armistice until orders for mustering out were issued. Many Rhode Islanders reached France but not the trenches nor the open battlefields in the St. Mihiel and Argonne offensive movements. Some had arrived too late to be thrown into the American drives that broke the German lines, and ended the war; others were engaged for many months in that effective service behind the fighting line which made possible the maintenance of undiminished strength in contact with the enemy. Some drove automobiles in supply trains and transport service, and were frequently under fire as the Germans raked with shot and

shell the lines of communication which their aviators discovered. Rhode Island mechanics from steel and iron and other metal shops were invaluable in France in the service of repairing and renovating military machinery, including cannon and arms of all types, which needed readjustment frequently when subjected to the strain of modern warfare with high explosives and heavy projectiles. Betsy the Sniper had been replaced in so many parts while in position in the Toul sector that there was reasonable doubt that any of the original equipment except the gun barrel remained when Betsy was withdrawn. A modern army is a vast economic organization occupying an area extending miles back from the fighting lines and there are other services in vast numbers and kinds to be performed besides the duties ordinarily associated with fighting.

Of the accomplishments of Rhode Islanders who went away quietly, because of national neutrality between 1914 and 1917, to enlist in Canadian, English or French units, particularly the last because of the glorious memories of Lafayette and the French army which had made its headquarters in Rhode Island during the Revolution; of Rhode Islanders, citizens and some classified as aliens because they had not completed the process of naturalization, who went "home" to join the colors, including large contingents of Greeks and Italians; of Rhode Islanders who enlisted in federal service, army, navy, marines or aviation; of Rhode Islanders who were drafted and assigned to units in the national army in which state origins were sublimated; of chaplains who braved exposure in the trenches or the dangers of the battlefield to carry spiritual comfort to living and dying, including Father William J. Farrell, who was wounded, and Father Thomas A. Coffey, who died in service; of physicians and surgeons, including Doctor William H. Buffum, who died overseas; and of nurses in hospitals, in the trenches and in the open battlefield, who ministered to sick and wounded; of social workers of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, of the Knights of Columbus, and of the Salvation Army, who braved danger in order to be near those whom they would help; of Rhode Islanders who left their homes to work elsewhere in shipyards, including 5000 who volunteered for service in the construction of warships and the emergency fleet, and of others, patriots all, who helped in various ways, even if it were only working longer hours and harder day by day to speed production of things necessary for war service; of the home guards organized for domestic defence and the preservation of order should occasion arise, only this passing mention may be made. One hundred fifty Rhode Islanders received distinguished service awards or were cited for conspicuous bravery or gallantry, besides those who were promoted as a reward for consistent and diligent service or unusual achievement. Nearly 700 Rhode Islanders died in service,\* the long roll of the honored dead including the names of such as Alexander Farnum Lippitt, and Rowland Hazard McLaughlin, scions of old and distinguished Rhode Island families; and, of newer Rhode Island families, sons bearing the names of Patrick Grady, Napoleon Riendeau, Otto Kammerer, Iver Johnson, Simon Steiner, Rocco Baglio, Manuel Rose, Christian Papatransopoulous, Paleslaw Wasilewski and others. All had been "buddies" in the service of democracy.

ARMISTICE AND AFTER—The eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918 arrived with the One Hundred Third United States Field Artillery, the One Hundred Third United States Machine Gun Battery and the Three Hundred First United States Engineers, Rhode Island mostly, all in position in contact sectors, and participating in the firing, which continued until the moment of the armistice arrived. The quiet, which was startling in contrast with the din which had preceded, was broken by the shouts and cheers of rejoicing that the war was over. In Rhode Island an impromptu celebration of armistice and returning peace had already occurred on November 7, on the morning of which a false report of peace had occasioned the blowing of whistles, the ringing of bells and an outpouring of the people for rejoicing, which ended when the early news dispatch was contradicted. The difference of

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\*Casualties 684; wounded 2,400.

hours in international clock-time brought the news of actual cessation of hostilities at eleven o'clock on November 11, 1918, to Rhode Island early in the morning by Rhode Island daylight saving time, and from dawn the streets were thronged with those who had left care behind in their joy. A few who went to work as usual in some factories were ordered "off the job for today" by committees of the celebrating thousands. Schools were dismissed in instances in which even a few pupils had gathered for instruction. Processions were organized and continued through the daylight hours and long into the night. At noon His Excellency the Governor recognized that Rhode Island was celebrating a holiday *de facto*, and made it a holiday *de lege* by issuing a proclamation. The celebration of first Armistice Day was a splendid exhibition of liberty without license, of an unprecedented demonstration of public joy without an instance of disorder.

Followed official celebrations and demonstrations, and receptions to detachments of Rhode Islanders returning from overseas; but there was nothing in any of these, in spite of tremendous enthusiasm, to equal the spontaneous celebration of Armistice Day without a prepared program. In the days that followed, Exchange Place in Providence was decorated with a Victory arch and a court of triumph, the arch crowned with an heroic reproduction of the Greek statue of Victory, and bearing the inscription:

"TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO WENT FORTH AND RETURNED NOT  
"WHOSE SOULS ARE MARCHING ON."

In the midst of the rejoicing Rhode Island went over the top for the fifth time in its subscription to the fifth national bond issue, called the Victory Loan, and raised a million and a half of dollars as its contribution to war relief work. At a special meeting on February 10, 1920, the people by an overwhelming vote approved a bond issue of \$2,500,000 to fund the payment of a bonus to each Rhode Islander who had entered war service. The federal plan for demobilizing war forces and the care of those who had been disabled included rehabilitation by education or other training for return to remunerative employment. In the latter service the resources of the Rhode Island School of Design and of Providence Trade School were utilized, additional to appointments on federal scholarships at Rhode Island colleges and other schools.

Following the Spanish-American War the United Spanish War Veterans organized. The association includes eight camps in Rhode Island named as follows: Captain Allyn K. Capron, Rear Admiral Charles M. Thomas, Sidney F. Hoar, Robert Brucker, Rudolph H. Breault, Joseph J. Woolley, Peter E. Henchey and Lieutenant Commander Gardiner C. Sims. The department commanders of the Rhode Island department have been: Dr. Lester S. Hill, Arthur B. Spink, George A. Forsythe, William Mackay, Arthur L. Lake, Charles W. Abbott, Jr., Edgar R. Barker, Isaac F. Gavitt, Marshall W. Hall, Henry Wolcott, William J. Hancock, Edgar M. Patterson, William E. Arnold, Herbert Bliss, James D. Wells, William A. Stafford, Herman C. Richter, Michael A. Sullivan, Albert E. Whitaker, Thomas P. McGee, William G. Laird, Galen E. Nichols, Thomas Caulfield and Walter M. Baker. Associated with the United Spanish War Veterans is an auxiliary organization of women with six divisions.

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States were organized as a society in 1899 to comprise veterans who served on foreign soil or in foreign waters during war time. Following the World War, veterans who had been overseas were admitted. The organization has twenty-three posts in Rhode Island named as follows: Captain Thomas W. Connell, Darnborough-Parkin, Rocco Baglio, Sylvester S. Payne, Robert T. Johnson, Donald E. Carlton, Thomas J. Waters, Lieutenant Harold Flynn, Yankee Division, Major Walter J. Gatchell, Surprise-Woodhouse, Eugene Perry, Newport, Sergeant David Langevin, McKenna-McAllister, Corporal Albert P. Cahill, Frank Cerbo, Washington County, James E. Keegan, Arthur M. Burton, Eugene T. Lefebvre, Joseph Bucci, and Sergeant Edward Dempsey.

The American Legion was organized at Paris in February, 1919, and the Rhode Island Department in Rhode Island in April, 1919. The membership comprises men and women who served in the World War without distinction between those who went overseas, and those who were not sent abroad. The Rhode Island department includes thirty-four posts named as follows: Providence, West Warwick, Andrew F. Young, Pawtucket, James Stanton, Kearney, Newport, Barrington, Alphonse Yelle, Riverside, Warren, North Kingstown, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Harold W. Merrill, Burrillville, Portsmouth, Scituate, Auburn, Stark-Parker, Jamestown, Richard J. Dennis, Warwick, Gordon Greene, David Papineau, Dodge-Goulais, John McKeown, Saylesville, South County, Roger Williams, Block Island, Little Compton, Municipal, South Kingstown and Herman Cooper. The department commanders have been Alexander H. Johnson, William P. Sheffield, Luke H. Callan, Thomas J. H. Pierce, Bertram W. Wall, R. B. Littlefield, John P. Hartigan, W. F. Thorpe, Francis B. Condon, Charles R. Johnson, and Charles W. Anthony. The American Legion has an auxiliary organization with twenty-six units in Rhode Island. Closely associated is the Rhode Island State Chapter of the American War Mothers, open to mothers of sons and daughters who served in the World War. The American War Mothers are organized in three local chapters in Rhode Island, as follows: Providence, West Side. and Narragansett.

November 11 is the World War holiday in Rhode Island. It was proclaimed a public holiday as "Liberty Day" on November 11, 1918, after the people had made it a holiday by observance. It was proclaimed again as "Armistice Day" in 1919 and 1920, and was made an annual legal holiday by action of the General Assembly on April 27, 1921.

East Greenwich was one of the earliest Rhode Island towns to erect a memorial to the veterans of the World War. The inscription reads: "The town of East Greenwich erects this memorial in grateful remembrance of her citizens who served in the military or naval forces of the United States or the Allies during the World War. They carried on that liberty might be enjoyed throughout the world." Other towns followed, erecting tablets or monuments, among the latter being spirited "Doughboys" in bronze at Apponaug in Warwick and Centre-dale in North Providence. Lincoln erected a memorial schoolhouse including an auditorium, and in addition, at Manville, a monument consisting of a granite column surmounted by a globe. World War cannon were obtained by vote of Congress and placed in parks or prominent positions in front of public buildings. Streets and squares were named for soldiers and sailors who died. At Brown University a memorial gate was erected at the entrance to the campus facing Manning Street. At Rhode Island State College a boulder with a bronze plate commemorates the service of alumni and students. Action in Providence was delayed because (1) of discussion of the form of a suitable memorial, and (2) of the proper location. The Providence monument, a tall fluted granite shaft surmounted by the colossal figure of a woman looking seaward, stands in the great city square on the axis of State House and Providence River. With stars at the top, the fluted shaft represents the American flag. Around the base are sculptured allegorical figures. Battles of the World War are recalled by the inscriptions. The monument was designed by Paul P. Cret, and C. P. Jennewein was the sculptor. The inscription reads: "By this memorial the city of Providence commemorates the loyalty, courage and fidelity of all her citizens who served in the World War, whose high courage shall summon us to love and serve our country." The monument was dedicated on the anniversary of Armistice Day, November 11, 1929.



## CHAPTER XL.

### WOMAN'S PART IN MAKING RHODE ISLAND.



ROGER Williams left for posterity in his letters his own story of his flight into the wilderness to avoid exile to England, of his life among the Indians during the winter of 1635-1636, of his journey subsequently to the wigwams of the Pequots with the purpose of preventing a coalition of powerful Indian tribes against the white settlers, and of his two voyages to England on diplomatic missions for Rhode Island. Little is known of the patient, self-sacrificing, long-suffering Mary Barnard, whom Roger Williams married before leaving England on his first voyage to America. With what agony must she have witnessed his departure into the black of a December night in 1635, nestling two infant children to her breast as she wondered what fate might befall her husband and their father? And what had the future for her, should he fall a victim to winter exposure or to the tomahawk of a savage? Happily reunited at Providence, the family was in such humble circumstances that Winthrop, who visited the Williams home in Providence, stirred to pity because of what he saw, thrust a gold coin into Mary Williams' hand as he was leaving. Mother of Roger Williams' children, she saw her husband depart time and again on public errands for which the colony, grudgingly and ungraciously, barely reimbursed him to the extent of paying his traveling expenses. Roger Williams was not a good economist, and he was not keen to recognize or to take advantage of opportunities to accumulate an estate. His relations with the Indians were such that they were frequently a burden in their presumption on his hospitality. Many times while Roger Williams was away his family faced poverty and actual privation. They lived with him in the wilds of the Indian country while Roger Williams maintained his Indian trading post near Wickford. In her husband's disclosure, through his letters, of some of the most intimate incidents of his life, there is never a word that records a complaint by Mary Williams. She was the silent partner of the joys and triumphs, as well as of the sorrows and humiliations, that marked the vicissitudes of fortune attending the life of the Rhode Island pioneer—the model wife and mother cast in a mold that fitted her to be an ideal helpmate, an heroic figure though clad in the garments of humility.

Anne Marbury was as brilliant as Mary Williams was retiring. The latter is known only as the wife of a distinguished husband; of the former it is recorded that she came from England as Mistress Hutchinson accompanied by her husband and their fifteen children. And thus it was while both lived—Anne and Master Hutchinson. None of her contemporaries denied the intellectual capacity of Anne Hutchinson, much as they resented the stinging words with which she punctured their egotism and shattered their self-complacency. She had been distinguished in England before she came to Massachusetts, and had she been a man in what was a man's century, would have attained any position to which her ambition might have led her to aspire. Here was a woman whose vigor of mind equalled the best among the Puritan divines in the metaphysics that passed for theology, and in the ingenuity with which she confounded them in argument, and dissected and ground their syllogisms to dust. A spirit like hers could not thrive in the stifling atmosphere of Massachusetts, stagnant and fetid with repression; it must die or cause an explosion, and it chose the latter. Baffled because they could neither silence her tongue nor answer her convincingly, routed in debate and discomfited because her heresy threatened to destroy utterly the theocratic control which they had established, her enemies took counsel against her and prosecuted her both in church and in the civil court, practically identical in personnel and absolutely identical in conclusions. She was excommunicated

from church and publicly cursed, and she was banished by the civil authority with the order that "she go out from among them, and trouble the land no more." Society thus frequently condemns the elite and casts it forth, even if not condemned to death. Like Blackstone, who had withdrawn quietly in silent protest; like Williams, who had departed while an edict of banishment awaited enforcement; like Hooker, whose migration with his congregation gave the Puritans more than momentary concern—Anne Hutchinson went out of Massachusetts. Her kindly ministrations to the sick in Boston, her teaching in the classes of women who gathered in her home to hear her discuss the preaching of the Puritan ministers, and the sympathy that rises in the human heart for the oppressed and persecuted surrounded her with friends. While many of them were under ban with her and subject to a similar edict of banishment, there were others who chose to follow her into the wilderness, and who with her founded a second settlement in the Narragansett Bay country. Some of her enemies rejoiced that she had come to judgment when Anne Hutchinson and members of her family and household were tortured and slain by hostile Indians in New York in 1643.

Not all of those who came to Rhode Island were fitted intellectually or temperamentally to enjoy the unusual liberties afforded in this New England refuge for the oppressed and persecuted. Among those who were as sadly out of place in Providence as they would be in almost any other society was Joshua Verein, a troublesome young fellow when viewed through even the tolerant eyes of Roger Williams. Yet Joshua Verein was not molested until he undertook to assert a control over his wife's conscience and action which was contrary to the principles of soul liberty for which Providence had been founded. Because Joshua Verein forbade his wife to attend religious services and threatened, if he did not actually resort to violence, the town took Joshua Verein to task and punished him by disfranchisement. This public recognition of woman's right to do her own thinking and to carry thought into action in matters which concerned her principally, marked the new plantation at Providence as a community practicing the doctrine proclaimed by its founder as without limitation or distinction because of sex. Of Mrs. Joshua Verein history preserves no picture other than that of a gentle woman wedded to an overbearing, if not a brutal, husband, who undertook by bullying to drag her down to his own level. The action in Providence was remarkable in a century in which a man was still the unquestioned master in his household in most that concerned the life and welfare of his family; it exalted woman, proclaiming her complete equality in matters of conscience with man.

Fourth of Rhode Island women of the earliest settlements whose names have found a place on the pages of history was Mary Dyer, on whose arm Anne Hutchinson leaned on that day when the latter walked out of the church at Boston, excommunicated and outcast with the curse of the minister ringing in her ears. Mary Dyer also came to Rhode Island. Like many others of those who had sympathized with Anne Hutchinson, Mary Dyer became a Friend and thus anathema in Massachusetts. Found there while on an errand of mercy, condemned to death as a Friend, pardoned on the scaffold after she had been prepared for hanging as last of a party of three the deaths of two of whom she had been compelled to witness as they were hanged before her eyes, suffered to depart with the threat of death if she returned, Mary Dyer went back to die as a demonstration of her faith and with the hope that hanging of a woman might shame the Massachusetts fanatics back to their senses. Leaving husband and family, bidding them farewell for the last time because she knew full well the penalty that awaited her and the willingness of the Puritans to inflict it, she went to a martyr's death on Boston Common, June 1, 1660. The sacrifice was wasted and in vain; it failed to sicken the Puritans of the atrocities committed upon her brethren in the name of religion. The Puritans desisted only when commanded to do so by a peremptory edict of the King of England.



CORNER AT CONINICUT



RECEPTION HOSPITAL, HOWARD



These four were types of the women who settled in Rhode Island—Mary Barnard Williams, the humble, patient, uncomplaining wife and mother; Anne Marbury Hutchinson, brilliant and militant controversialist in an age in which metaphysics reached almost the utmost of subtlety, disturber of the Puritan conscience, threatening destruction of the theocracy and the inner circle which had gained control of it, and yet model wife and mother, gentle nurse of the sick and comforter of the afflicted; Mrs. Joshua Verein, described by Williams as “a gracious and modest woman,” whose ill-treatment by her “boisterous and desperate” husband appealed to the chivalry of the men of Providence; and Mary Dyer, who sought and won a martyr’s crown for the sake of conscience. The women of Rhode Island, quite as much as their husbands and brothers, gave to Rhode Island part of the noble spirit which has dominated its later history. They went out into the wilderness with their men, into the land of the savage; they left comfortable homes for pioneer cabins; they labored in the heat of the day; they bore their part in the planting and building of a new civilization, facing danger, privation and poverty. They became mothers of a race of hardy free men and women, learning from the examples of both parents those lessons the fruition of which has made Rhode Island a distinctive commonwealth realizing a magnificent ideal. Their daughters carried on while their sons wove the fabric of an unusual history.

WOMAN’S PART IN BUILDING A COMMONWEALTH—The seventeenth and eighteenth were men centuries, and the major events in Rhode Island, related to jealous maintenance of Charter and Charter privileges, to resistance to the encroachments of contiguous but not neighborly colonies, to participation in wars of European origin which spread to America, to preparation for and the accomplishment of independence, and to the organization of the Federal government, were such as to enlist the activities of men vested with the political functions of citizenship and armed for conflict in battle. The men and youth of Rhode Island responded bravely to every call. The women bore the burdens that in every war have rested upon them. They bade farewell to the departing soldiers and sailors, they worked longer hours to maintain food supplies at home and for the men in the service, they sewed and knit and spun and wove, they nursed the sick who returned, and they mourned for those who came not back. In the building of the commonwealth they fulfilled the functions which in the industrial life of the period were centered in the home. No small part of the surplus products for export—the butter and cheese, certainly—resulted from woman’s labor. To her fell also the spinning of wool and flax, perhaps also the weaving of homespun cloth, the making of family clothing, the knitting of stockings, and the application of processes for curing and storing food for winter consumption. Families were large, and though the race was hardy, the rigorous climate imposed the necessity for constant attention to health. As the economic status of the family improved proportionately with the building up of profitable trade, and wealth came to Rhode Island, servants were employed in households as workers were engaged as farmhands, but the wife and mother continued as the directing agent, carrying a greater responsibility because of the larger enterprise, even if relieved of some of the drudgery. Competent servants were not easily found, and the Indian women were almost hopeless in the environment of a white woman’s household. “The Indian women could not be taught to wash English clothes or render any valuable domestic work,” wrote a contemporary observer.

Withal, Rhode Island women found time for culture. Berkeley was charmed as much by the beauty and intelligence of Rhode Island’s daughters as by the sturdy independence and initiative of her stalwart sons. And so it was also with other visitors who came from Europe or from other parts of America because of the salubrious climate and who tarried to marry and settle; officers of naval vessels, who resigned their commissions, and captains courageous like Stephen Decatur, who sought naturalization because he had married a wife in Newport

and made his home there. English officers of the army of occupation were charmed by the culture of Tory families, and French officers, fresh from the court of the King of France, as well as the American officers who accompanied Washington on occasional visits, departed reluctantly, while some either left their hearts in Rhode Island or carried away Rhode Island girls as brides. Not all the women were coquettes, and not all were so much concerned with the gayety of social life as to forget more serious things. Rhode Island women organized the Daughters of Liberty to parallel the Sons of Liberty, the patriotic society of men which was formed before the Revolution. The Daughters of Liberty worked busily, devoting hours to the spinning of yarn while America was boycotting English cloth, and refusing the solace of tea while that also was taboo. In Providence the Daughters of Liberty celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act by a grand ball, attending which "was the most brilliant appearance of ladies this town ever saw."

The first twisting of cotton yarn into sewing thread to replace linen thread, which was uneven and hard to use, is attributed to two of the Wilkinson girls, one of whom Samuel Slater married. Betsey Baker of Providence, born Betsey Metcalf, claimed the introduction of the braiding of straw for making hats, which became an important industry early in the nineteenth century. Betsey Metcalf, when only twelve years old, in 1798, saw a straw bonnet in the window of the shop kept by Colonel John Whipple on North Main Street, above Cheapside. She succeeded in making a similar bonnet for herself. Years afterward she related her experience in a letter, thus: "At the age of twelve I commenced braiding. My father, Joel Metcalf, brought home some oat straw which he had just mowed—in June, 1798. I cut the straw, and smoothed it with my scissors, and split it with my thumb nail. I had seen an imported bonnet, but never saw a piece of braid, and could not tell the number of straws. I commenced the common braid with six straws, and smoothed it on a junk bottle, and made part of a bonnet, but found that it did not look like the imported ones. I added another straw, and then it was right. An aunt who resided in the family encouraged me, while most of my friends said I should never learn. She would sit and hold the braid while I braided many yards, thus keeping it straight and in place. We could not make it white by exposing it to the sun; and, knowing that brimstone would whiten other things, she put some in a pan, with some coals of fire, and set it out in the garden; then, standing to the windward, she held the braid in the smoke, and thus bleached it. I then braided all sorts of trimming, but it was difficult to ascertain the number of strands. The first bonnet I made was of seven braid, with bobbin put in, like open work, and lined with pink satin. This was very much admired, and hundreds, I should think, came to see." Betsey taught others to braid straw for hats, in Providence, in towns around Providence, and Dedham. One of those whom she taught, Sally Richmond, went to Wrentham and spread the new occupation there. Other paragraphs in Betsey Baker's letter relate that she visited Dedham and made bonnets there. "There has been a story reported that I braided enough in the stage to defray my expenses. I did braid several yards, but not enough to pay my fare." She taught without compensation and was too modest to seek a patent. "Many said I ought to get a patent, but I told them I did not wish to have my name sent to Congress. I could easily earn one dollar a day, and sometimes one dollar and fifty cents, for several weeks at a time. It became a very profitable business for several years."

NINETEENTH CENTURY CHANGES—The nineteenth century ushered in marked changes in the status of women in Rhode Island. The changes were related to the introduction of the factory system, and all of the consequent reconstruction of the economic organization. The factory system, aside from a vast increase in the volume of production of manufactured commodities, transferred many occupations from home to factory, and thus affected home life and home economy almost immediately. It involved the substitution of cotton for linen, and the

abandonment of home spinning and weaving of flax and wool. It banished the spinning wheel from the familiar place by the hearth to the garret, until such time as some member of a later generation discovered it there and brought it out for exhibition as an ornament, or heirloom or an "antique." The range of factory production widened, and other industries passed from the home as it became more economical to buy than to produce raw material and convert it by hand labor. The change proceeded with the substitution of new for old appliances, if the latter were not banished altogether from kitchens and other rooms; one needs to visit Mount Vernon or some other place where care has been taken to preserve a colonial kitchen and its equipment intact, in order to gain the perspective necessary for appreciation of what has taken place not only in the tools of the housewife but also in the nature of home occupations. Outside the home, the introduction of power machinery lightened labor in factories and led to the employment of women, as well as the small children with whom Slater and others filled their factories. The number of women wage earners increased rapidly and steadily in Rhode Island, the earliest recruits being drawn from town and country until immigration brought both men and women to fill the thousands of positions in factories.

Whether the change was better or worse, it is scarcely possible to deny that for the majority of women the introduction of the factory system meant a long step forward toward economic independence. The factory system broke down the barrier against employment of women in other than home occupations, and marked the beginning of the entrance of women into almost so many vocations as are available for men. It led also to the enactment of a new type of legislation—of laws intended to protect women from exploitation in industry and to assure reasonable working conditions, including limitation of daily and weekly hours of employment and restriction of night work. Laws were enacted to protect women in the possession and use of their separate property and its income against the consequences of husband succession and ownership under the common law, and to assure daughters equal inheritance with sons in intestate succession. In the nineteenth century, largely because of the factory system in operation, woman emerged from the seclusion of the home, with prospects for career other than marriage. If not married, she was no longer restricted to the life of the spinster with folded hands in the home of father, mother, brother or married sister; she might find employment at wages or salary and live independently. Even married women found employment outside the home on occasion. In the development of the factory system in Rhode Island emphasis was placed on the employment of families.

Henry Barnard recommended, along with other measures for the improvement of public elementary schools, the employment of women as teachers, for two reasons, first, that women are usually more successful with younger children, and, second, that two women could be employed for the salary paid to one man. There had been women teachers before Barnard came to Rhode Island; otherwise he could not have been so positive in his recommendation and the reasons for it. Women replaced men rapidly in teaching positions after the Barnard survey, until the movement had gone so far that some feared the feminization of the public schools. In 1930 more than 3500 women were engaged in the service of public education in Rhode Island. Aside from the number thus employed, the training of women for teaching became a significant factor in the promotion of a better status for women generally; the Rhode Island Normal School for a time became an institution almost exclusively for the education of women, and its graduates became prominent in movements of all kinds purposing civic betterment. Not all entered or remained in the teaching profession; the Normal School's influence was extended quite as much by those who withdrew from teaching as by those who continued in service. The graduates of the Normal School assisted enthusiastically in movements to promote higher education.

CHARITABLE ASSOCIATIONS—Doubt may be entertained as to whether the changes consequent upon the reorganization of the industrial system in the nineteenth century, whereby the tradesman became a wage-earner, and the control of tools passed from the journeyman to the master, increased the volume of poverty related to population more than the charity made feasible by accumulation of wealth extended the number of persons who might be aided. The poor we have always had with us, as we shall always have them. No economic system yet tried has succeeded in its practical operation in abolishing poverty. No charity ever has failed exclusively because of failure to find eligible beneficiaries. The spontaneous activity of Rhode Island women with leisure turned early in the nineteenth century to charity. The Providence Female Society for the Relief of Indigent Women and Children was organized in April, 1800, and was incorporated in October, 1802. Its purposes were to furnish employment for poor women, to aid them in sickness, to assist in clothing their children and in providing for the education of the latter. Other charitable societies, not less than twenty-five, in Barrington, Bristol, East Greenwich, Johnston, Little Compton, Newport, Pawtucket and Providence, were organized before 1825. For the most part they were related intimately to churches or to religious societies, if not actually charitable associations consisting entirely or principally, in each instance, of members of a particular church, the function being parochial in the distribution of alms and the care of the poor.

Several enduring charitable institutions were founded through the initiative of women, and were maintained afterward by organizations of women. A society of women was organized in 1856 for the purpose of promoting a home for aged and homeless women. Temporary quarters were rented immediately; in 1864 the Home for Aged Women, at East and Tockwotton Streets in Providence, was opened. The building was enlarged afterward to more than double its original capacity, and the charity continued to flourish as the institution in 1930 approached its seventy-fifth anniversary. Even older was the Providence Shelter for Colored Children, which was promoted so early as 1838 by Mrs. Anna A. Jenkins. Mrs. Jenkins gave the land on which the building, at 20 Olive Street in Providence, was constructed in 1849. The purpose has been to provide a comfortable home for colored orphans who would otherwise be exposed to neglect. Harriet Ware, a public school teacher, led a movement in 1835 which resulted in the organization of the Children's Friend Society. The General Assembly granted a charter in 1836, the purpose of the society being specified as "providing for the support and education of indigent children of both sexes, not otherwise provided for, and also, for want of paternal care, or in a suffering and dangerous condition." The society built a home for children on Tobey Street in Providence in 1861, and maintained it into the twentieth century. The Prisoner's Aid Association, incorporated in 1874, from 1881 maintained the Sophia Little Home, as a temporary refuge providing remunerative work for released women prisoners.

The Ladies' Rhode Island Homeopathic Hospital Aid Association, 1874, opened a dispensary in the rear of a drug store on Westminster Street in Providence. The association raised \$10,000, was incorporated in 1882, and in 1884 bought the Nichols house on Olney Street, which had cost \$100,000 to build, paying \$30,000, of which part was raised by mortgage. The first Homeopathic Hospital was located in the Nichols house. The Montefiore Benevolent Association was founded in 1880 as the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Association, with the purpose of relieving all persons, of whatever nationality, who are in distress. The Women's Christian Association, organized in March, 1867, was the predecessor of the Young Women's Christian Association, and maintained boarding houses at reasonable rates for women. The Irrepressible Society, 1861, to furnish sewing for needy and deserving women; the Society for Ministry to the Sick, 1880, and the Rhode Island Exchange for Woman's Work, 1880, furnishing a place for the sale of articles made by women, were other of the

activities undertaken by women with some leisure in the period in which charity was the principal work of a public and social nature open to them.

During the Civil War women found abundant demand for public service appealing particularly to them. The Florence Nightingale Association, organized immediately after the attack at Fort Sumter, became the Providence Ladies' Volunteer Relief Association. On government contracts for supplying articles of clothing needed by soldiers it employed 575 women who needed work. The association made, besides, articles for camp and hospital not furnished by the government. Its activities, additional to \$5,338.31 collected on contracts, were financed by private contributions amounting to \$7,696.06. Of the money received, \$7,510.99 was paid to employes, and \$5,523.38 for materials and transportation. The association furnished 29,000 garments on contracts, and 19,000 for hospital uses. In 1863 the name was changed to Rhode Island Relief Association, Auxiliary to the Sanitary Commission. Ward relief associations were organized during the Civil War by women in Providence, and other associations of women were busy in every town in Rhode Island in one or another form of relief for soldiers or for women and children left dependent because of the war. The Marine Hospital in Providence was placed by Governor Sprague in charge of a board of managers consisting of women, and was opened for the purpose of furnishing lodging for destitute soldiers passing through the city. A group of doctors gave professional service free to soldiers who were lodged in the hospital temporarily. Besides the women who worked through societies, hundreds of women, alone or in small groups, spared no effort to make the quantities of bandage, lint, stockings, jellies and preserves, and dainty foods of all kinds that were forwarded to soldiers in the field and in hospitals. The women of Rhode Island furnished the cargoes for several relief steamers sent to soldiers in the South.

One of the most important educational institutions in Rhode Island, aside from the general system of public schools, was started through the initiative principally of an auxiliary committee of women appointed to participate in preparation of Rhode Island's exhibit at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. Known as the Women's Centennial Executive Committee, they published the "Herald" of the Centennial monthly for a year preceding the exposition. After the exposition the women's committee used the balance on hand of a fund raised for exposition purposes as the nucleus of an endowment for Rhode Island School of Design. Women had begun in the second half of the nineteenth century to find places in activities other than the charitable and philanthropic movements which were dominating in and characteristic of the years following immediately upon the opening of what might be called wider interest. The effort to obtain political equality began before the middle of the nineteenth century.

**EQUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**—Rhode Island was represented in 1848 at the first equal rights convention held in the United States, at Seneca Falls, New York, by Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Paulina Wright Davis. The former, daughter of Arnold and Rebecca Gould Buffum, was born in Rhode Island in 1806. She married Samuel Buffington Chace in 1828. She was interested in various reforms, became a member of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society in 1835, and because of her solicitude for the welfare of inmates of the state prison, was appointed by the Governor as one of the lady visitors with power to make recommendations. She continued throughout her long life to maintain an interest in woman suffrage, being president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association from 1870 until her death in 1899 at the age of ninety-two years. Paulina Saxton Kellogg was born August 7, 1813. She married Francis Wright of Utica, New York, and with him was engaged in promoting many reform movements, including arrangements for the anti-slavery convention of 1835 at Petersboro. After her husband's death she lectured for several years on anatomy and physiology to classes of women. She married Thomas Davis of Providence in 1849 and their home, now Davis

Park in Providence, became a center of gracious hospitality. Mrs. Davis initiated the movement that led to the first national woman suffrage convention, and helped to organize the National Woman Suffrage Association, of which she became the first president. The association met in annual convention at Newport in 1869. Mrs. Davis published in Providence, beginning January 1, 1883, "Una," the first woman's rights paper, owned and edited by a woman. The paper was continued for two years. She accompanied her husband to Washington after his election as Representative in Congress.

Twenty years after their first association as delegates to the convention at Seneca Falls Mrs. Chace and Mrs. Davis attended a meeting in Boston to consider the question of organizing a woman suffrage movement, and helped while there to organize the New England Woman Suffrage Association. On their return Mrs. Chace and Mrs. Davis issued a call for a state woman suffrage convention in Rhode Island, which met in Roger Williams Hall in Providence, December 11, 1868. Among those who signed the call for the convention were Rowland S. Hazard of Peace Dale, Sarah Helen Power Whitman, Senator Henry B. Anthony and Mrs. Anthony. The Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association was organized at the convention, and Mrs. Davis became the first president. Mrs. Davis retired from the presidency and was succeeded in 1870 by Mrs. Chace. Mrs. Davis died August 24, 1876, after several years of failing health.

The first work undertaken by the new association was the circulation of a petition for an amendment to the Constitution of Rhode Island granting woman suffrage. Other effort was devoted to movements to secure the appointment of women as jurors, as inspectors of the state prison, as trustees of the reform school, and as overseers of the poor. The General Assembly in 1884, on the motion of Honorable Edward L. Freeman of the House of Representatives granted the request of Mrs. Chace that the State House be made available for holding a state woman suffrage convention. In December, 1884, four sessions of the convention were held in the House of Representatives, and the meetings were addressed by Susan B. Anthony, Henry B. Blackwell, Frederick Douglas, Mary F. Eastman, William Lloyd Garrison and Lucy Stone. The chamber was crowded, and many were unable to gain admission. Within two years the General Assembly initiated and proposed an amendment to the Constitution granting woman suffrage with the same restrictions then applied to manhood suffrage, but the electors, on April 7, 1886, rejected it, 21,957 to 6889. After eighteen years of indefatigable effort the accomplishment might be measured by the conversion of nearly 7000 men. The time was two years before the ratification of the Bourn amendment carrying the first extension of manhood suffrage since the Constitution of 1842. The campaign preceding the plebiscite of 1886 had been vigorous. Meetings had been held in every part of Rhode Island and addressed by able speakers. Printed material was distributed widely, and \$7,000 was expended in the endeavor to present the question favorably. Suffrage advocates, including women, appeared at polling places and solicited support. The adverse vote was decisive, and the reverse was depressing, but the movement for woman suffrage was not abated.

Six years later the General Assembly was asked to grant presidential suffrage, which lay within its power without a referendum under the provisions of Article II, section 1, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the United States, "Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors," etc. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 had relegated to the states the question of manhood or woman suffrage in this provision, and in Article I, section 2, which provided: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature." It was hoped in 1892, since the General Assembly six years earlier had advanced woman suffrage to the status of referring it to the plebiscite, that the

General Assembly might be persuaded to exercise its own power favorably. The distinction between permitting the voters to decide a question and assuming responsibility for decision appeared immediately. The General Assembly of 1892 was not willing to become responsible for even fractional woman suffrage.

The association's firm purpose of continuing the movement was demonstrated in 1892 by request for a charter of incorporation, which was granted. The charter named Elizabeth Buffum Chace, Anna E. Aldrich, Anna Garlin Spencer, Arnold Buffum Chace, Sarah B. Tillinghast, Anna H. Post, Olney Arnold and Edwin C. Pierce as members of the new corporation. Reviewing the status of the movement in 1893, Anna Garlin Spencer said:

Though encountering many discouragements and seeming defeats, this society feels that its work has been most useful to the advancement of women. It has not obtained the ballot for the disfranchised sex, but it rejoices in a marked change in public sentiment which has taken place since the time of its inception, and in a remarkable advance in the status of women, not in this state only, but throughout the nation. . . . Women serve on boards of control of some of the state institutions. . . . Remarkable progress in women suffrage sentiment has also been made as a result of the temperance agitation. . . . Since 1868 great advances have been made in the political standing of women in many parts of the civilized world. . . . Every year enlarged rights in one country or another, are added to those already possessed, thus indicating that real progress is being made in this great reform. The latest development of the agitation of the woman question has been the opening of the doors of several of the older colleges to women. Among those is Brown University, which now has the unique honor of possessing the first scholarship which ever bore a woman's name. The funds securing this scholarship were raised for its use by women, and through small contributions from women, in honor of the one whose name is given to it. Forty girls are now enjoying instructions within the classic precincts of this university. A building has been devoted to their use, which is known as the Woman's College. The immediate work of this association is to secure, if possible, some radical changes in the statute law concerning the rights of married women in regard to their property and children. The old theory of the common law is that by marriage a woman loses her separate legal existence, it being merged with that of her husband. Many abuses resulted from the carrying out of this theory. Great changes have been made in the statute law, modifying but not destroying the fundamental principle upon which it was founded. As a result, women occupy an anomalous position under the law, granted rights, under some enactments, which they could not possess, logically, under the theoretical position which they are otherwise forced to occupy.

Mrs. Chace, although remaining as president of the suffrage association until her death in 1899, was unable after 1889 to continue active leadership. The work was taken up by the vice-president, Anna Garlin Spencer, until 1896, and Mrs. Ardelia Cook Dewing thereafter. The succeeding presidents were Mrs. Dewing, 1899-1905; Mrs. Jeannette D. French, 1905-1907; Mrs. Rowena Tingley, 1907-1909; Elizabeth Upham Yates, 1909-1914; Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, 1914-1918; Mary Borden Anthony, 1918-1921. Mrs. French published the "Woman Citizen" for ten years. A committee of the General Assembly to which a suffrage bill had been referred in 1914 heard Senator Works of California and Congressman Mondell of Wyoming advocate woman suffrage.

SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATIONS—Meanwhile two other associations had been organized—the College Suffrage League, in December, 1907, and the Rhode Island Woman's Suffrage Party, 1913. The three organizations amalgamated in 1915 under the name of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. The combined membership of the three associations was approximately 5000 in 1916. The activities favorable to woman suffrage, which in earlier years had been confined for the most part to Newport and Providence, had been extended through the state in an effort to obtain an organization in every representative district. While the suffrage cause at that time claimed such women as Mrs. Carl Barus, who had been influential in promoting laws restricting child labor; Alice W. Hunt, a worker in many fields for the promotion of public welfare; Elizabeth Upham Yates, prominent as an advocate

of laws repealing discrimination against women, particularly those affecting inheritance; Mrs. Maude Howe Elliot, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, and herself a brilliant writer and an able exponent of any cause which appealed to her; Mrs. E. H. Barney, leader of the movement to obtain the appointment of police matrons; Mrs. Gustav G. Radeke, associated with the development of Rhode Island School of Design, and many others; the strength of the suffrage organization had suggested measures to offset its influence, including the founding of an anti-suffrage association, which became as active almost as the other. A suffrage leader referred to the "antis" in 1916 thus:

The "antis" in Rhode Island form a vigorous organization, and have among their leaders some of the wealthiest women of the state. In fact, the personnel of the members is composed largely of those who have found existing conditions of society so favorable to their personal interests that they are adverse to any change. Some of them are very excellent and useful members of society in many particulars, but they show an astonishing moral obliquity when it comes to anti-suffrage propaganda. . . . The suffrage organization has a booth at the annual food fair in Providence, where it circulates literature and obtains members. This has provoked similar endeavors on the part of the "antis," and on such occasions they distribute leaflets containing the same misleading and false statements that characterize their publications everywhere. It is difficult to counteract their pernicious activities.

The facts were that women who were opposed to suffrage, either because they were unwilling to undertake the responsibilities of political citizenship, or because they believed that the status of woman would not be improved by possession of the ballot, or because of other reasons, had established a formidable organization, and were meeting the suffragists' efforts by counter measures. In public hearings on suffrage women appeared to argue for the ballot, and others to oppose woman suffrage. Both sides circulated pamphlets and leaflets, and both contributed articles to public newspapers and other publications. Legislators who had been opposed to suffrage were confirmed in opposition by the "anti" evidence that women did not wish to vote; legislators who were doubtful were in dismay because the counter arguments indicated no solution; and some who had been in favor wavered. The anti-suffragist movement had possibilities of becoming very dangerous for the cause, when, perchance, its activity should have the effect of forcing woman suffrage into focus as a dominating issue.

The Democratic state convention of 1914 placed a woman suffrage plank in its party platform, and in 1916 nine of ten delegates to the Democratic convention at St. Louis voted for a national party declaration for woman suffrage. A Rhode Island suffrage leader summarized the situation within the state in 1916 thus:

Some of the leading members of the Republican party are persuaded of its\* justice, but the party as a whole blocks every measure we present to the Legislature. . . . It is impossible for these not familiar with the actual conditions in Rhode Island to appreciate the difficulties with which the suffrage movement has to contend. The smallest state in the Union—with every facility of travel to reach its condensed population—would seem to present an easy field for successful propaganda. An understanding of the problem must be sought in fundamental conditions and the peculiar characteristics of the people. The state has always been conspicuous for its conservatism. . . . Its industrial interests dominate politics, and all laws in the least inimical to the vast financial interests are bitterly opposed. . . . Our wealthy manufacturers are largely represented on the board of trustees of Brown University, and the President and many of its faculty are emphatically opposed to woman suffrage. . . . The conservative tendencies of the people are evinced in the fact that, although there are suffragists among the leading officers and members of the Rhode Island General Federation of Women's Clubs, yet it will not pass a resolution indorsing suffrage, nor admit the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association to membership. Furthermore, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae of Rhode Island instructed its delegates to vote against the indorsement of women suffrage at the meeting of the National Association of Collegiate Alumnae, in spite of the protest of a minority of its members, who are among the more brilliant suffrage workers in the State.

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\*Suffrage.

**WOMAN SUFFRAGE ACHIEVED**—The solution was nearer in 1916 probably than the friends of suffrage dared to hope. The General Assembly in 1917 enacted legislation granting presidential suffrage beginning with the election of 1920, and the registration of women as electors began on July 1, 1920. Congress in 1919 by the constitutional majority required proposed the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, sometimes called the "Susan B. Anthony amendment," which forbids discrimination because of sex in establishing the qualifications of electors. There was little doubt that the amendment would be ratified by the States; indeed, there was almost a race by States to ratify among the first thirty-six. Governor Beeckman was not favorably inclined when requested to call a special session of the General Assembly in the summer of 1919, assuring the committee of women who called upon him that he entertained no doubt that the General Assembly would ratify the amendment early in the January session of 1920. The Assembly, already organized in the preceding year of the biennium, ratified the amendment in the first day of session, January 6, 1920. Governor Beeckman presented the gold pen with which he signed the measure to Mary B. Anthony, president of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. Its purpose achieved, the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association disbanded in 1921.

The League of Woman Voters was organized as a department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1919, with the purpose of educating women to use the ballot effectively. A Rhode Island branch was established in 1920 under the name "The United League of Women Voters," suggested by the purpose of uniting all suffrage groups. The name was changed subsequently to Rhode Island League of Women Voters. The presidents have been Mrs. Helen K. Cheeseman, 1920-1924; Mrs. Harriet H. P. Crooker, 1924-1929; Mrs. Marian F. Taft, 1929—. The league has carried on a work paralleling the program of the national organization, and has also advocated various reforms in Rhode Island, including changes in the caucus laws. It has conducted "schools of politics," principally to assist its members and other women to learn the intricacies of the political system, and to promote the discussion of public questions. Its attitude in partisan politics is related to "our high ambition to be an aid to good government. . . . We are establishing our place in the sun, our right to be. . . . The parties could not see what this new place might, indeed, be. But we persevered in telling them that as an organization we were non-partisan, but that our members were bidden to go into the parties of their choice and work intelligently and not as rubber stamps." The Rhode Island League of Women Voters on the tenth anniversary of the National League of Women Voters, 1930, proposed for a National Honor Roll, Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Paulina Wright Davis, and for a State Honor Roll, Annie Howes Barus, Mary Rathbun Ballou, Deborah Knox Livingston, Harriet E. Thomas, and Grace Mather Hanchett, all of whom had been active as members of suffrage associations or of the league, besides in other social movements. All of the names proposed were of women who had died; it is possible and probable that other names might be chosen had there been an inclination to include on the honor roll women who were still alive when the selection was made.

**EFFECTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE**—The effects of woman suffrage in Rhode Island may scarcely be measured in experience limited to ten years. The number of electors has been approximately doubled, without affecting materially the distribution of party strength as determined by a percentage analysis of the vote cast for Governor. Election statistics reveal nothing that indicates any increase or decrease in the proportion of "independent" voters. The Democratic party elected the first woman member of the General Assembly in 1922; the Republican party elected a woman as Representative in 1926, and advanced her to the Senate in 1928. There will be a Democratic woman Senator in 1931. Both women have been unwavering supporters of party policies, voting invariably with the party on divisions. The one woman candidate selected by the Democratic party for general state office—Secretary of

State—was far behind the remainder of the ticket. Women had served on school committees earlier than the granting of equal suffrage, under the prevailing interpretation of the Constitution of Rhode Island that a school committee member need not be a qualified elector. The number of women serving on school committees has increased since 1920. Otherwise little encouragement has been given to women as candidates for municipal offices, although the town councilwoman has made her initial appearance in a few towns. Places have been found for women on several state boards and commissions.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that women have been more influential since 1920 than ever before in obtaining legislation favorable to woman or advocated by women. A valuable achievement was the program for a revision of the laws relating to children carried through as a children's code in 1926. The primary election laws have been revised with the purpose of affording opportunity for the larger electorate, including women, to participate in selection of candidates for office, and the number of polling places for use on election day has been increased because of a recognition of convenience. Women serve on political committees and as delegates to party conventions. In some instances the membership of committees and delegations has been doubled, in order to provide equal representation for women in party councils. Women's party clubs have been organized as effective agents for establishing party allegiance and for campaigning among women voters. The experience of ten years seems to indicate that women have accepted the existing party organizations and have entered therein, in response, it should be added, to the very cordial invitations extended by men. The willingness of the existing parties to support legislation requested by women, and the very conscious, ever solicitous effort to balance political committees or to assure recognition of women, tends to prove that the men who are most influential in party management are not yet so certain that the *status quo* is lasting as to venture to neglect woman's wishes. These questions remain to be answered from ripened experience: (1) Whether or not women ever can regain the solidarity which was assumed to precede suffrage and which is rapidly disintegrating as party ties become stronger and women are submerged in the membership of political parties still dominated by men; (2) whether women can gain more or less through party affiliation and effort within and through existing parties than through holding themselves aloof in essentially the position of a non-partisan bloc supporting from time to time one or the other party as seems expedient; (3) whether or not there is genuine sex solidarity otherwise than in the imagination of the Greek who invented the tale of the War of the Amazons and in the minds of those social philosophers who had builded their theories upon the Greek fable. In the extension of suffrage it has been found generally true that a new class of voters distributes itself within a few years by entering the ranks of the old parties; and that racial solidarity is uncertain in America as a factor determining party affiliations. Possibly the same general principles may be found to apply to women.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN—There was little suggestion in the earliest public provision for common school education in Rhode Island that less was intended for girls than for boys. The Potter school at Newport, conducted under the direction of the trustees of Long Wharf, was a boys' school exclusively; and in the organized public schools at Newport in 1827 boys and girls were segregated in separate classrooms. In Providence the rules and regulations adopted in 1800 for the public schools forbade hearing boys and girls recite their lessons in the same classes, but otherwise did not stipulate a separation of the sexes. Francis Wayland's report in 1828 of the survey of the schools of Providence in that year included a recommendation that a high school for boys be established, and outlined a course of study for boys. The high school was to teach navigation and commercial subjects, along with others related to these two, besides a few for general culture; and the plan aimed definitely at furnishing an education that would prepare boys for commerce in ships or on shore, that, is, for the occupations

which they probably would enter. Wayland was not narrow in his views on education, and his report indicated the desirability of a high school for girls also, to follow the establishment for boys, which Wayland urged as justified immediately. Action favorable to a high school was delayed for nearly a dozen years; the high school voted by the city council in 1839, when completed, was opened for boys and girls. In the development of the institution separate courses and eventually three departments were defined: English and scientific, for boys not preparing for college; classical, for boys preparing to enter college; and girls department, offering the studies at that time sufficient for a finished education for women. Later the third course was modified with a view to preparing for teaching, entering the city's teacher-training classes, or the Rhode Island Normal School.

The Rhode Island Normal School in its earlier years included a preparatory department for students from towns that did not maintain high schools, and for many years gave advanced standing to graduates of high schools. Few young women went to college, and of those who went fewer still received their earlier education in public schools. When girls entering high school requested preparation for admission to the few colleges admitting women as students earlier than 1890, they were permitted, by special dispensation, to attend classes in the classical department. Unconditional enrollment of girls in the classical department of Providence High School was postponed until Brown University opened its doors to women. Providence may serve as an index of conditions throughout Rhode Island, and the United States generally.

The idea of college education for women is distinctly modern; it was radical before 1875, and entertained by only a few before 1890. A more conservative president of Brown University than E. Benjamin Andrews would not have promoted college education for women as Andrews did; another would have followed the path of least resistance and delayed, whereas Andrews risked his own money and repudiation by the college corporation of his action in admitting women as students. Andrews became president in 1889. Two years later, in 1891, the Women's College was founded, the university extending only the privileges of examination and certification. The university in 1893 definitely opened its doors to women, who were permitted to enroll in undergraduate and graduate courses as candidates for degrees. Before Andrews resigned the Women's College had become, by action of the corporation in 1897, a department of the university under a dean. The Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women, which promoted the project for the Women's College and had built Pembroke Hall as the first building for women, transferred Pembroke Hall to Brown University in 1897. College education for women had become a fact in Rhode Island before the end of the nineteenth century; it was destined for remarkable development in the twentieth with three Rhode Island colleges open to women—Rhode Island State College, Rhode Island College of Education, and Brown University—and enrolling 1300 young women as undergraduate students, besides others as graduate students, and other hundreds in extension courses, probably not less than 2500 in the last. While the emphasis in this relation is upon the opening of Brown University to women, it should not be forgotten that both of the publicly maintained colleges received women as students in their earliest classes. The victory at Brown University lay in battering down the tradition that excluded women from liberal education in the arts and sciences, other than so much of both as were available in the state colleges maintained, in each instance, for a particular purpose, which tended to limit the curriculum to vocational or professional subjects principally. The first baccalaureate degree awarded in Rhode Island to a woman who had completed the prescribed undergraduate course was the degree of Bachelor of Science awarded to Helen Mary Clark of Rhode Island State College on June 13, 1894. Miss Clark was a member of the first class graduated at the State College after its

reorganization as Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. One week later, on June 20, 1894, Brown University conferred baccalaureate degrees on Anne Weeden and Mary E. Woolley.

**WOMEN'S CLUBS**—So early as the middle of the nineteenth century a beginning of the type of thorough education offered through modern extension departments of colleges had been made in language and literary subjects by lectures to groups of women. The groups were of two kinds: (1) "classes" recruited by men and women calling themselves "professors," usually detached and itinerant "soldiers of fortune," modern Sophists, although sometimes, like the Sophists who swarmed into Athens after the battle of Salamis, brilliant teachers; and (2) organized women's clubs, which hired a lecturer with an established reputation to "give a course," or which arranged a series of lectures on varied subjects to be delivered by several different speakers in a season. The women's educational clubs were forerunners of the large number of women's clubs which were established in later years as women with some leisure sought to obtain education which had not been available for women in the days of their youth. The Rhode Island Women's Club was organized in 1876 to provide courses of public lectures and concerts for the instruction and entertainment of working women. Mrs. Elizabeth K. Churchill was an active leader in the Rhode Island Women's Club, which raised the Churchill memorial fund for the support of its projects. The work of the early clubs included "the reading and study of Shakespeare and other standard authors, courses of history, practice in reading in a foreign language," exerting "an excellent influence in elevating the popular taste and stimulating a desire for intellectual culture." The women's clubs were serious in purpose and earnest in effort; they were doing, after all, much the same work that men had undertaken a generation or two earlier through the establishment of lyceums and debating societies, the programs of which usually included lectures on a variety of subjects.

Women's clubs had a remarkable development in number and membership, and many passed from the type that was characterized as a group receiving instruction to organizations of women coöperating for improvement through research and study, and encouraging literary and other scholarly undertakings by the members, most of whom became actual contributors to club programs. The club furnished the incentive for effort, and became the forum and audience in and before which the finished product was displayed and discussed. Under the leadership of Rhode Island Women's Club, of which Amelia S. Knight was president, the club and six others—Coventry Women's Club of Anthony, Current Topics Club of Newport, Olla Podrida Club of Woonsocket, Sarah E. Doyle Club of Providence, Woonsocket Fortnightly Club and Woonsocket Round Table Club—organized the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs in 1894. The federation was incorporated in 1906 "for the purpose of mutual help, intellectual improvement and social union—for definite practical work, and in case of need, united action along civic and philanthropic lines." The object of the federation, as stated in the by-laws is "to bring the various clubs and organizations of women throughout the state, formed for the purpose of promoting higher intellectual, social, moral and physical conditions, into relations of mutual helpfulness and coöperation." Two years earlier Churchill House Corporation was formed to build a house which should be the center of activities. The corporation erected Churchill House, on Angell Street, in Providence. The Rhode Island State Federation, and one-third of the federated clubs, are affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs, a national organization; and the state federation is a member of the New England Conference of State Federations of Women's Clubs.

The Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs consisted in 1929 of fifty-two federated, three affiliated and five junior clubs. The membership of federated clubs exceeded 6000, and of affiliated clubs 3600. The federated clubs, in the order of their joining the state federation, were: Rhode Island Women's Club, 1894, founded 1876 by Elizabeth K. Churchill,

to promote educational, literary and benevolent objects and special philanthropic work; Coventry Women's Club of Anthony, 1894, founded 1890 by Carrie Winsor, for general culture; Current Topics Club of Newport, 1894, founded 1892, to study literature and current events and promote philanthropy; Sarah E. Doyle Club of Providence, 1894, founded 1894 by Stella C. Allen, for mutual assistance and culture of its members, and work for the blind; Woonsocket Fortnightly Club, 1894, founded 1889 by Helen M. Wiggin, to become a center for social and mental culture; Woonsocket Round Table Club, 1894, founded 1893 by Elizabeth D. Mowry, for intellectual and social culture; Ardirhebiah Club of Providence, 1896, founded 1886 by Miss H. F. S. Irons, to promote mutual and social culture, literature, art, federation interest, historical research, and philanthropic work; Bristol Fortnightly Club, 1897, founded 1897 by Mrs. Charles B. Rockwell for social and literary purposes; Oliphant Club of Middletown, 1898, founded 1897 by Flora A. Chase, for study and social culture, and to sew for Newport Hospital; Providence Fortnightly Club, 1898, founded 1897 by Rev. Willard C. Selleck, for charity, intellectual development, and social culture; Read, Mark and Learn Club of Providence, 1898, founded 1897 by Julia Ashley Rich, to study old New England houses, nature, music, literature, and to support Home for Aged Colored Women and federation interests; Embreaso Club of Providence, 1899, founded 1897 by Mrs. Ira Winsor, for literature, art, and philanthropy; Pawtucket Women's Club, 1899, founded 1899 by Mrs. Edward L. Johnson, to study civics, education, music, and conversation, and for philanthropic work; Providence Mothers' Club, 1900, founded 1897 by Abby L. Marlatt, to secure for women and children better physical, intellectual and moral conditions; Edgewood Women's Club, 1903, outgrowth in 1903 of Edgewood Chautauqua Circle, for literature, historical research, music, philanthropy, and needlework; Providence Branch I. S. S., 1904, founded 1901 by Mrs. Charles H. Beach, for philanthropy; Cranford Club of Greenville, 1905, founded 1905 by Orra A. Angell, for mental and social culture, special philanthropic work, village improvement, and sunshine civic service; Providence Federation of Women Teachers, 1905, founded 1905 by Stella C. Allen, to strengthen the influence of women teachers in educational matters; Providence Section of National Council of Jewish Women, 1905, organized 1894 as study circle by Mrs. David C. Fink and Rev. David Blaustein, reorganized 1905 by Mrs. Caesar Misch and Nissim Bebar, for special philanthropic work and immigrant aid; Fruit Hill Woman's Club, 1907, founded 1904 by Mrs. Robert Russell, for social culture and community service; Rhode Island Ex Club, 1907, founded 1907 by Margaret H. Irons, for social intercourse; E. O. W. Club of East Providence, 1908, founded 1898 by Mrs. George H. Sparhawk, for various community services, including aid of Riverside Free Public Library; Rhode Island State Nurses' Association, 1908, founded 1905 by six graduate nurses, to elevate and maintain standard qualifications for graduate nurses; Autumn Club of Providence, 1909, founded 1901 by Mrs. J. Edward Strate, for social and philanthropic purposes; Jynko Club of Providence, 1909, founded 1906 by five What Cheer Club girls, for philanthropic and social work; Edgewood Civic Club, 1910, founded 1909 by Mrs. George J. Arnold, for civic improvement; Four Leaf Clover Club of Providence, 1911, founded 1902 by Ada V. Gregory, for literary, federation and sunshine work; Triangle Club of Kingston, 1914, founded 1908, by Mrs. Howard Edwards, for literary and social culture and philanthropy, membership limited to women connected with Rhode Island State College; Hope Valley Woman's Club, 1915, founded 1910 by Ethel Kenyon, for civic purposes; East Greenwich Home and School Club, 1916, founded 1915 by Mrs. F. L. Cady and Mrs. J. D. Miner, for educational and civic purposes; Needle-Book Club of Chepachet, 1916, founded 1910 by Martha R. Fitch, for social culture, and to aid public library and anti-tuberculosis work; Cowesett Community Club, 1917, founded 1913 by Winifred Palmer Cottrell, to promote school interests; Ladies' Pascoag Library Association, 1918, founded 1871 by Clara Walden and Ellen Spring, to support Pas-

coag Free Library; Pawtucket Section of National Council of Jewish Women, 1918, founded 1916 by Mrs. William Loeb and Mrs. Caesar Misch, for general welfare, Americanization and philanthropic work; Newport Section of National Council of Jewish Women, 1921, founded 1918 by Mrs. William Loeb, for civic, religious and philanthropic work, and aid of immigrants; Providence Association for Ministry to the Sick, 1922, founded 1880 by Eleanor K. Buffum, to care for and relieve the sick poor in their homes; Rhode Island Kindergarten League, 1922, founded 1897 by Mary Davis, for service to schools, homes and society; Arlington Women's Club of Cranston, 1923, founded 1923 by Mrs. W. B. Jonah, for mental and social culture, and promoting educational, literary and philanthropic objects; Nautilus Circle of Providence, 1923, founded 1914 by Mrs. Henry D. C. Dubois, for literature, music and philanthropy; Pascoag Woman's Club, 1923, founded 1923 by Miss Prendergast, Mrs. Boutiette, Mrs. Ackrill, and Miss Gaunt, for social and educational purposes; Providence League for the Hard of Hearing, 1923, founded 1922 by Marion A. Durfee, to create a community center where hard of hearing find mental and spiritual stimulus, recreation, comradeship and service; Home Economics Club of Rhode Island State College, 1924, founded 1924 by Alice L. Edwards, to stimulate interest in home economics, and to send a Chinese girl to Yen Sing College to study home economics; Homemakers' Club of Providence, 1924, founded 1916 by Mrs. Henry Fletcher, for social and educational work through lectures; Rhode Island Flower and Bird Club, 1924, founded 1908 by Mrs. M. E. Newell and Mary E. Jencks, for culture of flowers, protection of birds, and sunshine work; Women's Club of Newport County of Tiverton, 1924, founded 1924 by Mrs. W. A. Prosser to advance the social and cultural interests of the community; Rhode Island Home Economic Association, 1926, founded 1914 by Lucy C. King; Rhode Island Hospital Nurses Alumnae Association, 1926, founded 1896, by graduates of Rhode Island Hospital training school, for mutual help and improvement in professional and social intercourse; Providence Loyalty Club, 1927, organized 1927, for social and philanthropic work; Rhode Island Association for the Blind, 1928, founded 1923 by Fanny A. Kimball and Mary E. French, to promote the interest of the blind; South Side Friendly Club, 1929, founded 1929 by Mrs. W. J. Ward, for educational and social purposes; Travel Club of Westerly, founded 1890 by Jennie B. Miner, for special philanthropic work, to aid missions and hospitals; Women High School Teachers Association of Providence, founded 1909 by Harriet P. Fuller, to promote the interests of high school women teachers. Affiliated organizations are American Homemakers, Rhode Island Centre, reorganized 1927 by Mrs. Philip Mitchell as an outgrowth of the Providence Housewives' League; Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Rhode Island, founded 1905 by Sarah C. Mason; Women's Christian Temperance Union of Rhode Island, founded 1875 by Mrs. W. F. Bainbridge, to promote temperance education, law enforcement, world-wide prohibition, world-wide peace, and world-wide purity. One of the achievements of the Federation of Women's Clubs was a system of traveling libraries, which subsequently was merged with the traveling libraries maintained by the State Board of Education.

Hundreds of women's clubs, large and small, organized for various purposes, are not affiliated with the Federation of Women's Clubs. The largest social women's club in Rhode Island is the Catholic Woman's Club, which has a membership exceeding one thousand. It was organized in 1901 with Clara E. Craig as the first president, and incorporated in 1925. The purpose of the club is declared to be "the promotion of Catholic interests of intellectual order." The club has had a prosperous career for thirty years, and has plans for the acquisition of a central building in Providence as a permanent headquarters, and for better attainment of social purposes. The Plantations Club in Providence more nearly resembles a men's club than the common type of woman's club for social or intellectual purposes; it owns a fine building fronting on Abbott Park Place in Providence, planned and erected for club purposes. The

accommodations at the Plantations Club include a large auditorium and auxiliary rooms, a restaurant, recreation rooms and parlors, besides sleeping rooms available for members. The club is a professional and business women's organization. Trinity Club in Woonsocket owns a club house, and is the largest club in the northern city. War-time organizations which have continued to operate are the Consumers' League and the Housewives' League, both of which were established to promote conservation during the war and to protect the housewife, as the spender of the family income, from extortion. The work of both leagues was educational, with emphasis upon thrift in management of the home, conservation in the use of foods, selection of the latter with a view to wholesomeness and food values, and obtaining the largest possible return from economic expenditures. Both supported vigorously the war-time policies of conservation.

CONGRESS OF MOTHERS—Providence Mothers' Club, 1897, and Henry Barnard School Mothers' Club, 1898, were forerunners of the Rhode Island Congress of Mothers, which was organized in 1909. The Rhode Island Congress of Mothers became a constituent member of the National Congress of Mothers in January, 1910. The earliest mothers' clubs were founded with the purpose of establishing and maintaining a coöperative relation betwixt school and home; the plan contemplated occasional meetings of the mothers of school children in schoolhouses with teachers, an extension of interest among mothers in the welfare of the school as the agency for preparing the children for citizenship, and better understanding by teachers and mothers mutually of the problems of individual children, as mothers and teachers had opportunity to discuss the situation. Mothers' clubs also became agencies for improving schools, as the mothers, particularly, insisted upon adequate provision for maintenance, or themselves undertook projects for assistance of schools. The mothers' club movement, after it was understood, and the value of the new interrelations of home and school had been recognized, spread rapidly; a state organization was perfected as the Rhode Island Congress of Mothers. Eventually the names of many school clubs and of the state and national congresses were changed, the term "parent-teacher association" being adopted to cover membership of teachers as well as mothers, and in some instances an enrollment of parents which included men. The organization in 1930 was, nationally, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers; within the state the Rhode Island Branch of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The Rhode Island branch included 150 associations in twenty-nine of the thirty-nine towns of Rhode Island. Most of the member clubs were organized in a schoolhouse as a unit, although there were, besides, town associations and a few other organizations affiliated because of general interest, such as the Rhode Island Homemakers, Rhode Island Congress Ex Club, Rhode Island Kindergarten League, and Women's Christian Temperance Union. The objects of the Congress are stated as "to unify and strengthen all the forces represented in the associations and clubs of which it is composed and to increase their number; to act as a bureau of information concerning work undertaken; to endeavor to improve home conditions especially by raising the standards of motherhood; to aid all agencies which work in the interests of home and school; and in every possible way to strive to unite home and school; to coöperate with educators, social workers and legislators to secure the best physical, mental and moral training for the young; to use every possible means to safeguard the youth of the land, to the end that good citizenship may be secured and to this end to establish and maintain lines of work as needed." The organization remains, as it started with clubs of mothers, principally an association of women. The Rhode Island advisory council included His Excellency the Governor and His Honor the Mayor of Providence, Rev. Peter E. Blessing, Honorable Frederick Rueckert, Honorable Walter E. Ranger as Commissioner of Education, President John L. Alger and Professor Clara E. Craig of Rhode Island College of Education, Alexander J. Stoddard, Isaac O. Winslow and Dr. Charles V. Chapin. The Rhode Island congress coöperated with a dozen

other welfare associations. Local councils, uniting clubs, had been established in Central Falls, Cranston, Cumberland, East Providence, Johnston, Lincoln, North Providence, Pawtucket, Providence, and Warwick. The goal of the national association was stated as "a parent-teacher association in every school, and every parent and teacher a member." As the organization had been developed in Rhode Island the number of persons holding office in state, town and schoolhouse associations approached one thousand. Not all, by any means, of mothers' clubs or parent-teacher associations were affiliated with the state and national congresses; a large number of school associations of mothers and teachers, or parents and teachers, carried on effective effort for improvement without joining the state congress. With others not affiliated are mothers' clubs connected with the Catholic parochial schools.

WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS—Education was the first profession freely opened to women in Rhode Island; the employment of women as teachers in public schools began early in the nineteenth century. Much earlier than that private schools were conducted by women or included women in teaching faculties. Henrietta Downer and Lucille Downer were permitted to conduct schools for small children in a vacant chamber in the Transit Street School in Providence so early as 1801 and 1804. In the reorganization of the Providence free public schools in 1828, which followed the survey by Wayland and others, women were employed as teachers of primary schools, while men remained as masters of grammar schools. In Newport the actual teacher in the Potter school for boys conducted under the direction of the trustees of Long Wharf was Elizabeth Finch, although her husband, Captain Joseph Finch, was named as a party to the contract. By the middle of the nineteenth century women teachers outnumbered men teachers in Rhode Island public schools. Brown University's early teacher-training department was abandoned because women teachers were wanted and Brown was not willing at the time to venture to undertake coeducation. Early in the twentieth century alarm was expressed lest men disappear altogether from the profession of public education, as the proportion of men to women school teachers dwindled. The extension of vocational education, manual arts, physical training and similar instruction, and emphasis on scientific studies in high schools have helped somewhat to restore the balance. Woman in the profession of education has won her way from employment as teacher of small children in primary schools to the position of superintendent of schools, the chief municipal administrative and executive office. Perhaps the woman who has had largest influence in public education in Rhode Island is Professor Clara E. Craig, for more than thirty years director of training at Rhode Island College of Education, under whose guidance thousands of public school teachers passed through an apprenticeship. Another notable figure is Mrs. Gustav Radeke, for years the active administrator of Rhode Island School of Design and one of its benefactors.

Other professions than education have been more reluctant to accept women as practitioners, an outstanding difficulty being related to the unwillingness or inability of professional schools to receive women as students. This obstacle has been removed in part; in some professions schools for women exclusively have been established. Women have entered most professions in Rhode Island, though still barred from many professional schools of law and medicine. The woman physician preceded the woman lawyer in active practice. The work of women as artists and writers, and as nurses in the great auxiliary profession that ministers to the sick, has been discussed in other chapters. Women's gifts to charity have been generous, whether the wife dispensed the largess of her husband, or the latter gave at the suggestion or request of his wife of the joint property which was his to administer by right under the common law. The control which woman attained of her separate property has helped to establish clearly the large part that woman has and has had in philanthropy. Many a Rhode Island



BENEDICT MONUMENT TO MUSIC, ROGER WILLIAMS PARK, PROVIDENCE



ANN MAN MEMORIAL GATES, ROGER WILLIAMS PARK



charitable or welfare institution or organization has had its Lady Bountiful known to the beneficiaries or preserving anonymity behind the nominal directing board or committee.

The largest municipal park in Rhode Island—Roger Williams Park, which has a national reputation for beauty—resulted from an initial devise in the will of Betsy Williams, which became effective in 1871. The city of Providence received an estate which had been owned for nearly two centuries by descendants of Roger Williams, beginning with Joseph Williams, one of the sons of Roger Williams and Mary Barnard Williams, and ending with Betsy Williams. The original park comprised approximately 100 acres, including a cottage house on the site of the present Betsy Williams Cottage. The original house was built by Nathaniel Williams in 1773 for his son James, who was father of Betsy; it was gutted by fire while used for park purposes, and restored as nearly as possible. The park has been enlarged by gift and purchase of 450 acres.





## CHAPTER XLI.

### COSMOPOLITAN RHODE ISLAND.



IT is characteristic of colonial Rhode Island that Roger Williams did not seek William Blackstone in 1635 or 1636, although it is altogether improbable that a man so completely acquainted as Roger Williams must have been with events as they transpired in the Massachusetts Bay settlements did not know that Blackstone had left Boston and was somewhere in Rhode Island. The group which settled at Pocasset in 1638 sought the advice of Roger Williams but not his company. They had no intention of joining him in the wilderness, although they were willing to accept his assistance in finding a suitable place for their settlement. Probably the sentiment was mutual; he helped them to find, and they selected, a location miles from Providence Plantations. While there is a suggestion of internal discord in the events that followed at Pocasset, which may have been a reason for the withdrawal and departure of the contingent which located at Newport in 1639, the more plausible explanation of the separation of merchants and men of affairs from farmers is recognition by the former of the superior advantages of Newport Harbor. The Pocasset and Newport men continued friendly relations, and in the quarrels that disturbed the colony in later years they were found usually together when a division occurred. Finally, Samuel Gorton made himself obnoxious to the settlers at Pocasset, and was so little welcome at Providence that he was not encouraged to stay. He understood the coolness and moved on to found a fourth settlement. Thus there was heterogeneity in Rhode Island so early as 1636-42; there were four separate settlements, and as many reasons, if not more, for maintaining the separation as and than there were for union. Indeed, the organization of a confederacy was accomplished years afterward, and then only because a few wiser than the rest of the settlers realized the danger to all unless an association was established.

The four settlements within so small an area, separate and distinct, were prophetic almost of the Rhode Island that was to come years afterward, when immigration had brought people of many races to Rhode Island, and the state was engaged in the process of assimilating them into the fellowship of a common citizenship. The early settlers entertained diverse views, fundamentally different, with respect to religion, which was in the seventeenth century cause for war between nations and enmity between men. Otherwise they used the same language, some of them with marvelous fluency in defining their own and deriding their neighbors' religion. They had sprung from essentially the same environment in the same country; they were all Englishmen only recently removed from their native land to a strange wilderness. Perhaps it was their English origin which may best explain their sturdy stubbornness in maintaining their differences. The redeeming factor in the situation was a wonderful leaven at work in the mass—the principle of toleration or soul liberty. It was this that saved them from the excesses of fanaticism to which bigotry carried others; it was this that preserved the peace, within, though men and sections differed radically in their views. Toleration had “proved that the terrible fears that barbarity would break in where no particular form of worship and discipline are established by the civil power are really vain and groundless,” said John Callender in his *Historical Discourse* at the end of the first century. “Calvinists with Lutherans, Presbyterians with Episcopalians, Pedobaptists with Anabaptists, beholding one another to fear God and righteousness, do with delight sit down together at the same table of the Lord,” said Mather in 1718 of Rhode Island. “The inhabitants are of a mixed kind consisting of many sorts and subdivisions of sects,” wrote Berkeley in 1829. “There are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differ-

ences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably with their neighbors of whatever profession." Berkeley's observation was prophetic of the Rhode Island that was to be two centuries later, with thousands of people of different races living together harmoniously and peacefully in a virile democracy. It was not the abandonment of religion in the eighteenth century so much as mutual respect for the intelligence and opinions of each other, which had, within a century produced harmony in Rhode Island, in spite of heterogeneity. Rhode Island had attained almost to the current practice of Americans, which is treating religion as so much a matter of strictly personal interest in the instance of each individual that it is nobody's business but his own, and that it is good manners not to ask questions or to introduce the subject in general conversation. Length of years may be required to accomplish the ideal suggested, but the world is gradually learning the lesson which Rhode Island experience has taught and still teaches.

EXTENSION OF TOLERATION—The Rhode Island point of view was important, not only because it relegated to oblivion the most fruitful cause of controversy of the seventeenth century, but also because it was possible to extend the same toleration to other opinions than those related to religion. The earliest community governments in the Rhode Island settlements were democratic, or "democratical," in the sense that action followed an expression of the will of the majority, or as Roger Williams once expressed it, "the major vote of us." The Parliamentary Patent and the Royal Charter of 1663, both conferred almost unrestricted autonomy upon Rhode Island. There was no English colony in which less pressure of authority was exerted or in which more complete freedom for expression of the will of the body politic existed, along with the power to carry it into effect. Although the Charter prescribed a government by representatives, it left the people of Rhode Island free, while observing the forms, to continue democratic government in fact. In practice, frequent elections made the tenure of officeholders insecure, and the General Assembly had recourse often to a type of referendum through the custom of continuing the decision of important questions from one to a following session, so that the members of the Assembly in the interval might have an opportunity to consult with their constituents or to present the questions in town meetings, the latter to instruct the town delegations or to choose new delegations after so clear an expression of local opinions that doubt there need not be as to what the people thought and wanted. The form of government emphasized reliance upon the expressed will of the majority; Rhode Island was thus in politics paralleling religious toleration, which rests fundamentally upon respect for opinion and intelligence.

The system in operation established a profound respect for what the citizen thought. The sovereign citizen was honored and dignified by the respect accorded his opinion; the man was respected because he was a free and independent man, whose counsel had weight in government. Rhode Island had solved the paradox that had baffled Cotton, who could not conceive of or understand democracy, because there must be "governed" if there was a "governor"; in Rhode Island the governed had become governors, and the governors were ruled by the governed. The good Rhode Islanders had learned to respect both a man's religion and a man's politics, and the colony first and state later were, so far as the rank and file were concerned, further advanced toward genuine democracy than any other until the new pioneering in the westward extension of the United States produced a new equality in those sections. Thus it happened that as the Revolution approached there was little ill feeling between patriots and those who were destined to become Tories, except a few of the latter who were too recently from England or Scotland to have learned Rhode Island ways. Governor Joseph Wanton was as zealous a defender of the Charter as any other Rhode Islander, and he stood firmly with his people until it was clear that he must choose between rebellion in arms and loyalty to England. He was deposed by not being permitted to qualify as Governor only after he had been given a final opportunity to make his choice.

Religion and political toleration were established thoroughly in Rhode Island within a century of the founding, in the sense that both were settled policies. Rhode Island's attitude toward the native Indians was consistent with the general principle of toleration. The intolerance of the Puritans of Connecticut and Massachusetts precipitated conflict with the Indians; Rhode Island's just treatment produced peace. It is true that the difficulties almost inevitable when civilization and barbarism or savagery meet and remain closely in contact were experienced, but Rhode Island succeeded in its relations with the Indians, while Connecticut and Massachusetts failed. When Hebrews came to Rhode Island, east meeting west, alien in race, oriental in culture and tradition, Rhode Island made them welcome. They sought residence and freedom to engage in trade and commerce, and the General Assembly knew of no more reason for excluding Hebrews than for rejecting Friends, if indeed the General Assembly wanted reason. The Hebrews were shrewd, resourceful, adventurous and successful merchants and traders; their argosies brought wealth, and Rhode Island profited from their enterprises. Their capital was invested in new home industries, and Rhode Island profited again. In a century in which Hebrews were anathema in most countries claiming civilization, a persecuted race, confined to ghetto, systematically robbed by rulers and baited by riotous denizens of towns, they found toleration and good treatment and protection of the law in Rhode Island. Rhode Island toleration in religion and politics had been extended, in the instance of the Hebrews, to race, culture, tradition, custom, orientalism in an occidental setting. The Hebrews were so well treated in Rhode Island that they forgot it not for generations, and their descendants, scattered by the pursuit of fortune, sent money to endow the synagogue and the cemetery for perpetual care, and aid to Redwood Library to assure its continuance. It is significant of the spirit of Rhode Island that the enfranchisement of Catholics was proclaimed so soon as independence had been firmly established, by repeal of a section of the printed laws of the enactment of which no record has been found, and of the actual enforcement of which there is more than reasonable doubt. Thus Rhode Island ended the eighteenth century, still setting an example in toleration for all the rest of the world to follow if and when it could.

MANUFACTURING AND IMMIGRATION—The most serious social and political problems of the nineteenth century in Rhode Island were predicated to the success of Samuel Slater and others with power-driven machinery in manufacturing textiles. Rhode Island was transformed from a farming community which had grown wealthy because of favorable commerce, into a beehive of factories. Population was increased by immigration, for the most part from Europe, and almost directly from Europe to Rhode Island, whatever the port of entrance. The principal source of early immigration was England, and the newcomers were mostly from English manufacturing towns with a few relatively from Scotland and the north of Ireland immediately or after a sojourn in England. News had reached the British Isles that Rhode Island was building factories, and that work was plentiful for textile operatives and that wages were good. The surplus of labor, displaced at home by the introduction of power-driven machinery, flowed to America. Though the immigrants were not exclusively of one racial stock, they had more in common than language and immediate environment, being drawn from a more homogeneous grouping than is suggested by the extremes that met in the British Parliament by representatives from Highland and Lowland Scotch, and Belfast and Cork Irish. They were different, however, from Americans, and particularly the advanced type of American who lived in Rhode Island.

The Rhode Islander of the period was not merely an Englishman who had been ferried across the Atlantic Ocean; he had been transformed through the experiences of governing himself in an autonomous republic and of wresting a livelihood from the soil and from the sea in a new environment. The newcomers were still of the Old World, and the Rhode Islander belonged to the New. They came from the mill population of Europe with inclination to docility, while

the Rhode Islander was still fired with the enthusiasm of the Revolution. It was true, as it has been true generally of immigrants, that those who ventured the long voyage across the sea were alert and enterprising, men and women whom the pioneering instinct urged to move on to the westward with the flood of the elite, as their fathers and mothers had followed the sun through generations of human history, because they could not be content and remain at home while there was a promise of better conditions in America. They were men and women out of whom good Rhode Islanders could be made. Had they come with the purpose of replacing Rhode Islanders in long-established industries, no doubt they would have been less welcome; but they were, as a rule, filling new places in new factories, and Rhode Island farmers and merchants found profits accruing to them from the new prosperity attending the development of the textile industry, and from the demand for food and other commodities of every kind, for which customers with money were waiting.

Besides all of that, Rhode Island had learned to tolerate differences, and relations between Rhode Islanders and the newcomers, although the latter were alien and strange in their ways and points of view and opinions, suggested no serious problem in the early part of the nineteenth century. Had there been no segregation of the early immigrants, or if they had settled down and mingled with and become part of the mass of the population of the state, it is altogether likely that Rhode Island would have absorbed them, taught them Rhode Island ways by example quickly and without much difficulty, and that Rhode Island would have been changed but little, and would have been certainly no worse, if not indeed far better, because of the infusion of new blood and the introduction of new elements by the progressive type of men and women who move. But the earlier immigrants were segregated for the most part in the new manufacturing villages rising around the factories which had been erected beside the waterfalls and milldams. Newport, because it had no water-power and no textile factories, received few of the immigrants; the increase in population for half a century from 1800 to 1850, was only twenty-seven percent in Newport. The same was true of Newport County and Washington County generally. Manufacturing towns, such as Cranston, Cumberland, Johnston, Scituate and Smithfield,\* in Providence County, doubled and trebled in population, as did Warwick, in the Pawtuxet Valley, during the same fifty years. North Providence, including Pawtucket and a large part of the present city of Providence, gained 660 percent of population in the half-century.

Segregation of races was in progress; the stream of immigration besides pouring into factory towns to the exclusion of other sections, was directed principally into compact and isolated villages. Thus the villages acquired a racial cast that continued in some for a century or more, and that was maintained, in spite of the enlargement of the factory and the growth of the village, because settled villagers invited, encouraged and aided relatives and friends in Europe to come to the new Old World villages transplanted to Rhode Island and because superintendents, overseers and foremen gave preference in employment to "their own kind." The English were and have been more reluctant than any other immigrant race to renounce allegiance to their mother country and to become American citizens by naturalization. Where they have been relatively isolated or have been able to exercise their uniform choice of living with "their own kind," they have continued to be English, observing English practices, patronizing English shops, playing English games, celebrating English festival days, and in language preserving idiom and accent. Succeeding generations of English ancestry born in America have fallen more into American ways, but the English culture is still to be recognized in mill villages and in textile factory towns in Rhode Island. A particular reason for the latter is the marked increase in immigration from England which occurred between 1900 and 1910 and which in the ten years effected an increase of 5000 in the number of Rhode Islanders who had been born in England.

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\*The geography here is as before 1850, when what is Woonsocket lay partly in Cumberland and partly in Smithfield, and Smithfield included North Smithfield, Lincoln and Central Falls.

ENGLISH AND SCOTCH—In 1926 one of every twelve persons living in Rhode Island had been born in England or of English parents born in America. In that year 24,501 residents of Rhode Island had been born in England; five years later the number was 26,885, of whom 22,986 lived in Providence County. Immigration from Scotland increased between 1900 and 1910 to such an extent that the population of Scottish birth, which had been small in 1900, reached 6200 in 1910 and 5805 in 1920; it was 6524 in 1925. Of the Scotch, 5356 resided in Providence County. In 1920 the population of Scotch origin by birth in Scotland or of Scotch parentage, though born in America, was nearly 12,500. The immigration from England and Scotland at the time, about 1910, was related to the condition of the textile industry in the British Isles and in America; the American industry being more prosperous, English and Scotch came to Rhode Island factory towns. In 1920 the number of persons of English birth in Rhode Island almost equalled the number of persons of Irish birth, in spite of the fact that in 1900 there were 13,000 more of Irish than of English birth in Rhode Island. In 1925 English exceeded Irish by 7000. Reconciliation of the figures rests upon fresh immigration from England, which renewed the English-born population, and the failure of Irish immigration sufficient to offset the losses by death of older Irish stock settled in Rhode Island. Ireland had been bled almost white by emigration during the nineteenth century. Besides that, the twentieth century Irishman sees great hope for the future of his own country, because of the readjustment of political relations between Ireland and England. The Irish Free State is achieving economic independence and prosperity. Irish emigration has ceased to be significant; whereas English emigration has been stimulated by the economic disturbances which have beset England since the World War. For these reasons the Rhode Island population of Irish birth has not been renewed in recent years, whereas the reverse appears to be true of English born.

IRISH IMMIGRATION—With practically no water power, Providence did not become a textile manufacturing town until the introduction of steam-driven machinery made the location of factory sites away from rivers feasible; even then Providence was never distinctively a textile city, because of the great wealth of other manufactures. Providence did not grow so rapidly because of immigration in the first quarter of the nineteenth century as did the towns along the Blackstone and Pawtuxet Rivers. There were steady gains in population in Providence, nevertheless, commensurate with the rising importance of the town as the trading centre for the northern part of Rhode Island and as the seaport into which came ships carrying cargoes of raw material for factories and cargoes of food for factory operatives, and out of which manufacturers shipped their products. Its geographical location was determining in this respect; Roger Williams, had his purpose been to select the site for a great commercial city, could not have chosen more wisely than he did. Providence was the inevitable terminus for the Blackstone Canal; it could not be avoided as the centre for railway development.

In the half-century from 1800 to 1850 the population of Providence gained 446 percent, but the increase was much more rapid after than before 1825. Providence shared in the immigration of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as did also the part of North Providence that became Pawtucket, and the parts of Smithfield and Cumberland that became Woonsocket. The type of immigration had changed somewhat. It was still largely from the British Isles, but in the later immigration Irish outnumbered English. As far as the latter were concerned, the surplus of labor had been drained away in the earlier movement, and economic reasons were not so compelling as formerly. The Irish were coming from all parts of that "most distressing country," but principally from the southern provinces. Many had come away earlier from north and south, following the Emmet revolution; more as repressive laws and economic distress in Ireland discouraged youth's hope in the welfare of Ireland and sent him away to the land "beyant the say," which, interestingly enough, was described in the Irish anthem, "The Wearing of the Green," one of the few national songs that expresses hope in another country than home.

"I've heard whisper of a country that lies far beyant the say,  
Where rich and poor stand equal in the light of freedom's day;  
O Erin, must we leave you, driven by the tyrant's hand,  
Must we ask a mother's welcome from a strange but happy land?"

The Irish were mostly from farming communities, with the little education that might be expected under penal statutes which forbade teaching children to read. The labor which they offered for sale was principally the brawn of big muscles and strong bodies. They were welcomed to America, because America wanted strong men to dig ditches for the canals which preceded the railways, and more strong men to build railroads when the latter were introduced. Large numbers of Irish came to Rhode Island to fill up the gangs of laborers working on the Blackstone Canal, and others came to build the railway to Boston and the line to Stonington. Many remained in the city of Providence and in the larger towns, working as laborers. Their sisters, the colleens who came in the great adventure that was stripping Ireland of its youth, found employment first as servants.

With the genius for improvement that most races have shown in America, the Irish began to seek better types of work. By 1850 they were strongly entrenched in factories, and a second generation, which had had the advantages of education in public schools or in the schools established by the Catholic Church, was reaching higher. Another generation saw Irish youth enrolled in colleges and preparing for entrance to professions. Such is the opportunity that America has offered to the oppressed and persecuted races of the world, and such is the progress that is made possible under liberal government. Like the English who had preceded them, the Irish became segregated for a time. The Irish were excluded by English from the factory villages in which the English had become established. The fact that the Irish settled in the city of Providence and in larger villages in towns in which groups of factories close together suggested the cities that were to come, might negative segregation were it not that the Irish came as laborers, for the most part in distressing economic circumstances, and were constrained to live in hovels and cabins, and in the poorest type of tenement houses. Their homes were as overcrowded and insanitary in many ways as immigrant houses have been and may be in the twentieth century; their habits of living were strange and intensified so because of poverty; their language usage was distinctive, because correct in contrast with American pronunciation, although more noticeable to Rhode Island ears for the "brogue"; and their religion, generally, was Catholic. Their poverty, behaviour, speech and religion marked them as strangers.

The Irishman had been a rebel in his native country, and had the rebel's critical attitude toward government which stamps him as a politician. It was the same trait which Burke had observed among Americans before the Revolution, and which had made them the most frequent readers of Blackstone's "Commentaries," wherefore the book had its largest sale in the American colonies. The politics of America intrigued the Irishman; he longed to participate. Unlike the Englishman, who clung to English citizenship, the Irishman rejoiced to see the day dawn on which he could renounce the allegiance to England which he had never acknowledged willingly, and with gladness in his heart sought naturalization at the earliest opportunity. He learned soon after he came to America of Federalist misadventures with alien and sedition laws, and of the Federalist leaning to friendship with Great Britain during the War of 1812. He was opposed to those who were friendly to England, as the country which had oppressed and persecuted his race. He was interested in movements for extension of suffrage, and his earliest party affiliations were with the Democrats, who, under Jackson's leadership, were broadening democracy. In Rhode Island Dorr found enthusiastic supporters among the Irish, who were, for the most part, excluded under the suffrage laws of the period from political privileges. The Irishman had as little in common with Whigs, as Whigs had sympathy for Irishmen. The Whigs included the remnants of the disrupted and discredited Federalist party, with new elements favoring the economic policies expounded by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.

Rhode Island reached 1850 with 23,860 persons of foreign birth in a total population of 145,545. In the state as a whole one person of every six was of foreign birth; in Providence, with 10,275 of foreign birth out of 41,513, one person of every four was of alien origin. In Providence, and the villages of Pawtucket and Woonsocket, a large part of the foreign born population was Irish. It should be noted that the figures cited exclude persons born in America of alien parentage, who would increase to much larger numbers and proportions the population less than two generations removed from distinctly foreign associations. The alien population at the time, however, almost without exception spoke English, and the public school system, thoroughly reorganized by Henry Barnard and being strengthened during the aggressive administration of Commissioner Elisha R. Potter, was Rhode Island's well-chosen and most hopeful agency for assimilation of the foreign element. The Irish were eager for assimilation for the reason that they had accepted America as their foster mother country without reservation, and they climbed steadily in the economic, professional and political life of Rhode Island. The col-leens who had entered domestic service in Rhode Island families learned ways of thrift and household management which were very valuable to them when they married and established homes of their own; the experience was educational for them and beneficial for their families, which profited from the living conditions insisted upon by mothers who knew how much better Americans lived than Irish had been able to live in the early period of immigration. The Irish mother who had actually seen and experienced Rhode Island home life wished her own family to live as well as well-to-do Rhode Islanders. In many an Irish family in Rhode Island the mother was the earnest agent striving to improve the family's prospects and urging sons and daughters to undertake the effort and the education necessary to achieve success.

For the most part Rhode Islanders were tolerant and some were more than merely generous in helping ambitious Irish boys and girls to progress; others there were, however, who began to fear that the large infusion of aliens and the extraordinary proportion of foreign born to native born seriously threatened to destroy the continuity of tradition and culture. The sense of danger contributed, no doubt, to the short-lived ascendancy of the Know Nothing or American party in Rhode Island about 1855, although the ease with which candidates for office shifted at the period from one to another political party may be related to the disruption of the Whigs and the unsettled period that intervened before the new Republican party had been established. The activity of the American party and the interpretation of its slogan, "America for Americans," as hostile to immigrants had an interesting effect in the novel connotation attached to the word "American," which came to be a synonym for Protestant. The usage continued in Rhode Island for over half a century; so late as 1886 the qualifications for admission to an institution maintained in part by charity were stated by those in charge of it thus: "Only American widows or unmarried women who have resided in Providence at least ten years are admitted." Similar use of the word "American" as meaning Protestant appeared in advertisements seeking help or employment, even in the twentieth century; it has been relegated to obsolescence so completely in recent years that the rising generation might not be expected to recognize its significance. The teaching of the public schools that all who live in America ought to be good Americans, and the purposeful effort of children of immigrants to identify themselves with America and American ideas, were helpful in banishing from Rhode Island the restrictive meaning applied to "American."

As Irish immigration waned it ceased to be sufficient to offset losses by death among the earlier immigrants from Ireland, and the Rhode Island population of Irish birth decreased steadily. From 39,000 in 1890 it fell to 35,500 in 1900, to 29,700 in 1910, to 24,800 in 1920, and to 19,800 in 1925. In 1920, notwithstanding the steady decrease in population of Irish birth, 79,640 of the people of Rhode Island had been born in Ireland or born of Irish parents in America; one person in every eight in Rhode Island was Irish. In the census persons of the third generation and later, that is persons born of parents who had been born in the United

States, were counted as American properly, although they might be of as pure Irish blood as if their ancestors never had left Ireland. The unique racial persistence of Irish in America has been due to the Catholic Church's attitude in opposition to intermarriage with persons of other religious faith; while Irish constituted an overwhelmingly predominant element in the Catholic Church in Rhode Island, as they did for half a century, marriage with Catholics meant marriage with Irish. Yet the Irish (1) because they made no reservation in declaring allegiance to America, (2) because they retained no anticipation of returning to Ireland, and (3) because they purposed participation to the largest possible extent in the life of America, as a race constituted less of a problem in assimilation than any other which came in large numbers to Rhode Island.

FRENCH CANADIAN IMMIGRATION—The Irish had become thoroughly settled for one and in some families for two or three generations, and Irish immigration, though still considerable in volume as ambitious youth sought adventure and fortune in the new country, had long since passed flood tide, when French from Canada in large numbers came to Rhode Island. Of the French Canadians it was said by one of themselves that "they came only for a few years at most, just long enough to save money so that they might go back to their own country, to pay off the mortgage on the farm, or else buy a farm on which to settle their children later on." Color to the statement was given by the migration across the international boundary line in one direction or the other which persists, as Canadians come to Rhode Island factory towns when mills are prosperous and operatives are wanted at good wages, and as many go, when the tide of prosperity ebbs, back to farm life in Canada. Certainly Canadian French had not the impelling motive that induced Irish to "ask a mother's welcome from a strange but happy land." The cost of transportation back to Canada was low as compared with the price of passage overseas; besides that, there were few Canadians, as there were many Irish, who left home with "a price upon their heads" and the probability of facing a firing squad or dangling from a gibbet had they returned to Ireland and been discovered by or betrayed to British soldiery. But the statement as to motive and the observation of alternating current of migration neglects the fact that thousands of Canadian French remained permanently in Rhode Island, and that thousands among the population of Rhode Island are children's children of French Canadian immigrants who found happy homes and contentment in Rhode Island.

The French Canadians have become a stable element in the population of Rhode Island, grouping themselves principally in factory towns and villages, in many of which they tend to become the almost exclusive or predominant racial factor. They were handicapped at the beginning by using a foreign language and the necessity of learning English or having recourse to interpreters. These among the immigrants who were bilinguals in French and English achieved unique advantage immediately. Their language problem tended to promote segregation of the French, as it has favored segregation of other races which have come to Rhode Island not speaking English. It is not so much the consciousness of kind as the almost pathetic helplessness of the immigrant in an environment which includes use of another language than his own which drives him to seek the society and neighborhood of his compatriots, immediately or once removed, among whom will be many in his own predicament, besides, probably, a few bilinguals, whose assistance and services he may have, gratuitously or otherwise.

The French came from Canada, as most immigrants had come to Rhode Island, eager for work, and they were willing to accept employment for what to them seemed to be excellent wages, much better than the wages paid in Canada, although the rate might be below the standard demanded by the Americanized Irish. Manufacturers, as a rule, welcomed the French, because the newcomers were more docile than the Irish, and because they had not attained the Irishman's opinion of the value of the services of a mill operative. Thus Irish and French for a time were competitors for employment, and the French tended to be the lower bidders; consequently French replaced Irish in many textile factories, partly because they sold labor for

lower wages than Irish would accept, and partly because Irish sought employment that was more remunerative and approached nearer to their standards of living.

The French were hard workers, and they were thrifty; in spite of the language handicap, they progressed rapidly economically, and in succeeding generations achieved better positions, and some entered the professions. For them America opened the door of opportunity, and they came in; in their experience the ability of a race to rise in the economic and social scale in a liberal democracy was demonstrated as it had been before and has been since they came. Those who became naturalized American citizens entered party politics, and French Canadian immigrants and descendants of French Canadian immigrants have been elected to the highest offices in the gift of the people of Rhode Island. In the economic life of the state the French Canadians have played their part with credit and success, and their thrift has been rewarded by the accumulation of wealth in quantity sufficient to assure comfortable living for most and luxury for many.

In one particular the French Canadians have been unlike most other immigrants; they have cherished their original language, whereas most other immigrants have cared more for the mastery of English than the preservation of their native languages. Through their language the French have endeavored to maintain a racial and religious solidarity, which many of their leaders have believed could not have been possible otherwise. They have opposed assimilation vigorously, so far as the latter has seemed to involve insistence upon the English language. The French have insisted upon the French language. In part the emphasis upon the French language is inherited or based upon the environmental factors that condition life in Canada. There his language has been the French Canadian's most effective defensive weapon in his long resistance to becoming Anglicized. Because he has persisted in using the French language, the French Canadian has kept his part of Canada as thoroughly French for two centuries under English political domination as it was before the Seven Years War. In Rhode Island the French Canadian has been apprehensive lest the Americanization program, if achieved and realized in state-wide exclusive use of English as a common language, spells disaster for the solidarity which he has struggled to maintain in Rhode Island as in Canada. For that reason he has planned an educational program emphasizing the French language as an element of fundamental importance. Even if he himself has become a bilingualist for the advantage that accrues to him from his ability to use English in business relations with those who do not speak French, he talks in French to his family at home, to the lawyer and doctor who have his patronage because they use his language, to his friends in the social clubs which he frequents, and to his compatriots of similar racial extraction. For him, while English may be the language of business, French is the language of love and friendship.

The French language is the strongest bond cementing what is one of the largest racial groups in Rhode Island, although the group is settled principally in the two great river valleys in which the textile industry has been most extensively developed. The tide of French Canadian immigration had passed from flood to ebb in 1910; in that year the population of Rhode Island of French Canadian birth exceeded 34,000. The rate of immigration had slackened even earlier, as indicated by a gain in population of French Canadian birth of only 2500 in the ten years from 1900 to 1910, as contrasted with an increase of 8500 in the preceding ten years. In 1925 people of French Canadian birth residing in Rhode Island numbered 35,548, and constituted the largest foreign-born group in the population, with Italians close up with 34,671, and English and Irish following in the order named. In 1890 French Canadians resident in Rhode Island exceeded English residents; in 1910 French outnumbered English by 6000 and Irish by 4000. Ten years later French Canadians outnumbered English and Irish, who were nearly even, by 4000 in each instance. In 1925 French Canadians exceeded English by 9000 and Irish by 16,000.

Counting as of foreign origin both persons born out of the United States and persons born in the United States of foreign-born parents, the three groups in 1920 numbered: Irish, 79,640;

French, 75,658; English, 52,942. Factors not measured by the census, yet significant for racial strength because of ethnic tenacity, were (1) Irish intermarriage with Irish principally, thus preserving pure Irish blood for generation after generation; (2) French effort to maintain solidarity through their language; and (3) English retention of tradition and practices. Aside from these considerations, affecting much larger numbers than the census groups, the three contingents of Irish, French and English, 208,240 persons of foreign birth or born of parents born in foreign countries, constituted more than one-third of the total population of 604,397 in 1920. The three, with increments in each instance consisting of the third and fourth generations bound to racial solidarity for the reasons named, comprised more than one-half of the total population of the State of Rhode Island.

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION—Less than 2500 persons who had been born in Italy were reported as resident in Rhode Island in the census of 1890; in 1900 the number of Italians living in the state approached 9000. At that time the Italians constituted the fourth racial group in size, not so mighty as Irish, French and English, but larger than Canadian English, Swedish and Scotch, each of the latter group including more than 5000. An impressive immigration of Italians during the next decade carried the number of residents of Rhode Island born in Italy to 27,287 in 1910. The coming of so many strangers, speaking another foreign language, had not escaped notice. Segregation of the newcomers, most of them laborers, although there were many among them who had been merchants or middle class in Italy, followed almost inevitably, as it had in the experience of other immigrant races. Besides the preponderance of Italians in working gangs in places where toil was most severe, cities and towns had Italian sections, so designated because Italians had come in to claim the occupation of tenement houses, pushing out those of older immigration and other racial culture who had preceded them. Italian merchants soon opened shops for the display and sale of foods and other commodities better known to and better liked by their compatriots than American goods. Italians ventured also into agricultural towns, and many chose habitation in open or suburban sections of cities and towns, in order that they might be near to and cultivate small plots of ground.

The Italians were intensive farmers, spent hour after hour of hard labor in clearing vacant land of rock and stone, introduced new methods of cultivation and new forms of plant life, and intrigued the curiosity of American farmers and others because of the large crops they were able to raise from small areas, many of which had not been considered arable. The truck garden farming, which had been highly remunerative to Rhode Island farmers, appealed particularly to Italians, and they were eminently successful as market gardeners. Italians also found their way gradually into factory employment, because of their will to work and their willingness to accept lower wages than some of the immigrants of earlier days and descendants of the latter, who demanded wages approximating the American standard of living, to which they had become accustomed. Even low wages, measured by American standards, were high wages to Italians of the earlier generations of immigrants. They were frugal in habit and taste, thrifty in adjusting expenditures to earnings, hard workers under conditions of employment that left them almost without competition for the places they were willing to accept, ambitious beyond the urge of need.

To a certain extent their earlier experiences repeated those of earlier immigrants. The Irish had come to dig ditches and build roads when American labor was scarcely available for the purpose; the Italians came to dig and build when Irish no longer sought labor so much as employment. And the rise of the Italians was as certain under the favoring conditions of Rhode Island democracy as had been that of the earlier immigrant train. The Italians brought with them to America a kindly, courteous attitude in dealing with their neighbors, and something also, in their love of music and art, of the culture of Sunny Italy. The "little German band" never had become an institution in Rhode Island, because Rhode Island had scarcely shared in the immigration of Germans in the nineteenth century; the Italian brought the hand-organ and

the street-piano, mingling the beautiful melodies of his native land with concessions to the assumed American liking for jazz.

Rhode Island scarcely realized the volume of Italian immigration, however, and also its effect in the number of Italian residents of the state until the first observance of Columbus Day as a public holiday in 1910; and then the whole state gasped at the discovery, rubbed its eyes to test the reality of what seemed plausible only as a dream, and spent the next month in discussing what it had seen. Columbus Day was "discovery day"; Rhode Island had discovered its Italian population. In the procession which was the feature of the municipal celebration of the new holiday in Providence there was little out of the ordinary in the appearance and number of the marchers until the Italian divisions swung into the line of march and began to pass the reviewing stands and on through the streets. Then, what in the beginning had promised to be only another parade in a city which at the time was known as the "paradingest city," became a big parade. For hours Italian divisions poured through the city streets in rapid succession at steady military pace, unceasingly and apparently inexhaustibly. Older residents recalled the famous torchlight procession twenty years earlier on the occasion of the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, when the party on the reviewing stand stood for more than four hours as a steady stream of marchers passed in the greatest night parade in the history of Rhode Island. Whole divisions stood in the streets for hours, waiting the word to swing into line; and early divisions had returned to their homes in distant parts of Rhode Island long before the last of the marchers started on the ten-mile journey over the route of march. Then it had been a parade of Catholics, each man carrying a torch in the form of a cross in honor of his Church and the Discoverer. Twenty years later the Italians were making a demonstration of racial strength in honor of the Genoese Admiral. Rhode Island had become conscious of its Italian population in a day.

In 1920 the number of persons residing in Rhode Island who had been born in Italy was 32,585, and the Italians of foreign birth were the largest racial group in the State. Counting as Italians both persons born in Italy and persons born in the United States of parents born in Italy, the Italian population of Rhode Island in 1920 numbered 70,665, the Italian group being exceeded only by the Irish and French. The state census of 1925 reported 34,671 Italians, of whom 28,793 resided in Providence County, and 2186 in Bristol County. Italians were the second group in number, exceeded only by French Canadians of whom there were 900 more than Italians.

As had been true of earlier immigrants of other racial stock, the Italians progressed rapidly. Their willingness to work, their thrift and their frugal living brought them economic substance, and they bought land and buildings in towns and cities. Their children went to school, and their descendants found their way to college and into the professions. Not a few became interested in politics, and the mass of Italians sought naturalization and political citizenship as qualified electors and office holders. In their own residential sections the Italians maintained a racial solidarity which was almost exclusive, other races moving out as the tide of Italians flowed in. But the Italians were not contented with living in squalid tenement houses; as they became stronger economically, they bought other property, transferring, however, generally to maintain contact with their compatriots. Thus the Italian sections spread out over larger and larger areas. Language was the key to the situation; not that the Italian cared so much as did the French for his native tongue, but because the Italians had the Latin respect for parents, and the older folk among them seldom learned English. Otherwise it was with younger immigrants and children from Italian homes; both learned to speak English, and both, as a rule, became bilingualists.

The Italian sections maintained an Old World atmosphere; the shopkeepers offered Italian foods for sale, filling the windows with piles of hard cheeses and rows of fresh cream cheeses, with fresh and dried sausages and other meats fresh cut or cured in Italian fashion, with boxes

of farinaceous paste as macaroni or spaghetti or in other forms, with bottles and other containers filled with olive oil, and casks of almonds, walnuts, chestnuts, pistachio and other nuts. The bakers displayed bread in loaves of various shape and rolls with hard crust made from the dark flour of unbleached wheat or other grains; with baskets and boxes of small cakes and sweet breads strange to American eyes. Other shops displayed fruit in profusion, including pomegranate and grapes when in season, soft grapes and hard grapes, and great piles of sweet grapes ripe and ready for the wine press. The confectioner showed his art in great masses of nougat to be broken in fragments for chewing and intriguingly shaped candies, with baskets of shelled nuts, and nuts candied or covered with fondat. Push carts drawn up to the curb offered fruit and vegetables and nuts. Some of the vegetables were familiar only to the push cart men and the throng of shoppers, some of whom stopped to haggle for bargains, gesticulating dramatically and talking rapidly. The vegetables included a profusion of fresh green crisp garden leaves, besides lettuce and celery for salads.

In the Christmas season the shop windows revealed the significant appeal which realistic representation makes to the Italian. Windows had been cleared of stock in trade displayed to attract customers; instead the Bethlehem stable scene of the Nativity, with the infant Christ in the manger, and figures portraying Joseph and Mary, the adoring shepherds and the Magi bearing gifts, was reproduced as elaborately as in many churches. Again as Holy Week marked the approaching end of the Lenten season, with the rapid sequence of events in the week of tragedy between Palm Sunday and Easter, the Italian section reflected the passing drama portrayed in Church ritual and ceremony. Shops offered live lambs, typical of the Paschal lamb, for sale. Eggs were displayed, including eggs cooked or combined in Italian fashion. Thursday, Eve of Calvary, witnessed unusual street scenes as throngs made repeated pilgrimages from church to church. Within the churches were filled with worshippers, kneeling in prayer or pressing to light candles in the shrines. Other church holidays, and feast days of saints to whom the Italians have particular devotion, were observed elaborately, and in many instances with processions and fireworks in the evening. The practices of his religion played an important part in the Italian's life.

The earliest Italian immigrants brought with them some of the picturesque garments which they had worn in Italy; none of these were shown in shop windows. In dress the Italian in America tends to become indistinguishable in the sombre garb affected by men, or in the varied fashions followed by women. The love of music, instrumental and vocal, had been retained; the Italian sections on summer nights when windows were open and crowds thronged the sidewalks, rang with song and chorus, accompanied by the soft music of stringed instruments usually. Even the poor found money with which to patronize concert and chamber music and opera sung by the highest paid performers. Within a generation the Italian immigrant had become a stable element in the population of Rhode Island, settled on the land in agricultural or suburban sections or in quarters of towns and cities, with a tendency toward ownership instead of tenancy. Italian farmers were successful under conditions that had baffled Yankee husbandmen; they had revived abandoned farms and reclaimed for cultivation land that had not been considered arable. They had scraped the earth in waste places and had made it luxuriate with vine, orchard, vegetable or flower. In factory occupations Italians had furnished the labor of operative type still needed in spite of the introduction of more and more nearly perfect machinery and mechanical processes, but many had developed latent talent for art and design which had earned them more satisfactory employment. In some trades they had replaced native and other workmen; in monumental sculptoring and finishing granite cutting, for instance, the principal source of labor was Italy, if for no other reason than that tradesmen in Rhode Island and elsewhere in New England refused to permit their sons to become apprentices in the trade because of alleged danger to health. In the professions Italians were successful practitioners. In 1920 one person of every nine in Rhode Island was native of Italy or a

child of parents born in Italy. French and Italians constituted almost one quarter of the total population, using principally two Latin languages.

**OTHER IMMIGRATION**—Some Rhode Islanders had become concerned in 1850 because the population of the state at that time included more than sixteen percent of persons who were not native born; in 1890 the foreign-born were thirty-one percent of the total population. The foreign-born remained at thirty-one percent during the next ten years, but the reason was not an abatement of immigration so much as the fecundity of the second generation of foreign origin, whose offspring were counted as native population. Immigration was much heavier in the decade from 1900 to 1910, and the percentage of foreign-born to total population reached thirty-three percent in 1910. The World War tended to reduce immigration; from some European countries emigration was forbidden because of the war, and the war, with its disturbance of ocean navigation and the commandeering of merchant vessels for transport and other military purposes, interrupted transatlantic migration. The effect related to census figures was a decrease in Rhode Island of the percentage of foreign-born to total population, which was less than twenty-nine percent in 1920; five years later the percentage had fallen below twenty-seven, 182,801 of 679,260 persons resident in Rhode Island having been born in foreign countries. The population, as counted in 1920, included, besides 173,499 persons who had been born outside of the United States, 246,925 persons who had been born in the United States of foreign parents, or 420,427 persons within one generation of foreign origin, constituting sixty-nine percent of the total population.

Besides Irish, French Canadians, English and Italians, constituting in 1900 two-thirds of the foreign-born population of Rhode Island, the larger groups of other nationalities in 1900 included 7744 English Canadians, 6072 Swedes, 5455 Scotch and 4300 Germans. With respect to these groups there were no significant changes in the twenty years to 1920; each was slightly larger in 1910 than in 1900, and smaller in 1920 than in 1910. Including descendants of the first generation, the Canadian English in 1920 numbered 16,800; the Swedes, 13,500; the Scotch, 12,400 and the Germans less than 10,000. Other races were engaged in more remarkable immigration; thus, there were 2500 Portuguese in Rhode Island in 1900, 6500 in 1910, and 8725 in 1920, the Portuguese group in 1920, counting the first generation of descendants, numbered 15,350.

The Portuguese had come first as sailors and longshoremen principally, finding employment as deck hands on steamships and as stevedores. As immigration from Portugal increased, farmers came, who settled in rural towns. Newport and Bristol Counties received large groups of Portuguese farmers, although the Portuguese were by no means confined to these counties, going to other places where the soil promised reasonable returns from their methods of husbandry. Other Portuguese found employment in factories. The early Portuguese were from Portugal, direct or through New Bedford, which was one of the earliest New England ports of entry for Portuguese. Later migration included Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands, many dark-skinned and called Bravas from the place named Brava. By 1920 Bravas had become segregated in Providence along South Main Street and the Providence River front of the East side; while Portuguese in large numbers had filled up a large part of the India Point section of Providence. Part of the immigration of Bravas was direct to Narragansett Bay in small wooden sailing vessels, little more than seaworthy and sometimes condemned because their zealous ship-ping masters had overloaded with passengers.

The census of 1900 reported 3300 Russians in Rhode Island; there were 9765 in 1910 and 10,471 in 1920, or 20,429 if the first generation born in America were counted as Russian. The World War had interrupted an immigration that was proceeding at an accelerated rate by 1910. Much alike was immigration from Austria; there were 1450 Austrians in Rhode Island in 1900, 6130 in 1910, and 7638 in 1920, or 15,035 in 1920 if the first generation born in America

were included. This immigration from eastern countries of Europe was paralleled in smaller numbers, relative to the size of the countries of origin, from Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece of Eastern Europe and principally the Balkan States; and also from parts of Western Asia, including Asia Minor and the neighborhood of the southern shore of the Black Sea.

Immigration direct from France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Spain never had been heavy; of these countries only France and Belgium were represented by more than 1000, in any instance, of foreign-born residents of Rhode Island. Immigration from the British Isles of Irish, Scotch and English had reached low figures; that from Wales never had been considerable. Thus Rhode Island in 1920 with only thirty-one percent of its population born in the United States of native born parents, faced the problem of assimilating a type of immigration which was handicapped, besides by language, by radically different outlook on life, racial traditions and practices. Rhode Island was already cosmopolitan with its large groups of Irish, French, English and Italians, and with growing contingents of Portuguese, Russians and Austrians.

EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION—Rhode Island was paying a price in the changing nature of its population for the prosperity of its factories; the latter, demanding labor in vast quantities, had drawn workers from all but the corners of the globe from which immigration had been excluded. The effects of immigration, stimulated by the appeal of the factories, were readily recognized in the segregated social groups in cities and towns. In the "foreign" sections other languages than English were commonly used in most transactions, and in the shops business was conducted in a jargon which was a mixture of American names for money and commodities of exclusively American provenance, the American slang which the newcomers heard so frequently reiterated that they were induced to accept it as "good American," and the vernacular tongue of the predominating racial group. The sections were so well defined as to lend themselves readily to delineation by map drawing. In the cities of the ancient world, and in some cities of mediaeval Europe tradesmen were segregated according to occupation. "Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios," said Cicero to Cataline.\* Lombardy Street in London derived its name from Lombards from Italy whose shops were established in the section occupied by goldbeaters and workers in precious metals. In Rhode Island the sections resemble more nearly the "nations" in mediaeval universities, which gathered to themselves students from all parts of Europe; yet the "nations" in the universities had the saving grace of using Latin as a universal language. Want of a language universal in the sense of being used by everybody, as Latin was used in the mediaeval universities and as it is still used in many European universities as the language of instruction and as the language for communication between students from all nations, is the most compelling factor in determining segregation of racial groups in Rhode Island.

In the state census of 1925 the classification of racial groups was made with reference to the map of Europe as remade after the World War; hence the figures are not satisfactory for use in making comparisons with the statistics of the federal census for any earlier period. Poland, as an instance, had been restored as a national state, and in the enumeration of 1925 many persons who had been counted theretofore as Austrians, Germans or Russians were listed as Poles. Because of drastic limitation of immigration in recent years and the operation of rules of "national origin" in determining quotas, changes in Rhode Island since 1925 have not been so marked as in earlier periods. The following table, based upon the Rhode Island state census of 1925, shows the number of persons of foreign birth resident in Rhode Island, and the distribution by national origin and by counties:

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\*"I say that you on the previous night visited the section of the scythemakers."—First Oration against Cataline.

FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 1925.

	Bristol County	Kent County	Newport County	Providence County	Washington County	State Total
Canada-French .....	897	3,408	458	30,426	359	35,548
Italy .....	2,186	1,608	461	28,793	1,623	34,671
England .....	602	1,426	913	22,986	958	26,885
Ireland .....	429	498	1,731	16,006	336	19,800
Portugal .....	1,774	700	1,013	5,370	190	8,876
Russia .....	66	117	286	7,446	79	7,994
Poland .....	349	488	52	6,037	161	7,087
Scotland .....	101	309	375	5,356	383	6,524
Sweden .....	61	1,016	302	4,974	96	6,449
Canada-English .....	151	415	357	4,261	119	5,303
Germany .....	78	1,921	205	2,676	92	4,972
Atlantic Isles .....	648	99	896	939	6	2,588
Armenia .....	3	7	6	2,103	2	2,121
France .....	38	108	76	1,734	48	2,004
Austria .....	22	53	80	1,820	21	1,996
Belgium .....	3	154	12	1,669	16	1,854
Greece .....	8	26	234	1,075	26	1,369
Syria .....	40	7	37	1,164	27	1,275
Norway .....	26	50	83	403	16	578
Lithuania .....	..	3	1	411	..	415
Others .....	299	272	316	3,440	165	4,492
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>7,781</b>	<b>12,685</b>	<b>7,894</b>	<b>149,889</b>	<b>4,552</b>	<b>182,801</b>
Native born .....	17,861	34,746	33,671	384,953	25,228	496,459
Per cent. foreign-born..	30.35	26.74	18.99	28.06	15.28	20.91

In the table the arrangement of nations is with descending order from largest to smaller contingents. Canadian-French, Italians, English and Irish constituted the largest groups. In the five years between 1920 and 1925 Canadian-French, Italian, English, Portuguese, German, French, Belgian, Greek, Syrian and Norwegian foreign-born population had increased, and Irish, Scotch, Swedish and Canadian-English had decreased. Russian and Austrian foreign-born population also had decreased, but the changes were related to the 7087 persons classified as Poles and 415 as Lithuanians. Atlantic Islanders and Armenians were new groups not distinguished in the federal census of 1920. Besides the twenty groups separated, there were nearly 5000 other persons of foreign birth residing in Rhode Island. Of the foreign-born population one-third was from countries in which English is the common language; and two-thirds from countries of origin which indicated that they were non-English speaking unless they were bilinguals.

The distribution of foreign-born population by counties reflected the influence of factories in attracting immigrants to Rhode Island; thus Washington County, with little manufacturing relatively and practically none otherwise than in the neighborhoods of Wickford and Peacedale, and along the Pawcatuck River, had the smallest percentage of foreign-born population. Newport County was next in order for similar reasons with reference to manufacturing, although the rich soil of Newport County had attracted Portuguese farmers, and the fisheries had brought Greeks and other Mediterranean people and Atlantic Islanders. Bristol County had the largest percentage of foreign-born population to total population because of the combined attractions of good land for farming and of factories. Bristol and Warren had been transformed almost within a half-century from quaint seaport towns, with musty wharves reminiscent of whaling and commerce in sailing vessels and fine old colonial mansions, into factory towns with streets lined with tenements and well-defined foreign sections. Barrington also had an Italian section populated first by laborers working in the brick yards, and also a considerable number of Italians and Portuguese farmers. The lure of the textile factories in the Pawtuxet Valley appeared in the statistics for Kent County. Providence County, with factories

and cities, had foreign population in excess of the state average. Assuming only normal experience, persons born in the United States of foreign-born parents would exceed the number of foreign-born, and the population of Rhode Island of foreign origin would be in 1925 probably 400,000 of the total of 679,260.

Two other causes for segregation than nationality have had limited effect in Rhode Island. Negroes, as a rule, have lived under conditions of segregation from almost their first appearance; the reasons have been economic principally and determined by ability or willingness to pay rent. There never has been, with reference to negroes, a concerted restriction to quarters, and the separation of pupils in the public schools because of color or race was forbidden before 1870. Hebrews have preferred, in many instances, to live under conditions of segregation, perhaps as much because of the segregation which was enforced rigorously in countries of origin and because of the security felt in neighborhoods occupied principally by Hebrews, as for any other reasons. In distinctly Hebrew quarters the Hebrew international language, Yiddish, is the vernacular. The Hebrew has been eager to learn English for the economic, if for no other, advantages that accrue from possession of the common language. He has experienced little difficulty in acquiring residential or business property by purchase, or by rental, the essential consideration being his willingness to pay. He, too, like others who have come to Rhode Island with the wish to become identified with the life of the state, has advanced in business and in the professions, and in the esteem of his fellow-citizens as he has merited it.

**TOLERATION IN PRACTICE**—Rhode Island has been fortunate, indeed, that the invading armies of immigrants have brought with them little of the racial hatreds which have distressed the Old World, and that there has been so little of race consciousness and conflict in state and municipal politics. There have been blocs, to be sure; to deny the existence of racial jealousy and to assert perfect harmony in Rhode Island would be so much at variance with human nature as to suggest that the millenium had arrived. The truth is that, in view of the large number of foreign birth or foreign origin, and the diversity of race cultures represented, there has been a minimum of racial controversy that is most remarkable. The reason is probably no other than Rhode Island toleration in practice. The earliest immigrants experienced from Rhode Islanders a toleration which was almost unique and unprecedented. The immigrants appreciated toleration, and they learned how much toleration can contribute to human happiness, both for the person who is tolerated and for the person who exemplifies toleration in his own life. Toleration has expanded until it is universal among good Rhode Islanders; it is still the leaven working in the mass, the great process producing assimilation gradually, in spite of the almost overwhelming new population. Toleration is promoted by understanding, and Rhode Island has undertaken two measures to hasten complete understanding. These are universal education for literacy, and the use of the English language as a common speech.

**ROLE OF THE SCHOOL**—The history of Rhode Island education, and particularly of the development of the public school system, has been treated in other chapters; the discussion here is limited to the twin problems of literacy and a common language, so far as these are related to immigration. Statistics of illiteracy earlier than 1850 are scarcely reliable; even those gathered after 1850 must be interpreted with the caution that the definitions of literacy and illiteracy have varied from time to time, and that there is no substantial agreement as to exact meaning, even in the twentieth century. Literacy may mean the ability (1) to read any language or (2) to write any language or (3) to read *and* write any language, or (4) to read a particular language, or (5) to write a particular language, or (6) to read *and* write a particular language or (7) to write the person's own name. A Chinaman, for instance, might be classified as literate under definition 1 if able to read Chinese, and at the same moment as illiterate under definition 4 if not able to read English. The Rhode Island statutes carry two definitions of literacy; thus a child under sixteen years of age, applying for release from school for employ-



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ment, must be able *to read at sight and to write legibly simple sentences in the English language*, whereas the obligation to attend Americanization classes ends when a person can *read and write and speak the English language* with facility equivalent to standards established by the State Board of Education.

Statistics for the period between 1850 and 1870 indicated a steady increase of illiteracy for the twenty years among adult inhabitants of Rhode Island. Immigration at the time was principally from countries in which English was the common language, and no significant fraction of the population used any other language than English; hence illiteracy was related to proficiency in reading and writing English. The figures for illiteracy, reduced to percentages of total population, were: 2.4 percent for 1850, 3.5 percent for 1860, 5.5 percent for 1865, and 7.7 percent for 1870. The statistics were used at the time without analysis as proof of an alleged need for stricter enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws. As a matter of fact, revealed by analysis of the statistics, there had been during the period an actual decrease in the number of illiterate native-born adult inhabitants of Rhode Island; and there had been no increase of illiteracy among colored population, much as the latter might be expected to follow migration from the South following the war between the states. The increase in adult illiteracy was among foreign-born inhabitants, and was due principally to immigration. As a practical measure for combatting adult illiteracy and for reaching particularly youth beyond school age at the time of arrival in Rhode Island, evening schools were promoted by an appropriation from the general treasury for apportionment to towns and cities. The compulsory attendance statute was revised and strengthened for the effect that better legislation might have on native-born children or immigrant children of school age.

The annual school census statute of 1878, requiring an annual enumeration of persons of school age, within the few years necessary to make the count reliable, had begun to reveal through unimpeachable evidence the large numbers of children and youth who were not receiving instruction in any school. The Commissioner of Public Schools\* in 1884 reported: "Each successive census has revealed a steady natural growth in the population of the whole state, and more than a corresponding increase in the number of non-attendants at school. The proportion of such persons by the present census is over twenty-five percent of the whole school population. The significant fact to be noted in connection with these figures is that the rates of increase for non-attendance is greater than that of the increase in the number of children, and that has been the case since the beginning of the school census. This shows beyond a doubt that we have actually lost ground in our contest with ignorance, instead of gaining or even maintaining our position. At the same time the State Board of Education, in its annual reports to the General Assembly, regretted conspicuous illiteracy in Rhode Island only less than the Assembly's apparent unwillingness to enact measures which should make attendance actually compulsory and which should make the enforcement of attendance laws practically effective. The Board asserted that not more than a quarter of inhabitants of foreign birth could sign their own names.

Manufacturers at the time, while not opposed to education, were not enthusiastic supporters of proposed legislation, the effect of which would be to deprive them of the profits believed to accrue from the employment of child labor. Many of them had been actively interested in promoting immigration, including children, with the purpose of obtaining labor to fill up their factories; it was not part of their plans to send the children to school after bringing them to Rhode Island to work. In later years, after Congress had outlawed the importation of contract labor the manufacturers opposed, less and less openly, however, as time went on, measures to extend the years of required school attendance and to make compulsory attendance laws more effective.

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\*Afterward the title of office became "Commissioner of Education."

Counting from 1844, when the Rhode Island General Assembly enacted the first American child labor and compulsory attendance legislation,<sup>†</sup> almost three-quarters of a century elapsed before the compulsory attendance statute was perfected in 1916. After that the most significant legislation related to the education of children and attendance at school was the statute of 1922, which required an accurate correlation of the annual school census and school attendance records in such manner as to account for every person between the ages of four and twenty-one. Opposition by manufacturers had been withdrawn previous to 1916 for reasons which included demonstration by cost accounting that child labor had not been so profitable as had been believed. The effect of compulsory attendance laws in force in 1930 should be to limit adult illiteracy among persons born in Rhode Island and living in the state through childhood and youth to the fraction less than one percent that represents those mentally or physically incapable of learning to read and write; native-born illiteracy might continue at a larger percentage because of migration to Rhode Island of persons born and passing childhood years in states in which less attention is given to the education of children. Similar effects might be expected among adults who as immigrants reached Rhode Island within the years of school age.

Statistics published by the Federal Bureau of Education based on the federal census of 1920 indicated less than two percent of illiteracy in Rhode Island for ages ten to twenty-five, and a gain through decrease of 4.43 percent from 6.21 percent in 1890. The gain is attributed properly to excellent elementary schools and effective enforcement of compulsory attendance. Illiteracy of 1.78 percent among persons aged ten to twenty-five resulted from immigration. With Rhode Island in a group of fourteen states having more than one and less than two percent of illiteracy were California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Wyoming, mostly industrial and mining states, which have borne the brunt of immigration.

The school laws of Rhode Island never have required positively that instruction in the public schools shall be in the English language. The law assumes English and the state has never faced the predicament which might arise in the event that a racial group become so thoroughly entrenched in the control and administration of a town government, including the school committee, that the latter might, at the request or dictation of the bloc, prescribe a course of study for the public schools excluding English as the language taught principally and as the language of instruction, and substituting another language. Two provisions in law appear as possible correctives, viz: (1) Courses of study, as prescribed by a school committee, are not legally effective unless approved by the Commissioner of Education; and (2) release from school for employment between ages fifteen and sixteen years follows demonstration of literacy in English. The Commissioner no doubt could find in the latter ample justification for a decision overruling the school committee's exclusion of English. The purpose of making English the language of the schools of Rhode Island appears also in the requirement that instruction in private schools shall include English and shall be in the English language if attendance on private instruction is offered as compliance with compulsory attendance laws; and also in the Americanization statute, which requires instruction in English for persons between sixteen and twenty-one years of age who are not literate in English, and in the resolutions authorizing state support for home classes for women. The State Board of Education in its annual report in 1884, pointed to the situation in Rhode Island at the time as affected by immigration thus: "The urgency is intensified when we consider the vast immigration that is pouring itself from every land upon us, and the fact that the native American population does not increase so rapidly as the foreign-born. At the present rate, the time is not very far distant when those of mixed and foreign parentage will be in the majority. These speculations do not alarm us with an immediate danger, but they do call for immediate provisions against evils great enough, if not provided against, to wreck the nation. The danger to civilization today is not from without but from within. The

<sup>†</sup>Carroll D. Wright and all others to the contrary notwithstanding.

heterogeneous masses must be made homogeneous. Those who inherit the traditions of other and hostile nations; those who are bred under diverse influences and hold foreign ideas; those who are supported by national aspirations not American; must be inducted into the life and spirit of this New World and must be assimilated and Americanized." The board's remedy for the situation was effective compulsory attendance legislation.

The board had recognized the change in the nature of immigration already underway as that from the British Isles was slackening, and immigrants from French Canada and from countries in Europe in which English was not the common language was increasing steadily in volume. Along with the difference in language went the diversity in culture which the board had noted. Legislation had already incorporated recognition of the language problem. The absence and truancy act of 1883 required attendance at public day school or approved private school, but limited approval by school committee to private schools in which the instruction was in the English language and thorough and efficient. Approval could not be refused because of religious instruction. The Canadian French had already undertaken measures to preserve their language, including the organization of schools.

The statute of 1883 may be explained in terms of toleration; in its general provisions Rhode Island had reached two generations earlier the position taken by the Supreme Court of the United States when several statutes enacted in as many western states during or immediately following the World War reached the court for decisions as to constitutionality. The Supreme Court upheld the right of a parent to provide instruction for his children in languages other than English, although sustaining the public right to require instruction in English as a common language; the Court also sustained the parent's right to provide private instruction, while maintaining the public right to require instruction. The effect of the Rhode Island Statute of 1883, if complied with in letter and in spirit, would be to assure literacy in English for children born in and remaining in Rhode Island, and instruction in English for children born outside Rhode Island who came to the state during the years of school age. Its most significant effect would be among the rising generation; it might, unless the flood of immigration became an inundation, restrict the language problem to concern for persons who came as immigrants, with reasonable alleviation due to the wish to learn the common language which might be anticipated in the instances of most immigrants unless there were some paramount reason contrary.

Perhaps the persistent insistence of the French upon their language was not realized at the time. Among other races there was little opposition to English, although some established and maintained supplementary schools for teaching other languages. As an instance, Germans in Providence supported a Saturday school for teaching German. Other races also supported public newspapers printed in languages other than English, and societies the membership of which was recruited principally, if not exclusively, from racial groups were common. In most instances these societies were as earnest in promoting the Americanization of their members as in preserving foreign culture; they helped to solve the problems of the period of assimilation. Except for occasional discussion the language question remained in the status suggested by the legislation of 1883 until the World War, along with its revelation of other discomfiting information as to health and nutrition, preparedness, and many other things, brought questions as to the efficiency of the American public school system to public attention. The large number of illiterates among volunteers and drafted men; the limited education revealed by tests, and the number of drafted men who could not speak and understand English aroused the nation. Rhode Island's reaction appeared in the Americanization Act of 1919, which ordered the establishment of literacy schools in certain towns and cities, and required attendance in Americanization schools of persons between sixteen and twenty-one years of age who could not read, write and speak English. The Americanization bill encountered opposition in the General Assembly and emerged with measures enacted on the last day of the session.

The immediate effects of the Americanization law were encouraging to the promoters. Classes were organized in many towns and cities, and the enrollment included almost so many who were eligible for instruction but not required to attend, as of those who were subject to the compulsory provisions. The work was supplemented in 1927 by provision for state-supported home classes for women, purposing to make instruction in English and for literacy convenient for women whose household duties practically inhibited attendance on public instruction. In the revision of the school statute in 1922, which followed a survey of finance and administration, the approval of private schools for attendance was transferred from school committees to the State Board of Education. The measure was opposed vigorously in the General Assembly by French Canadian members, who were supported in their effort to defeat the bill by the Democratic party.\* Two years later, because of continued opposition by French Canadians, the approval of private schools was restored to school committees, and the statutory requirement of teaching English was stated in terms of definite specification of subjects and time. The French opposition to the act of 1922 was related to the French purpose of maintaining racial solidarity through the French language; and the French belief that their schools were threatened with loss of approval by the transfer from local to state officers, and that the measure was aimed specifically at the ultimate suppression of foreign language teaching. The fear might be justified in a state less tolerant than Rhode Island.

THE PIONEER STATE—Rhode Island continued as a pioneer state even in the twentieth century, its contacts with new and puzzling situations lying principally within its own boundaries. Its population was almost as diverse in origin as might be found along the remotest far-flung line marking the furthest extension of civilization, or as might be found in a mining camp following the discovery of rich deposits of gold. Within the same town or city one might pass from section to section finding changes almost kaleidoscopic in the nature of the environment, and suggesting foreign travel as the quarters of one or another of the races of foreign origin were visited. Strange languages were heard in the streets; strange commodities were displayed in shop windows. Thus had the quintessence of heterogeneity been attained, and thus it was being maintained, with race segregation and preservation of Old World languages as the most significant factors.

But here is a public schoolhouse, floating the American flag from its staff; within teachers and pupils, engaged busily in the tasks of instruction and learning and all using the English language. We ask to see the teacher's register, and glance at the list of names. Once Kelley and Burke and Shea mingled with Angell and Olney and Smith; now the register includes the names of Americans, English, Irish, French, Italians, Greeks, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, and others—Americans all in the public school, all learning to be better Americans. This is the promise for an ultimate homogeneity in Rhode Island, which will break down the barriers between sections and unite all in democracy. This is the institution which is building a better understanding among races in the exercises in common in the public school, in the games played together in the schoolhouse yard, in the intersectional athletic contests, and in the celebration of patriotic holidays. Americans all—without respect to countries of origin—they have adopted George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln, as their national heroes. Their ancestors fought through the Revolutionary War to establish independence from Europe, their ancestors were with Perry on Lake Erie, their ancestors saved the union. For most of these good Americans in the making, the ancestors have been adopted, as have the Flag, and America.

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\*Chapter XXXIII.

## CHAPTER XLII.

### GOD'S COZY CORNER IN NEW ENGLAND.



RECORD of Rhode Island weather made in 1884 showed an average temperature for the year of 49.5 degrees, the highest being 94 degrees and the lowest 10 degrees below zero. The average temperature for the coldest month, January, was 24.3 degrees; for the hottest month, August, the average temperature was 70.1 degrees. Twice during the year the wind blew 33 miles an hour; on only four days it failed to reach four miles per hour; the average velocity for the year was nine miles. The rainfall for the year was 57.8 inches. A record of temperature kept for twenty-five years from 1904 to 1929 by the Providence station of the Weather Bureau showed an average temperature for the entire period of 50 degrees, the highest temperature being 100 degrees, registered on July 22, 1926, and the lowest, 12 degrees below zero, on December 30, 1917. The average mean temperatures month by month for the quarter-century were: January, 27; February, 29; March, 36; April, 47; May, 58; June, 68; July, 73; August, 71; September, 63; October, 52; November, 40; December, 32. In the same period the average variation between highest and lowest temperature within a month was 47 degrees, and the variation between highest and lowest months was 46 degrees. The temperature record for 1884 could be included in the average record for twenty-five years beginning a generation later without changing the figures significantly. The differences of half a degree in annual average temperature, 49.5 and 50, and of two-tenths of a degree, 35.8 and 36, in the range between highest and lowest monthly averages, become negligible when divided by 26. The statistics tend to prove that Rhode Island climate is not changing materially, and that the present continues with much the same excellence the climate which was admired even before white men came as settlers.

Rhode Island has a mild, temperate, invigorating climate, whether the measure be maximum variation within periods or the variation in average temperatures. On the other hand, Rhode Island has a climate subject to an orderly seasonable change corresponding closely to the Julian calendar, which placed winter between the solstice of Capricorn, December 22, and the vernal equinox, March 22, and spring, summer and autumn in successive quarters. In winter the severe cold that might be expected in the latitude of Rhode Island is moderated by a great abundance of fresh water in rivers and ponds, and salt water in Narragansett Bay, which must be reduced in temperature before the atmosphere can become intensely cold; in summer excessive heat draws cooling breezes in over ocean and bay to replace air rising as it is warmed. Narragansett Bay, opening directly south and toward the Gulf Stream, and Cape Cod, shutting off cold North Atlantic currents, both have significant effects on Rhode Island climate. As compared with points outside the state, north, east and west, Rhode Island has a more even temperature, much smaller snowfall and generally lower velocity of wind. In winter the normal fall of temperature is easily offset by heating homes and wearing slightly heavier outer clothing; house construction requires no extra strength of roof beams to carry snow and ice, no lining or double plastering of outer walls to exclude excessive cold, no extra pressure on heating systems, all of which are necessary in other parts of New England and in places elsewhere in the same and higher latitudes. In summer the prevailing southerly to southwesterly winds sweep in over the ocean, and are both cooling and bracing. The majority of days are fair and pleasant, yet the annual precipitation, including rain and snow, is sufficient to guarantee against drought, shortage of normal water supply or serious loss of crops. Most of the arable land may be made to produce abundantly without irrigation or other artificial distribution of water; on the other

hand, water is so plentiful that truck gardeners may, with little extra expenditure, install pumping and sprinkling devices which assure water against the probable variation of natural showers.

There is no monotony in Rhode Island climate; variation proceeds within limits in a pattern so intricate as to suggest endless variety. There are no extremes of either continued severe cold or severe heat. Her own hills add to the beauty of the countryside; the higher hills of neighboring states shut off the cold blasts of winter from the north, east and west. Narragansett Bay is not only New England's choicest harbor for commerce, but around it God built pleasant places, and on it He showered the blessing of a wonderful climate. This is the Summer Land of the Sagas, "with her valleys pointing to the south, whose water flowed to the four cardinal points, whose water was of such purity as to be termed fountains of perpetual youth, whose brooks were filled with fish enough to feed all mankind, whose valleys had game fitted for the Gods, whose valleys and hills were covered with flowers becoming Eden, whose fruits were given by the gods, whose men were giants and who worshipped from the tops of the hills and paid devotion to the great water."\* The Indians called the country "Narragansett," and when Roger Williams pressed for the meaning of the word he was told "to go south and to the top of a hill, and gaze south and he would *see* for himself." Roger Williams went to the top of Sugar Loaf Hill, looked south and *saw* a small island. He was mistaken, however; he had failed to notice the warm wind from the Gulf Stream blowing directly into his face from the south, which should have given him the key to translating "Narragansett" as "Summer Land." In other respects Rhode Island conforms to the Sagas—valleys opening to the south, water flowing north, south, east and west, pure water in never-failing springs, fish in abundance where water is not obstructed or polluted, game in the wild land, trees and flowering shrubs of southern habitat found nowhere else in New England, fruits with flavor unequalled by the fruit growers elsewhere, and the noble Narragansett Indians, priestly caste among the Eastern tribes.

Even in later years, when Rhode Island had become a manufacturing state, climate was a blessing—mildness in winters prevented the freezing of streams that would destroy factory water-wheels or prevent operation by ice locking; in summer cooling breezes tempered factory heat, and gave relief in evening and night. Rhode Island never has boasted of its climate; Rhode Island climate never has needed the lavish praise which has been heaped upon the climates of Florida and California, until one might be justified in suspecting that, like the pie which every diner ate as if it was his duty, they were sadly in need of praise. Rhode Island has had no land to sell, and no great areas to populate.

It might be simple and easy to explain why Rhode Islanders who have yielded to wanderlust long to return to their native state on the basis of the sociological theory of isothermic migration; assuming the truth of the law that population moves with the sun on lines of equal temperature, there is no place to which a Rhode Islander might go and find the parallel of his native climate. Florida is much too far south, too nearly tropical to be attractive to a Rhode Islander for more than a month or two in winter; in Florida the heat of summer is intolerable to one who has breathed the refreshing winds from Narragansett Bay. By its monotony the climate of California palls upon the taste of a Rhode Islander; he was not born for unending summer, nor the unchanging length of continued wet or dry seasons. His home winter is broken from time to time by a day seemingly misplaced from the calendar for June; and late in October or early in November comes the Indian summer of rare delight. Spring weaves the marvellous panorama of reviving life in nature out of doors. No human eye ever gazes twice upon the same aspect of the starry firmament, which in the orderly movement of star and planet reproduces the same picture only once in the period of 25,000 years that marks the completion of the precession of the equinoxes. And thus it is with Rhode Island climate—spring, summer,

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\*"The Great Secret," James N. Arnold.

autumn and winter, but never the same spring this year as last or next or again within the memory of man.

**INDESTRUCTIBLE BEAUTY**—The beauty of Rhode Island was so marked in the natural state that the white man has not been able to destroy it with his factories and cities, his roads and bridges, his leveling of hills and filling of valleys; Rhode Island is a beautiful state at the end of three centuries in which the white man has refashioned the landscape to suit his own purposes. He cut down Study Hill to make way for a freight and switching yard at the railway junction near Valley Falls. He leveled Fox or Corky Hill, one of the landmarks which had guided Roger Williams in the trip from Seekonk in 1636 to the Moshassuck, and dumped the surplus earth and stone into the Seekonk River, burying the State Rock, from which the Indians had greeted Roger Williams and his companions. He filled up the great Cove in Providence, and the river banks until the wide spreading Providence River had been forced back into narrow courses, and these almost covered with bridges. His steam shovels have cut into Fort Hill, until the ancient fortification is threatened. He removed Fields Point utterly, building instead a municipal dock. The rights of way of railroads have run through great gashes in rolling hills, or out over fills where ponds or lakes have been bisected or small streams bridged. To store water in reservoirs for drinking or to hold back water in rivers to suit his time for use in manufacturing processes, he has dammed streams and has created new ponds and lakes, filling great valleys with water. He has cut down forests. In building roads he has forsaken the winding Indian trails which sought levels by avoiding hills, and instead has gashed his way through hills and moved the debris into the lower places, binding his towns and cities together with bands of cement almost as straight as the military roads built by Roman engineers. And yet, in spite of all that has been changed, many times with utter disregard of natural loveliness, so much has been left, because God was bountiful in blessing His cozy corner in New England, that no Rhode Islander need travel far from his own doorstep to gain a vantage point from which to satisfy his eye's longing for beautiful vistas.

If, as tradition relates, Roger Williams and a companion climbed the abrupt hillside to the east of the settlement made near the spring of cool clear water by the bank of the Moshassuck River, they might look from the top eastward over the rolling country with an intervening brook into the wide valley of the Seekonk River, far south over the broadening Providence River and the upper reaches of Narragansett Bay so locked by islands as to have the appearance of a vast inland lake, west over the beautiful Woonasquatucket Valley to towering Neutaconkanut Hill, Mount Pleasant and the rolling hills far flung toward Connecticut and north up the Valley of the Moshassuck decked with the beauty of primæval forests. No doubt the band of pioneers from Pocasset who explored the Island of Rhode Island before selecting Newport as the site for a second settlement climbed Butts or some other of the hills which dominated the northern end of the island and from the elevation viewed the unparalleled panorama of Narragansett Bay—north and west open waterways between wooded islands, wide roadsteads where navies might anchor in quiet water stretching in blue ribbons far as the eye could see. Northeast lay Mount Hope rising majestically as fit seat for brooding King Philip of Pokanoket, and to the right the bay which takes its name from the mount, bathing the foot of the palisaded wall now occupied by Fall River. East and south lay the beautiful Seaconnet River, not a river at all, but an estuary in and out of which the water whirls and eddies north and south with the tide, and to the east of the river fine headlands along the Tiverton and Little Compton shores. Southward the land sloped away, with an occasional rise to preserve the characteristic rolling nature of a Rhode Island countryside, on past Bliss Hill and Tonomy Hill to the Atlantic Ocean, piling surf on white beaches and pounding cliffs or carrying on incessant warfare against the dominating headlands at Seaconnet Point and Point Judith. If the day were clear, Block Island might be glimpsed far out to sea and on the west McSparran Hill and Tower Hill and the ridge of highlands guarding the Narragansett country.

Fine views of the Seaconnet River and the still lovely eastern shores of the Island of Rhode Island may be had from the heights of Tiverton or Windmill Hill in Little Compton. Few vistas can equal that which greeted Weetamoe, the Wampanoag Indian Queen, from her favorite seat near the Outlook at Tiverton; it remains practically unchanged, its beauty challenging an artist to transfer it to canvas and to retain its natural loveliness. From McSparran or Tower Hill another panorama begins in the east with the Narrow River Valléy, the beaches on the Narragansett shore, and out beyond the West Passage, Conanicut and Dutch Islands, with Newport in the distance, and beyond on clear days, Seaconnet Point; off to the south, Point Judith and the surging Atlantic Ocean, with Block Island, perhaps; west, the beautiful Narragansett country and the Johnny Cake Trail, with Little Rest cutting off a view which might sweep on to the lakes near the eastern sources of the Pawcatuck. Other South County Hills, stretching in uneven series westward, yield other views of countryside, small streams with quiet pools and rocky waterfalls, lakes and ponds in profusion, and the ocean to the south. In the Narragansett country some of the hillsides are still covered with rhododendron, laurel and holly, and in spring recall the hills "covered with flowers becoming Eden" described in the Sagas. Further west Watch Hill overlooks the ocean, Fisher's Island, Long Island Sound, Little Narragansett Bay and the winding valleys of the two branches of the Pawcatuck River. Northward rise other hills, including Nooseneck Hill, made accessible by a fine state highway and rewarding the traveler with wonderful vistas of pleasant countrysides, valleys and other hills, with here and there a village almost hidden by trees. Other hills afford vantage points from which to trace the winding Pawtuxet River and the Flat River Valleys, and to view the broad lake created by the building of the new Providence reservoir in the valley of the north branch of the Pawtuxet in Scituate and the beautiful rolling hills around Clayville west and south of the reservoir. Now and then a hill juts out from the ridges which mark the watersheds between rivers, and reveals a view of the western hill country of Rhode Island against the background of Connecticut, or far to the east a winding ribbon of silver or of blue set in emerald, marking the course of Narragansett Bay.

The hills of Cumberland look down upon the Blackstone Valley, the favored natural course of a wild and turbulent river hurtling through rocky gorges and rolling huge stones along during spring freshets. Once when the glacier closed its old path through the valley now occupied by the Moshassuck, the Blackstone turned and hewed a new rock-bound channel to enter the Seekonk estuary at Pawtucket Falls. Now the Blackstone is a giant dammed to rest in quiet ponds and lakes until his master, man, directs his mighty current through sluices and under mill wheels. West of the Blackstone Valley are more hills, the valley of the Branch River, ponds and lakes and small streams, and vast stretches of primæval forests. The hills of Rhode Island are seldom in orderly ranges, and there are no mountains; hill succeeds hill with valleys in between, and always water of pond or lake or stream, mirroring wooded hillsides, or when seen from hilltops topaz-hued in emerald.

Rhode Island remains well forested even after three centuries of white occupation, principally because the population lives for the most part in compact villages, towns or cities, instead of the open-country scattered farmhouse which is more common elsewhere. Save when a city stretches a desert of roofs and chimneys with an occasional tower or spire or dome, houses are masked by trees, and villages hidden. Even the cities, such is the open building favored by mild winters, have trees aplenty in streets and yards, so that the view from outside from towering hill may be relieved by tree tops thrust upward through the rows of roofs, and the picture be one which suggests clustering houses set in natural groves. Rhode Island cities have few rows of close-built tenements or apartments; the prevailing type of house is open on four sides and surrounded by areas for gardens, lawns and trees. Older streets are lined with trees. Old trees have been preserved and new trees planted, such as the fine rows of lindens with which John Sheehan lined Power Street in Providence. A quarter-century ago thousands of young trees



CLIFF WALK, NEWPORT



were planted in the streets of Providence in an effort to preserve the tradition of a city beautiful with trees. "In whatever direction one looks from any lofty vantage point, the city," wrote one lover of Providence, "seems to be almost wholly built in the midst of flourishing groves from which only the taller buildings dare raise their roofs. The native as well as the visitor is often surprised to discover that some even of the more congested and sordid districts that give no hint of having trees as one passes along their streets, are nevertheless dominated by towering trees tucked away in backyards, but ready to assert themselves when one looks down from a particularly tall building or an airplane." Fine as are spring and summer landscapes when foliage is green, or winter scenes of evergreens against a background of snow, the autumnal picture surpasses the possibility of description, with its dazzling mingling of yellow, scarlet, bronze and green of changing leaves. Wooded hillsides are ablaze with flaming glory; such are the views from Little Rest across the valley to the west, and along the railroad through the South County great swamp, from Nooseneck Hill, and from northern hillsides across valleys, or from valleys up the towering hillsides.

From the islands in Narragansett Bay, or from the shores, out across the estuary in the thirty-mile penetration of Rhode Island, beautiful water views greet the eye. The traveler by boat watches an unfolding panorama of delight. Finally the Rhode Islander who wishes the exhilaration of an ocean voyage and life in mid-ocean may sail to Block Island by steamer from Providence or Newport, or by fishing boat from Newport or the salt pond near Point Judith, experiencing all the joys, and it may be, tribulations as well, of life at sea, and stay so long as he cares to, miles away from the mainland and its busy life and cares. For Block Island is a little world by itself, with quaint ways and a sturdy type of inhabitant, proud of his island home and independent in his thinking, courageous in the daily life upon the water which brings him face to face with nature's realities, adventurous and resourceful. The area of the island is eleven square miles; the terrain consists of rolling hills and valleys, the latter so numerous that nearly 300 lakes and ponds and peat bogs are hidden in them. The land rises gradually in a general slant from north to south, from sea level to a height of 150 feet along the cliffs which face Europe across the otherwise unbroken Atlantic Ocean. The highest part is Beacon Hill, near the centre of the island, rising 234 feet, and on clear days disclosing a panorama of tossing ocean on all sides. Far away to the north the beaches of South County, Rhode Island, stretching on toward Watch Hill and the Connecticut shore, may be seen; off to the west, Montauk Point, at the eastern end of Long Island; and to the east, beyond Seaconnet Point, the southern shore of Massachusetts. The visitor to Block Island is as much at sea as if he were on an ocean liner; no air reaches him save breezes from the ocean laden with the ozone of the sea.

**METROPOLITAN PARK SYSTEM**—Rhode Island has undertaken to preserve some of the beautiful places. By gift or purchase the Metropolitan Park Commission has acquired twenty-five parks and reservations with a total of 3000 acres. The largest reservation is the newest, a wild life sanctuary in Washington County. Next in size is Goddard Memorial Park at Potoswomut in the town of Warwick, 472 acres of forest, field and beach, a memorial to Robert Hale Ives Goddard, given to the State of Rhode Island in 1927 by Robert Hale Ives Goddard and the Marquise d'Andigne, children of Colonel Goddard. The forest land includes 200 acres of red and white oak, douglas fir, red and white pine and other trees planted under Colonel Goddard's direction and so well maintained as to merit characterization as "the finest example of private forestry in America." The beach has been equipped with bathhouses and dressing rooms for use by visitors. Otherwise, and save for continuing scientific forestry in the woodland reservations, the park is held in its natural condition.

Lincoln Woods, 458 acres, in the town of Lincoln, is maintained, except for winding drive-ways, almost untouched in its natural condition, with

“Steep hills and lofty groves of ash and pine,  
 Deep glens, and pools reflecting trees and sky,  
 And tiny crystal rivulets that twine  
 Among the grasses o'er the pebbly strand.

One feature of Lincoln Woods is “Druid Circle,” a boulder formation reminiscent of the Druid circles in Ireland—

“In vale, on hillsides, where dense forests grow,  
 Are mighty boulders, weather-grown and gray,  
 Left there by glaciers in the long ago  
 When our old earth was new, the wise men say.  
 And still the road winds on through woodland green  
 To vistas new and beauties yet unseen.  
 But for that winding road the place remains  
 Just as it was in those far-distant days  
 When red men roamed its hills and tilled its plains  
 And sat around their campfire's cheerful blaze.  
 \* \* \* \* \*

“A grove of peace, a woodland wild and free,  
 That we may see the face of Nature there—  
 And oft I found, as Lincoln Woods I trod  
 That Nature's vision brought me near to God.”\*

Other reservations of more than 100 acres each are Barrington Parkway along the high bluff in East Providence, from which may be seen the Providence River and upper Narragansett Bay, and across Bowers Cove and through the woods back of Squantum; Haines Memorial Park in East Providence and Barrington; Ten Mile River Reservation in East Providence. Besides these, the State holds the Mashapaug Reservation on the shore of Mashapaug Pond, Meshanticut Park and Parkway, Pawtuxet River Reservation, Troop C Park adjoining Skeleton Valley, Stillhouse Cove, and Edgewood Beach, all in Cranston; Chepibanoxet, Arnold's Neck, Narragansett Parkway, and Nausauket Beach, all in Warwick; Neutaconkanut Hill, in Johnston; Peter Randall Reservation, in North Providence; Seekonk River Reservation, in Pawtucket; Canada Pond Parkway, Corliss Park, Metcalf Field and West River Parkway, all in Providence; and Woonasquatucket Reservation, including Merino Park and Dyerville Park, lying in Johnston and Providence. The Metropolitan Park Commission's plan for further acquisition was halted temporarily; three bond issues to finance the project were approved by the people in 1906, 1912, and 1928.

**CITY PARKS**—The city of Providence has thirty-five parks and twenty-five playgrounds and recreation fields, together comprising 750 acres. The largest park is Roger Williams, 450 acres, acquired in part by devise from Betsey Williams and in part by purchase. The park surrounds a series of lakes which are used for boating and bathing in summer and for skating in winter. The park has been developed into a beautiful garden, with particular attention to landscapes, flowering plants, shrubs and trees. Other attractions at the park include museum, menagerie, deer park, boathouse, athletic building, casino, athletic field, tennis courts, and trotting track. The city erected a bronze heroic statue of Roger Williams in 1876, which was designed by Franklin Simmons of Rome. Other monuments include a bronze figure of a falconer, erected as a memorial to Elisha Dyer, and a bronze bust of D. W. Reeves, director of the concerts by the American Band, which were favorite entertainments for many years at the park, attracting thousands of listeners. A concrete bandstand was erected in 1915, and in 1924 the “Temple of Music,” gift of William C. Benedict, was dedicated. The temple cost over \$200,000.

\*“Lincoln Woods,” by Rev. John F. Sullivan.

Other large city parks in Providence include Blackstone, Neutaconkanut Hill, King, Davis, Pleasant Valley Parkway and Dexter Training Ground. Roger Williams Square marks the site of the State Rock, on which Roger Williams first landed in Providence; Hopkins Park surrounds the house of Admiral Esek Hopkins; and Fort Independence Park occupies the site of a fortification erected during the War of 1812. Garden parks are maintained at City Hall, Public Garden and Gladys Potter Garden. Parks occupying city blocks are Tockwotton, Washington Square, Franklin Square, Hayward Park, Arnold Square, and Hunt Park. Other small parks, at street junctions, are Burnside Square, Fenner Park, Admiral Hopkins Square, Abbott Park, Hospital Park, Hoppin Square, Columbus Park and Columbia Park. Prospect Terrace, on the East Side Hill, affords an unusual view of the city and surrounding territory north, west and south. A new park, on the site of Roger Williams spring, gift of Justice J. Jerome Hahn, is in process of development in 1930. Blackstone Park consists principally of a natural wooded grotto stretching from Blackstone Boulevard to the banks of the Seekonk River. An even more beautiful grotto lies to the north on the grounds of Butler Asylum, which include the farm once named grotto farm. Close to the Barrington Parkway, south on the grounds of the Squantum Club, is another grotto, from which a palisaded cliff rises high as the tops of the tallest trees. One branch of a forked pathway leads into the grotto, winding around the face of the cliff; the other rises to the top of the cliff, from which an unusual view of Narragansett Bay may be had. The same mighty forces which bared the ledge at Squantum piled up the rocky islands which strew the East Providence water front from Fuller's Rock on Kettle Point, on past Pomham. The playgrounds in Providence, comprising sixty-four acres, are scattered over the city and include the Obadiah Brown farm, purchased as a site for a municipal golf course.

Besides the public beach, Ocean Avenue, and the Cliff Walk, and Miantonomi Memorial Park, Newport maintains nearly fifty acres of public parks. The public beach is one of the most famous in America; on its fine white sand the Atlantic Ocean pours a never-failing surf. The beach, a mile wide, lies between two projecting rocky headlands and shelves so gradually that thousands may bathe with little danger of drowning. The city of Newport has developed the beach property as a municipal enterprise, maintaining bathing houses and renting concessions for a variety of amusements and entertainments. During the summer season the beach lures thousands of Newporters and visitors daily. Other beaches in and near Newport are Spouting Rock Beach, the resort of members of the Newport Cottage colony; Hazard's Beach, on the Ocean Drive; Second Beach, beyond the hill at the easterly end of Newport Beach; and Sachuset Beach, called also Third Beach, along the Seaconnet River. The Ocean Drive winds for over ten miles around the southern end of the island, affording views of the Atlantic Ocean, and the gardens and lawns of fine estates. The Cliff Walk supplements Ocean Drive; it has been maintained through vigorous assertion of public right, as a promenade along the palisades fronting the ocean and the beach, and delighting visitors with a panorama of almost unparalleled beauty. The city of Newport has resisted concerted and individual action by proprietors of estates facing the Cliff Walk to close it to the public or to obstruct public use. Other parks in Newport include the reservation in Washington Square on the site of the historic Parade, and Touro Park with the Old Stone Mill.

Pawtucket has six public parks, of which Slater Memorial Park along the Ten Mile River is the largest and best developed. The Daggett House, in the park, is maintained as a Colonial museum. Other Pawtucket parks are Wilkinson, Collyer, Carter, People's and Broadway. Pawtucket maintains nine playgrounds, including a municipal athletic field. The total area of Pawtucket parks is approximately 160 acres. Central Falls, a city with an area of only 1.27 square miles, has Jenks Park, which preserves an unusual geological formation of boulders, and includes also a public garden. Woonsocket has nearly 120 acres of park land in Globe Park, Barry Memorial Field, Cold Spring Park, Cross Park and Fairmount Playground, besides

three large playgrounds. Westerly's civic centre borders Wilcox Park, a beauty spot combining natural areas with finely developed landscapes and gardens. Barrington controls a town bathing beach, and holds other lands in trust for development for park purposes. Bristol has preserved intact and open for park and recreation purposes a large part of the town's ancient common, and has had access to the public drives and walks on the Samuel P. Colt estate, which follows the water front on Narragansett Bay for several miles. The town controls a municipal bathing beach. Much of the ancient common land of Little Compton has been occupied for public purposes, including in 1929 a site for a central public school building. A remnant of the common is still open as public property.

BEAUTIFUL NEWPORT—"The climate is like that of Italy, and not at all colder in winter than I have known it everywhere north of Rome," wrote Berkeley in 1729. Narragansett Bay, with Newport as its leading seaport, was already seat of a profitable commerce, which had made the island town the most prosperous municipality on the Atlantic seaboard. Thither came commercial travelers from the ports with which trade had been established, and later other travelers, so that the town had become cosmopolitan as well as metropolitan long before Reverend Ezra Stiles began to note in his diary the names of strangers whom he met. Along with commerce the town had achieved a reputation for climate, and, even before the Revolution, had become a favorite resort for wealthy planters from southern colonies, who sought in summer relief from the excessive heat on their plantations. The town had begun to learn ways of taking profit from catering to visitors, lessons that would be helpful in the later history of the city. Newport revived tardily after the Revolution; elsewhere also the devastation of war had produced economic disturbance and distress. Eventually the tide turned, and early in the nineteenth century Newport had resumed the appearances of prosperity, although commerce had not regained its earlier importance. The reputation of the town as a pleasant summer resort brought to it an increasing number of visitors, members of wealthy families from states to the south. Hotels and boarding houses were well patronized, and Newport was profiting, although the town was as yet scarcely conscious of the possibility that its greatest sources of wealth were probably an unequalled climate, a most remarkable natural environment, and another water front than that which faced the magnificent harbor. The building of Fort Adams helped Newport, as it brought army officers and their families, and through them spread abroad tales of the beautiful surroundings and the wonderful climate.

By 1850 wealthy families were well established as annual summer residents, returning year after year, and, in some instances, buying land and building cottages. The Newport cottage at that time was a very modest establishment in comparison with the Newport cottages of a later period. In 1885 Newport was still entertaining a large part of the summer visiting population in hotels. The Ocean House, Aquidneck, Perry House, United States Hotel, Park House, Brayton House and Bellevue Avenue Hotel were rated at that time as "unexcelled by any in the country," and Newport had "a number of other good hotels of a less expensive character." Bellevue Avenue was described as "being a beautiful boulevard lined with the residences of fashionable people" and always presenting "a gay appearance from the number of their splendid equipages that during the season are continually to be seen there." Newport was even then in the process of change from a summer resort entertaining its visitors in hotels to a more exclusive type of resort centering on cottage life. Ocean Avenue was described in 1885 as facing the ocean on one side; "on the other are the palatial villas surrounded by beautiful grounds, where wealth and art have accomplished all that the highest culture and the most lavish expenditure could achieve." In the course of a few years most of the hotels had been abandoned, save one or two which persisted as commercial hotels.

Newport had become the summer resort most frequented by fashionable people and smart society, the Four Hundred as listed by Ward McAllister in his social register, or blue book, of persons eligible for invitation to exclusive functions. To Newport came the most wealthy

Americans, the millionaire society of the nineteenth century and the multi-millionaire of the twentieth. The Newport cottage colony grew apace. Newport "cottages" became magnificent mansions, among which the Vanderbilt million dollar marble palace had its place in the sun for a day and then its eclipse. The "cottages," surrounded by great landed estates with marvelous gardens and lawns, lined Ocean Avenue and the famous Cliff Walk along the ocean front of the island between the beaches. Each provided for scores of guests accommodations not equalled in the finest hotels. The owner employed a retinue of house servants, gardeners, coachmen and stablemen, besides craftsmen of various trades, under conditions such that the establishment was practically intact year after year without limitation to a short season. Each "cottage" was known by a name or by the name of the owner, and drivers of vans and carriages who guided casual visitors and day excursionists over the "cottage drive" or the "ocean drive," delighted to recite the names of owners, statistics of cost and of accommodations, and occasionally other information, including bits of racy scandal about society people. One part of Newport had become an exclusive resort for the extremely wealthy, with Bellevue Avenue in the summer time the smartest street in America, and Spouting Rock Beach and the Casino reserved as meeting places for the socially elect. The accommodations provided in large cottages robbed the hotels of what had been a very profitable patronage, and as the hotels were closed Newport society tended to become more and more exclusive.

Bellevue Avenue continued as a fashionable street thronged by the carriages of the elect. The carriages were drawn by beautifully matched horses, which were driven by owners or coachmen, the latter in livery. Footmen, in livery also, completed the equipage. So well established were horses, carriage, coachman and footman as accessories of genuinely smart society in Newport that the automobile did not replace them for years after it had become the favored vehicle elsewhere. The coach and carriage have passed, even in Newport, and coachman and footman have become chauffeur and porter, respectively. Equestrianism remains popular, and Newport has a reputation for beautiful riding horses, graceful horsemen and horsewomen. The streets and roads in the fashionable section are maintained with top dressing suitable for horses. Newport society was an aristocracy of good breeding and fine manners, to enter and continue in which wealth and leisure were necessary, although wealth alone could not assure entree and recognition. Against the merely wealthy and the *nouveau riche* an impassable barrier was maintained. Thus Newport society has established and continued traditions which have tended to stability, and families have returned in successive generations.

Jamestown, on the Island of Conanicut, reached by ferry from Newport or Saundertown, also became a famous resort, with a splendid bathing beach, fine summer hotels and cottages on favored sites. Much of the island, as it stretches from Beaver Tail to North Light, has been preserved in natural loveliness along well-kept drives. Across the bay to the west lies Saundertown, also a favorite cottage resort. Further south, at Narragansett Pier, still another summer resort rose as a rival to Newport along the beaches and behind the sand dunes fronting bay and ocean toward Point Judith. Hotels were built and magnificent cottages, including beautiful Canonchet, which Senator William Sprague erected for Kate Chase Sprague, with eighty guest chambers and other accommodations for the brilliant train of Congressmen, office-holders and politicians who followed the Spragues from Washington in the period when Kate Chase Sprague was the most charming figure and the most popular at the national capital. Narragansett Pier was known as the "Pier" the country over; to it thronged smart society people, wealthy families and men of position, Senators and Congressmen, members of the President's Cabinet, and diplomatic representatives of foreign nations, all seeking escape from the heat and humidity of Washington, and at the same time diversion in the busy round of social entertainment at Narragansett Pier. The Casino at the Pier was more famous even than the Casino at Newport. Narragansett Bay had become seat of the summer capital of the United States.

Newport's splendid harbor, and the development of fortifications and naval stations made Narragansett Bay also the northern summer rendezvous for the navy. Newport has been a favorite last home port for retired naval officers, many of whom have been identified with the life of the municipality. To Newport came also the fleet of the New York Yacht Club, which maintained a station at Newport, the harbor presenting a picture of rare loveliness with fleets at anchor, or when with sails spread they cruised about. Newport never became a manufacturing centre; several enterprises were undertaken without success that would warrant continuance or extension. Eventually the city settled down as a summer resort principally and as a station for the development of United States Government enterprises, these furnishing employment for large numbers of the inhabitants. Newport was merely capitalizing its unsurpassed wealth of beauty of countryside and water front, its magnificent harbor, and a climate without rival. Not Newport alone, however, but miles of surf-beaten beaches from Point Judith to Watch Hill along the ocean front, and other miles of quieter sandy beaches along both sides of Narragansett Bay invite people to Rhode Island for the summer. Newport, Narragansett Pier and Watch Hill are famous resorts; Saunterstown, Jameston, Bristol and Middletown are well known.

A PEOPLE'S PLAYGROUND—Rhode Island has never been a summer land reserved as a playground for the very rich from other places less favored by climate and natural beauty—merely recapitulating in recent centuries the tradition which identifies it as the Vinland winter resort of Norsemen, and the mecca to which the eastern Indians returned every sixth cycle of eleven years. The period of migration was approximately 65 years; probably it was 66, or six weather cycles. Records of unusually severe winters the world over indicate recurrence at eleven year periods. In Newport the public beach is much finer in every way than Spouting Rock Beach and Hazard's Beach, the latter exclusive, the former a piece of municipal property open to all the world. The public beaches at Narragansett Pier surpass the few stretches reserved by private ownership. Along the ocean shore of South County are miles of surf-beaten beaches, and behind them salt ponds with quieter water, in large part awaiting development.

Within Narragansett Bay, on the shores of mainland and islands are other miles of beaches and beautiful places, near which cottage colonies have been built. These are the summer homes of Rhode Islanders principally, houses of all types, from small bungalows to more elaborate structures, depending upon the need or the ambition of the owners. To these whole families go for long summer vacations—May until September or October—while members of the families whom business or occupation calls back to town or city commute in public conveyances or travel back and forth in automobiles. Rhode Island is a compact state; a short ride, both in mileage and time, carries one from city to beach, from the heat of a working day to a swim or bath in salt water freshened twice daily by the tides, a pleasant evening, and a long night of restful sleep, invigorating because practically in open air. It is entirely practicable for a Rhode Islander to make his summer home a cottage by the shore, and if obliged to travel back and forth to work, to cover fewer miles and spend less time on the road than do the business men of metropolitan cities who reside in suburban towns and neighboring cities. All of Rhode Island lies within a radius of fifty miles from Providence.

The number of summer cottages built close to the shores of Narragansett Bay mounts into thousands, and the distribution is almost continuous for thirty miles on each side of the estuary, without counting wind and fold, cape and cove, and the deep cuts made by rivers, all of which lengthen the waterfront available for development as shore property. While location directly on beach or waterfront is preferred, communities sometimes extend back from favorite beaches. One typical shore community lies between two deep-cut coves at the head of Narragansett Bay, ten miles from Providence, from which it is reached by rail or automobile in twenty to thirty minutes. The houses are built on small plats of land, and the settlement is compact. The shore front affords splendid bathing on clean, sandy beaches, which shelve slowly. The community

has a small yacht clubhouse at the end of a pier extending 500 feet from shore, in which dances are conducted twice weekly, along with other entertainment. House rentals are so reasonable that families in moderate circumstances can afford to hire and occupy them for the season.

The development of state public roads and of travel by automobile have permitted an even more general resort to shore places in the twentieth century than ever before. Cottage life accommodates whole families, and the number of summer cottages multiplied by four would fall short of the number of Rhode Islanders on vacation. Besides cottages, hundreds of tents are pitched in favored places, many of large size, with wooden floors and considerable furniture, which is stored through the winter. Travel has been found to be so convenient in the instance of what were originally summer settlements that there has been a tendency to permanent all-year residence by the shore, summer houses being furnished with lath and plaster and heated. Shore winters are found to be little more, if not actually less, severe than city or inland winters. Because of the salt water, snowfall is usually smaller, snow being converted into rain close to the shore; and snow on the ground melts more rapidly and disappears in shorter time than inland.

Rhode Islanders who do not care for salt water bathing and salt water sports find pleasant places on inland hillsides or on the shores of fresh water ponds and lakes. The tendency to seek residence beyond the congestion of cities produces heavy vehicular traffic on roads leading to shore places and other popular resorts; the transportation problem suggested has been solved in part by building parallel roads, and by widening many arteries of travel to accommodate from four to six lines of automobiles. Gains for Rhode Island appear in better health of inhabitants who find wholesome living conditions in the pleasant places so abundantly provided.

For shorter vacations Rhode Island affords unusual advantages; one who can afford a week or a fortnight, finds small hotels or boarding houses located conveniently for access to beaches or other pleasure resorts. For such the preference lies in places more remote from northern towns and cities than the upper reaches of Narragansett Bay. The beaches along the ocean shore of South County, Newport and Block Island are attractive and well patronized by short vacation visitors. Block Island, lying miles at sea, is a favorite resort, offering surf bathing, deep sea fishing, ocean breezes and a busy social life in the evening dancing parties conducted in the hotels.

Finally Rhode Island has chances for day excursionists, whose number is legion. Time was when fleets of excursion steamers carried thousands to amusement parks along Narragansett Bay; electric trains and automobiles replaced the steamers as means of transportation. Only a few steamers, offering boat ride to Newport and Block Island, remain in commission, and these carry crowds daily in the summer season. The day trip to Block Island, besides the 100 mile round trip from Providence, permits an hour or two ashore for lunch and sight-seeing. The day excursionists to Newport may spend five or six hours ashore, part at the bathing beach, part on pleasant rides to Newport's beauty spots along the ocean front, and part on the Cliff Walk, with its never-failing charm. Other shore resorts are reached by tramway, gasoline bus or private automobile.

**RHODE ISLAND CLAMBAKE**—A Rhode Islander, after eating an unusually good shore dinner in a neighboring state, remarked that it was the best he had ever tasted outside Rhode Island; the supreme praise without limitation is reserved for Rhode Island clambakes only. A Rhode Island clambake starts with Rhode Island clams; no others have the flavor. The popularity of clambakes in Rhode Island diminished when, because of a shortage of Rhode Island clams, alien bivalves from Maine and Massachusetts were substituted for the home article. A Rhode Island clambake, properly prepared and with suitable ingredients, is a feast; no language has words adequate for a description of it.

Not even Zeus upon Olympus height  
From godlike nectar drew such rare delight.

A Rhode Island clambake is an aboriginal repast; the white man learned the art of making it from the Indians. As served in modern times the feast opens usually with "little neck clams" on the half-shell. The little neck is a small quahaug, or hard-shelled clam whose habitat is below low-water mark. In formal service little necks are offered on plates cooled by cracked ice, with lemon, pepper-sauce, catsup, vinegar, horse radish, or tabasco; at a genuine clambake formal service is dispensed with, and the feaster opens his own little necks under the shade of a tree, frees them from the shell with a deft turn of the knife, with left hand carries shell to mouth, and swallows the quahaug with the juice, one after another until satisfied. Little necks are appetizers, having the salt tang of the sea. Meanwhile clam chowder has been brewing. The Indian cooked his chowder by heating a mixture of water, vegetables and clams, into which he dropped red-hot stones until the chowder boiled. A modern Rhode Island chowder of the genuine sort consumes hours in making, blending and brewing which produce the perfect article. Salt pork is rendered; onions are fried, and into the mixture of pork fat and onions a little water is introduced, and the pot boils steadily. Later, potatoes, finely minced, and at the end chopped clams and quahaugs are added, and the mixture brews until thoroughly cooked so that potatoes and onions are indistinguishable. Most Rhode Islanders add tomato; only a few, milk or cream. In yesteryears a dash of sherry added zest. If properly prepared the chowder is an unctuous mixture of blended essences. Fried eels with sauce tartare and clam fritters may accompany the chowder course.

The bake itself also requires hours of preparation; it is made in Indian fashion with only a few accessories not actually used by the Indian. Piles of stones are heated to cherry redness under great pyres of wood. On to the stones when hot, rock seaweed is piled in masses. The weed furnishes the water necessary for steam-cooking and also the slightly burnt tang which is characteristic of the perfect bake. Next comes a sheet of finely meshed wire netting, a device not used by the Indian, but adopted by the white man to facilitate handling of the clams by preventing burying in piles of weed. On the wire net are heaped clams, and then, in baskets usually, other ingredients, depending upon the season, a complete bake including all—whole peeled small onions, sweet and white potatoes in their jackets, bluefish or mackerel wrapped in paper, sweet corn in single husk, buckworst sausages, seasoned dressing in pans, and lobsters. Over all the Indian spread a deerskin, tucking in the edges to prevent the escape of heat and steam; the white man substitutes a canvas covering, usually an old sail. The bake is left to steam-cook thoroughly for forty-five minutes to an hour before opening. In variations from the complete bake, fish may be broiled or baked, and other ingredients cooked separately, but the true Rhode Island bake includes all ingredients cooked under one cover.

A clambake is served preferably out of doors in Indian fashion, or in a dining hall open on all sides, and usually at long wooden tables. On the tables are placed brown bread and white bread and butter; sliced fresh vegetables, including usually onions, cucumbers and tomatoes if in season, with vinegar, oil, salt, pepper and drawn butter. The order and method of service may vary, but the serving includes an offering of portions of all the concomitants in turn, and the diner piles his plate and eats at discretion. Clams are the most important element in the feast; all other offerings are accessories to the clam as the reason for the bake. Clams come from the bake steaming hot in pans, one of which is placed before each diner. The process of eating includes withdrawing the clam from the shells, which the steaming has partly opened; removing the skin from the snout; dipping the clam held by the snout, in drawn butter, carrying to the mouth and taking whole or biting off below the snout as preferred. Rhode Islanders are adept in handling clams, and the uninitiated from without may learn quickly. Some prefer, after withdrawing clams from shells to pile in drawn butter and eat with a fork, but most Rhode Islanders use fingers in Indian fashion. The feast proceeds with additional servings until all are satisfied, the Rhode Island rule imposing no limit on quantity. Lobster is usually eaten last with drawn butter. Following come watermelons if in season, and at the end Indian pud-



BATHING BEACH AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND



ding and coffee. Indian pudding is a sweetened dessert, in which Rhode Island cornmeal is the principal ingredient. It resembles the pudding made by Indians, who used crushed huckleberries for sweetening. The Rhode Islander's pride in the clam and clambake appears in the letter which a Rhode Island public school teacher wrote to a Texas school teacher who asked for samples of Rhode Island vegetables for a school demonstration:

Just at this season we find it rather difficult to send you a specimen of the agricultural products for which Rhode Island has achieved worldwide renown, because most of them are either out of season or so delicate in their marvellous succulence that they will not stand a long journey across the continent. Later on we shall have unapproachable strawberries, unprecedented asparagus, unparalleled sweet corn, irrepressible onions, irresistible tomatoes, ne plus ultra cucumbers, unstringed stringless string beans, lettuce so fine as to suggest a cultural education, not to mention the world-famous Rhode Island Red Hen, to which several monuments have been erected, and the Rhode Island Greening apple, which has been a favorite theme for poems. I take pleasure in sending you a paper copy of a Rhode Island clam, another unusual product of the soil. The clam grows luxuriantly along the shore of salt water rivers and estuaries, usually between high and low water mark. It requires little effort at cultivation, growing most rapidly when discreetly left to itself. It is retiring and modest, becoming agitated at the approach of strangers, and seeking to withdraw wholly within its shell. It is dug from the soil like potatoes, although in protest against being disturbed it emits a stream of water, into the eyes of the digger preferably. It is an unusually succulent and delightful morsel, best when cooked within a short time after harvesting. The white settlers learned from the Indians how to cook the clam. It may be used for chowder, fried in crumbs or batter, steamed or baked. The practice of baking follows Indian fashion. In preparation stones are heated in a wood fire until red hot, and then covered with seaweed. The clams are piled in the sea weed, and the whole is covered and left to bake and steam-cook for three-quarters of an hour. The Indians used a deerskin for covering; the modern uses a heavy canvas. When withdrawn from the bake the clams are pulled from the hard outer covering with the fingers, dipped in melted butter and eaten in ecstasy. If you wish to supplement the clam specimen by another vegetable, I suggest that you find the best looking spud in Texas and label it "a potato from Rhode Island." It will not be quite so good as the potatoes grown here, but most native Texans will not be able to detect the difference.

Rhode Island clambakes achieved national, international and worldwide reputation. Distinguished sons of other states, including many who had achieved high political office, came to Rhode Island to eat clams, the list including several Presidents of the United States and many Congressmen. Visitors from foreign lands came also; it is related, with excellent authority, that the real reason why Andros neglected to ask for the Rhode Island Charter on his visit to Rhode Island was that he had eaten clams at a genuine Rhode Island bake, and in the ecstasy of voluptuous delight forgot even that he had been appointed Governor of New England and entrusted with a mission by his royal sovereign. Rhode Islanders visiting strange lands in distant continents find that the reputation of Rhode Island clambakes has preceded them. In the halcyon days before Field's Point had been eliminated, and while the shore dinner pavilion still sent forth irresistible aromas and the noisome crash of crockery a trip by boat from Providence to the point, with dinner and return, could be accomplished in two hours or an hour and a half. Field's Point was then the most attractive dinner place in Rhode Island. The standard price for a clam dinner was fifty cents; with lobster, seventy-five cents. In the twentieth century clambakes are served at a few bayside amusement parks, but the reputation for genuine Rhode Island clambakes is preserved best by private clubs and a few old-timers who delight in making a clambake with all the solemnity of the undeviating Narragansett ritual. They are right; no alien bivalve has the flavor of a Rhode Island clam grown to maturity in a Rhode Island river bed and warmed by the sun in the interval between high and low water. No boiled or steamed clam has the flavor which only scorched Rhode Island rock weed can give. No ingredient or accessory of a clambake may be cooked apart and attain the tang that is Rhode Island. Even the watermelon, alien interloper from a southern habitat, attains a flavor at a Rhode Island clam-

bake never equalled by watermelon otherwise or elsewhere. A Rhode Island clambake prepares the tongue for adequate appreciation of the luscious coolness of the melon.

**WATER SPORTS**—The convenience of Narragansett Bay as an avenue for rapid travel between settlements and the development of intercolonial commerce established in Rhode Island an economic interest in boats and boating, and in ships and sailing. Besides owning and sailing vessels, as did Providence Williams, son of Roger, his sloop, Rhode Islanders built ships and brigs for sale in intercolonial trade and in the ports of England. "Shipshape and Bristol fashion" meant seaworthy construction and excellent equipment, all in good order; it referred to vessels built and rigged at Bristol, Rhode Island, one time the third American seaport in importance. Rhode Island sloops, brigs and ships earned a well-deserved reputation for speed; it was partly rakish lines and partly splendid seamanship which won renown for Rhode Island privateersmen and the colony war vessels, as well as the ships from Narragansett Bay engaged in foreign trade after the Revolution. When iron and steel ships replaced old-fashioned sailers, Rhode Island interest in wooden vessels for commercial purposes was continued in boats and sailing vessels for recreation and sport. Traditions of fineness of design and speed were preserved in yachts, and yachting became a favorite sport. The environmental factors of Narragansett Bay as a broad inland waterway, affording relatively quiet water for miles of sailing areas, and an abundance of smart breezes to add zest to racing contributed to the popularity of boating and yachting. Pawtuxet and Ten-Mile Rivers became favorite haunts for canoes, and canoe clubs were established on both rivers to foster and promote canoeing. Besides on the two rivers, and other rivers also, canoes were used in perhaps a hundred inland lakes and ponds.

**HOP BITTERS REGATTA**—The Seekonk River, between Red Bridge and Pawtucket, affords a two-mile straight-away course for sculling; there Brown University crews trained while rowing was the leading sport at the college and the Brown boat was a valiant contender in intercollegiate racing and a victor at Lake Quinsigamond. The Brown boathouse was a landmark on the western shore of the Seekonk River above Red Bridge for years after the Brown shell had become a relic and rowing was but a memory so far as Brown was concerned. On the Seekonk, in June, 1880, occurred the Hop Bitters regatta, which attracted to Rhode Island the leading amateur and professional oarsmen of the period, besides a crowd of sporting men and other spectators without precedent. For the day of the races the banks of the Seekonk along the two-mile stretch were lined with observation stands, and boats of all kinds were pressed into service to accommodate those who wished a closer view than could be had from the banks and the crest of the high bluffs on both sides. The New York and New England Railroad, and the Providence and Worcester ran special trains from Boston and Worcester directly to the East Providence shore, one train including eighteen cars. Another special train was run from New London to Providence, A three-deck observation steamer carried a crowd from the Providence River around Fox and India Points and up the Seekonk to the starting and finishing line above the Red Bridge. Every conceivable type of conveyance was in use, carrying passengers from the centre of Providence over the East Side hill to the race course. Horse cars were loaded with seated and standing passengers, on platforms, in aisles between seats and on running boards until not another person could find toe space and handhold.

The regatta included races for amateurs and professionals over a four-mile course, laid out upstream two miles, with a turn and return to a line near Red Bridge. For the amateur contest a silver trophy valued at \$1,000 had been made by the Gorham Company. Frank E. Holmes of Pawtucket won the amateur race in 22 minutes 44 seconds. He had been the favorite in the betting, and the victory was popular. For the principal attraction, a four-mile race by professionals, entries included Wallace Ross of St. John, New Brunswick; S. W. Lee of Newark, New Jersey; J. H. Riley of Saratoga, New York; J. A. Ten Eyck of Peekskill, New York; F. A. Plaisted of Boston; Jacob Gaudier of Toronto; J. A. Dempsey of Geneva, New York;

R. W. Boyd of England; Edward Hanlan of Toronto. The prizes for the professional race amounted to \$6,000. Hanlan was the favorite in the betting pools, and led at the start of the race, with Boyd and Riley following. Ross, coming from behind, passed Riley and Hanlan before the turn had been reached and as the oarsmen straightened out for the pull down the two-mile stretch to the finish line, the order was Ross, Riley and Hanlan, close together with the race still to be won by hard rowing. Shortly after turning Hanlan stopped rowing and withdrew. The leaders finished: Ross, Riley, Ten Eyck, the time being 29 minutes 54 seconds.

Hanlan's earliest explanation of his withdrawal was to the effect that a "stitch" or sharp pain in his side made further rowing impossible. Later he said that he had not been in good physical condition on the day of the race, but had been persuaded to start, contrary to his own judgment, because of urgent request by his friends. He was criticized severely because of the second explanation, on the ground that he should not have started in poor condition, which would have cancelled the betting on him. The prizes for the regatta were awarded in the evening at Rocky Point.

On the day of the race the Providence and Buffalo baseball nines played a league game at 11 o'clock to avoid conflict with the regatta. During the same week a seventy-five-hour go-as-you-please walking match was the attraction at Infantry Hall. Walking matches were as popular at the time as bicycle racing became at a later period. The Theatre Comique offered a special performance of "The Modern Don Juan" at 11:30 on the day of the regatta. Other theatrical entertainments for the day and evening included Harrigan and Hart, at the Providence Opera House; Maude Forrester and her trained horse, Lightning, in "Mazeppa, or the Wild Horse of Tartary," at Lowe's Opera House; "The Ambassador's Daughter," at Park Garden; and "Contrabandists, or the Law of the Ladrones," at San Souci Garden.

The unsatisfactory ending of the professional race, following another in which the betting favorite had withdrawn, effectually terminated interest in professional rowing in Rhode Island, but rowing for physical exercise continued. The Narragansett Boat Club, with boathouse on the Seekonk River close to the two-mile course, included among its members enthusiastic oarsmen who kept rowing alive in Rhode Island.

YACHTING—Rhode Island in 1930 had over a dozen yacht clubs, besides the Newport station of the New York Yacht Club, and associations promoting motor boat racing and outboard motor racing as follows: Barrington, Bay Spring, Bristol, Conanicut, East Greenwich, Edgewood, Fall River (at Tiverton), Newport, Rhode Island, Saunderstown, Washington Park, and Watch Hill Yacht Clubs, and Point Judith Knockabout Association, Warwick Country Club, and Westerly Boat Club. Narragansett Bay affords courses for yacht racing almost without limit in number, and with ample variation for choice in distance, the regular channel marks furnishing locations for turning places. Besides the courses wholly within the bay, other courses lie at the mouth and in the ocean off shore. International races for the America's cup are conducted off Newport, as are the annual races of the New York Yacht Club for the Astor and King trophies. Yacht racing in Rhode Island waters has been promoted in recent years by the building of one-design boats in classes so nearly identical in model, in rig, sail area and other equipment, and in speed also, as to make racing a genuine test of seamanship. The size of racing boats varies from keel boats eleven feet on the water line and twelve-foot skiffs, sailed by boys or junior yacht-club members, to racing classes of forty-footers, and the ninety-foot sloops engaged in international cup races.

In several classes the one-design principle is practiced in other yachting centres, and racing becomes interstate or international. Thus Rhode Island has been represented in the international Star boat series annually. The Rhode Island challenger, "Rhody," won the international championship in 1926, and the Star boat races were conducted in Narragansett Bay in 1927. Challenging boats came from Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, New Orleans, Newport in California, Cuba, Hawaii, and Manila. Star fleets of Central Long Island, Gravesend Bay, Peconic Bay,

Massachusetts Bay, Delaware River, Hampton Roads and Chesapeake Bay sent representation. The challenging crew from Newport, California, won the series of races, using "Temple III," a boat built at Pawtuxet, Rhode Island, to replace their own boat and to avoid transporting the latter from Pacific to Atlantic coast. In the fifth race of the regular series "Temple III" was tied with "Colleen" of Southport, Connecticut, and "Mackerel" of Baltimore. "Temple III" won the sail-off with "Colleen" by only seven feet. The Star boat races were sailed over a course laid out from Warwick Neck. Besides racing between sailing yachts, keen competition is maintained in racing power boats, gasoline motorboats built on racing lines with high-powered racing engines, and the new type of "sleds" driven by outboard motors. Many Rhode Island racing yachts have been built in sheltered coves, at East Greenwich, Pawtuxet, Bristol, Bullock's Point Cove, and other places.

AMERICA'S CUP RACES—One of the Rhode Island yards has achieved international reputation. John Brown Herreshoff, known as the blind designer, began building yachts at Bristol in 1863, and in 1877 was joined by Nathanael Greene Herreshoff in the enterprise known as the Herreshoff Manufacturing Company, which in 1930 is continued by R. F. Haffenreffer, Jr. The Herreshoffs were selected in 1893, because of their success in building fine yachts, to construct "Vigilant," which in that year defended the America's cup against "Valkyre II," challenger, owned by Lord Dunraven. The Herreshoff Company has built every cup defender since 1893. In 1895 the Bristol boat was "Defender," which defeated "Valkyrie III," also owned by Lord Dunraven. Then followed "Columbia," which defeated Sir Thomas Lipton's "Shamrock I" in 1899 and "Shamrock II" in 1901; "Reliance," which defeated "Shamrock III" in 1903; "Resolute," which defeated "Shamrock IV" in 1920; and "Enterprise," which defeated "Shamrock V" in 1930. The Herreshoff Company also built "Weetamoe," which in 1930 was one of the "Enterprise's" rivals for the honor of defending the cup. In the succession of successful cup defenders—"Vigilant," "Defender," "Columbia," "Reliance," "Resolute," and "Enterprise"—the Herreshoffs achieved victory not only over the challenging English yacht, but also over rivals in America building yachts as competitors for selection as defenders. The series of Herreshoff yachts illustrates progress in fineness of line and model, and the introduction of innovations in construction and equipment. Thus metal, beginning with aluminum and Tobin bronze, replaced wood; hollow metal masts were substituted for solid spars and hollow wooden spars; centreboard replaced keel, and fin-keel replaced centreboard. Challenger and defender in 1930 were so nearly alike in model above the water line that some could identify them only by color, "Shamrock V" being green, and "Enterprise" white. But "Enterprise" had modern equipment not duplicated on "Shamrock V," including a novel hollow metal mast in which strength had not been sacrificed to attain the lightness of weight which permitted transfer of mast load to ballast without affecting load waterline; a new type of rigging the boom, which facilitated handling sails, and mechanical "gadgets" for hoisting and trimming sails, thus replacing the man power still used on the "Shamrock V." The series of races demonstrated conclusively that "Enterprise" was the faster boat in every type of sailing, aside from superior equipment, the latter proving only the alertness with which attention was given at Herreshoff's to every detail that would tend to improve racing quality, and to the modern exemplification of "shipshape and Bristol fashion."

OTHER SPORTS—The Rhode Island climate tends itself to the promotion of outdoor sports and recreation other than boating and yachting. Swimming and other water sports have had the development that might be expected in a state so close in almost every part to salt water beaches and fresh water rivers, lakes and ponds. One who in Rhode Island is considered only an indifferent swimmer attracted crowds to a midwestern swimming pool, who wished to "see the Yankee swim." The bracing air encourages vigorous games such as tennis; Narragansett Pier, Newport, and the Agawam Hunt Club in East Providence have been the arenas for

national and international champion tennis matches. Rhode Island has produced champion tennis players such as F. H. Hovey and W. T. Tilden, 2d, both national singles champions, and J. D. E. Jones and Arnold W. Jones, father and son team champions. Golf became popular almost immediately after its introduction in Rhode Island thirty years ago; golf courses are distributed throughout the state, and the number of players mounts into thousands. Glenna Collet of Rhode Island has won the national women's championship year after year. Pony polo matches are played at Narragansett Pier and Newport.

In baseball the Providence Club won the National League championship pennants in 1879 and 1884, and the world championship in 1884; the city has had several championship teams in the Eastern and International Leagues. Brown University, Rhode Island State College and Providence College have had strong nines. In recent years greater emphasis has been placed in Rhode Island on amateur and semi-professional than on professional baseball, with the result that many home leagues have been maintained, additional to the schoolboy leagues in high schools and other schools. The purpose has been promotion of baseball playing by boys and youth; the playground system, and the acquisition of park reservations with playing spaces have been significant factors in this development of baseball. The influence of Timothy O'Neil, popularly known as "King of the Sand Lots," in organizing and sponsoring junior baseball leagues, has been remarkable and inspiring; it has done much to reestablish baseball as a fine game to play, as well as to watch. The O'Neil leagues have been successful invariably with gains not only for the most popular of American sports, but also for the boys in lessons of sportsmanship, self-control and orderly procedure.

From its introduction to Rhode Island by Brown University as a college sport, Rugby football has attained popularity in colleges, high schools, and as a professional sport played by city teams in a sectional league. Brown University, Rhode Island State College and Providence College support elevens; and high schools and academies have teams, some of which are associated in interscholastic leagues. Brown has had several great football teams, from the eleven of 1895, which registered a tie score, 6-6, with Yale, down to the Iron Men of 1927, who were victorious in all major contests and who were rated as American college champions. Soccer football, cricket, lacrosse and hockey are other sports which have large following, both of players and enthusiastic supporters of teams. Intercollegiate competition in track and field athletics had much to do with popularizing these sports in Rhode Island with colleges and other schools. A highly developed interest in bicycling led to an interest thirty years ago in the improvement of roads, the wretched condition of which scarcely had been realized until thousands of Rhode Islanders joined bicycle clubs and had an opportunity, first hand, to experience the unpleasantness of riding on neglected public highways. In the heyday of bicycling the clubs conducted "century" and other "runs" weekly, thus luring large numbers out of the cities on riding tours.

In ten or a dozen years the automobile had replaced the bicycle as a popular vehicle, and most of the clubs had disappeared or were engaged in other activities, if still existing as bicycle clubs. For a while bicycle racing became a popular sport and Rhode Island produced several champion racers. Through all of these and other outdoor games and sports Rhode Islanders reaped the benefits of Rhode Island climate in renewed health, because of active exercise in the open air. The climate favors outdoor sports through unusually long seasons, inasmuch as only football is not played through the summer. Players enjoy the tonic effects of vigorous exercise in an invigorating atmosphere, while enthusiastic spectators, although they do not play, profit from the benefits of hours spent in the open air and sunshine. Even winter, with its icy coldness, affords attractive sport in skating in hundreds of lakes and ponds, and coasting on the innumerable hills.

Rhode Island is at times a winter paradise, but for the most part it is Summer Land, with long days of unclouded skies, moderate heat in midsummer, and beautiful days of spring and autumn. God blessed Rhode Island and made it His cozy corner in New England.



## CHAPTER XLIII. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.



WITHIN ten years from the earliest permanent settlement in 1636 the people of Rhode Island, under compacts exemplifying popular sovereignty, not only had established in practice the then novel theory of complete liberty of conscience expounded by Roger Williams, but were challenging jealous neighbors and the whole world with a successful experiment in democracy entirely without precedent in respect for individual liberty and opinion, and in the use of devices such as the initiative and referendum for ascertaining the people's wishes. Fortunately the Warwick Patent obtained by Roger Williams, with the purposes principally of establishing legal sanction and of forestalling the ambitions of greedy neighbors, interposed scarcely an obstacle to continuing the political experiment and none at all to religious liberty. Although the Charter of 1663 imposed a representative form of government, it was so liberal in its conception and provisions as to establish a self-governing republic and to safeguard liberty of conscience. The people of Rhode Island, already skilled in the practices of free government, experienced no difficulty in adapting the provisions of the Charter to suit their purposes, and in continuing under it the principle of responsibility of officers to the people; they displayed political genius (1) in modifying an impracticable election plan by inventing proxy voting and the modern system of elections; (2) in wise exercise of suffrage in such manner as always to control their representatives; (3) in remodelling the General Assembly as a bicameral legislature to establish a balance betwixt the whole colony interest and the towns as municipal units; (4) in developing agencies and offices for accomplishing purposes arising because of growth of the colony in resources and population and not clearly foreseen in 1663; and (5) in resisting the pretensions of powerful and vindictive enemies in America and of ambitious royalist agents commissioned by the mother country or so completely out of harmony with democracy as to wish to destroy it. With the Indians Rhode Island had no quarrels; the early settlers found that friendship could be maintained through fair treatment of the aborigines. Although the colony suffered from Indian depredations during King Philip's War, in which the colony had no part, nevertheless, Rhode Island profited ultimately, as that war broke the power of the New England tribes and banished the Narragansett Indians as a factor to be reckoned with in later years.

The colonial period\* lends itself to summary with reference to movements rather than chronological periods, as follows: I. Persecution and migration, including the quarrel with theocracy in Massachusetts, the establishment of democracy in Rhode Island, the vindictive pursuit and punishment of Rhode Islanders by the Puritans, and the welcome which Rhode Island extended to all who were persecuted. II. A quest for legal sanction, through Patent and Charter, as a defence alike from pretenders within and foes without, seeking to end the lively experiment in democracy. III. Boundary disputes with Connecticut and Massachusetts, each greedy for land and for access to Narragansett Bay. IV. Resistance to the pretensions of royal agents neglectful of Charter rights and privileges. V. Conquest of the environment by thrift, and the acquisition of wealth by commerce and industry. VI. Participation in colonial wars as loyal and dutiful subjects of the throne, invariably with glory and distinction for Rhode Island arms on land and sea, particularly on the latter. VII. Change from enthusiastic loyalty to suspicion, and eventually to studied resistance to aggression on the part of ministers and Parliament, pursuing the mercantile policy of exploiting colonies; a distinct change of front follow-

\*Chapters I to XI.

ing the Seven Years War. VIII. Preparation for maintenance, by force of arms if necessary, of the rights and liberties granted by the Charter and guaranteed by natural law. IX. End of colonial status as the quarrel persisted, by the Declaration of Independence on May 4, 1776. In seven of the nine movements the people of Rhode Island were engaged in safeguarding and maintaining democracy; in the two others—colonial wars and wresting wealth from the soil and sea—they continued the unremitting struggle that was characteristic of the 140 years from 1636 to 1776.

FROM REVOLUTION TO UNION†—Than Rhode Island no state was more exposed during the Revolution to British reprisals; yet Rhode Island never faltered in devotion to liberty and independence. In spite of British occupation of its fairest land, the state's revolutionary record is characterized (1) by unflinching and unequalled loyalty in maintaining quotas of troops in the continental armies from the siege of Boston to the surrender at Yorktown; (2) by the heroic deeds of brilliant soldiers and sailors conspicuous even in the setting of a glorious struggle against odds which appeared to be overwhelming; and (3) by contribution of economic resources surpassing the obligation determined by Congress, until the state had become impoverished and desolate, the sacrifices of the people at home reaching eventually almost to equal the sufferings of soldiers in the field. From the Rhode Island point of view, the Revolution was a culminating effort to maintain the liberty granted by the Charter of 1663; Rhode Island was jealous, therefore, in preserving what had been gained by acknowledgment of independence in the treaty of peace, and reluctant to concede to Congress functions which might be exercised to create a new tyranny. Rhode Island's persistent refusal to consent to an impost to be levied by Congress was consistent with resistance to the taxing measures proposed by Parliament after 1764. Lest Rhode Island's resistance to the impost be stigmatized as selfish and neglectful of the common welfare, it should be recalled that Rhode Island offered to concede the impost if guaranteed that the public lands, spoils of the successful war, would be administered by Congress for the benefit of all the states and not held exclusively by the states within whose real or claimed boundaries they lay. The studied ill-treatment of Rhode Island's delegates to Congress, amounting almost to persecution and threat of death, recalled the struggle of colonial days against hostile neighbors; it was so little reassuring that it confirmed Rhode Island suspicion that measures intended to strengthen the Confederation were fraught with danger for the least of the thirteen. Eventually Rhode Island must be wooed and won to ratification of the new Constitution by the Bill of Rights incorporated in the first ten amendments. Internally the distress of war had precipitated a quarrel between agrarian and commercial interests which was brought to focus on the issue of emitting paper currency as legal tender. Yet the people, in spite of discouraging relations with the Confederation and of internal discord, set themselves resolutely to the work of rehabilitation.

COMPLETE RESTORATION—Within a quarter of a century after 1776 prosperity had been restored through the profits of adventurous foreign commerce and the development of manufacturing. With confidence reestablished, catastrophes such as the flood of 1807 and the September gale of 1815, the last of which entailed losses totalling \$1,500,000, seemed rather to stimulate to fresh effort than to cause depression. In the seventy years following ratification of the federal Constitution, 1790-1860,‡ the more significant movements in Rhode Island were: I. Commercial and industrial—exploitation of foreign commerce to test its utmost possibilities, and then abandonment of commerce and reinvestment in factories; rise of cotton and woolen textile industries, and other industries related to both, particularly the building of machinery, and other metal trades. II. Financial—the development of a banking system adequate (1) to furnish the credit necessary for expanding commerce and industry; (2) to provide a medium of

†Chapters XII to XIV.

‡Chapters XV to XXI.

exchange in a period in which specie was inadequate in quantity, and (3) to facilitate use of credit instruments of various types familiar to merchants. III. Social and economic—the transformation of the state from an agricultural community producing by husbandry a surplus for export, into an industrial community, importing food to sustain an increasing urban population, divorced from the soil and becoming cosmopolitan as it was recruited by immigration. IV. Related to travel and transportation—building a system of roads and bridges to carry overland transportation in carts and wagons increased in volume by the movement of raw material to supply factories and of factory products to tidewater; building of the Blackstone Canal; the construction of steam railway lines; the substitution of steamboats for sailing vessels. V. Educational—revival of colonial interest in education; the first American effort, in 1800, to establish a state system of free public schools; the development of a state-town public school system reaching every town, with state support after 1828. VI. Political—evolution of governmental agencies commensurate with the developing body politic; culmination of agitation for (1) a state Constitution, (2) extension of suffrage, (3) equalization of representation, (4) an independent judiciary, in the Dorr movement, and the adoption of a state Constitution in 1842. VII. National—the development gradually of what might be called an American attitude, without, however, surrendering the Rhode Island point of view. Thus the coolness of Rhode Island toward the War of 1812 and the Mexican War because the quarrels seemed almost without justification, yielded to enthusiasm for the war to save the union when the latter was threatened by the slavery issue.

The outstanding events of the period, 1790-1860, were: Ratification of the Constitution, and the beginning of cotton manufacturing by Samuel Slater, 1790; chartering of Providence Bank, 1791; enactment of free school law, 1800; flood, which carried away bridges, 1807; war with Great Britain, 1812; Perry's victory at Lake Erie, 1813; September gale, 1815; Blackstone Canal chartered, 1823; State public school law carrying annual appropriation of \$10,000 and an appropriation of \$5000 to establish the permanent school fund, enacted, 1828; race riot in Providence, 1831; election machinery failed completely and general officers held over, 1832; economic depression affecting textile industry, 1834; first steam train between Providence and Boston, 1835; panic, industrial depression, suspension of specie payments by banks, 1837; landholders' constitutional convention, 1841, constitution rejected, 1842; people's constitutional convention, 1841, constitution approved in irregular election; Dorr revolution, 1842; new state Constitution adopted and ratified, 1842; government under Constitution inaugurated, 1843; Henry Barnard conducted official survey of public schools, 1844; Rhode Island opposed Mexican War, 1847; personal liberty, or anti-fugitive slavery, law, 1848; secret ballot law, 1851; capital punishment abolished, 1852; complete revision of statutes, 1857; panic and industrial depression, 1857; Union party organized on eve of Civil War, and William Sprague elected as Governor, 1860; boundary line between Rhode Island and Massachusetts adjusted, 1861.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES AND AFTER—Although Rhode Island participated in the peace conference of 1861 and repealed the "personal liberty law" as a concession to the South, no state displayed greater zeal and loyalty than Rhode Island in raising soldiers for defence of the union. Governor Sprague, within a week after the first call issued by President Lincoln, sent forward the first contingent of Rhode Island detached militia. Rhode Island soldiers opened and closed the battle of Bull Run and participated in most of the hard fighting throughout the war. Rhode Island complied with every request promptly, and emerged from the war with a state debt incurred for the payment of bounties and other expenditures not reimbursed by the federal government.\* Following the war the banking system was reorganized as most state banks were incorporated as national banks.† The cotton textile industry, which had

\*Chapter XXII.

†Chapter XXVII.

suffered during the war for want of raw staple, was revived immediately, and participated in the prosperity of the wool and metal industries, both of which had thrived. Then came the panic of 1873, affecting the nation, and Rhode Island particularly because of the failure of the house of Sprague.‡ Banks closed their doors never to reopen them, factories ceased to operate and thousands lost employment, credit evaporated, land values shrank, poverty and actual want replaced plenty and comfort, apprehension succeeded confidence as disaster after disaster spread the ruin precipitated by the collapse of the state's greatest industrial and financial organization. For the time being the city of Providence carried forward the Brook Street improvement as a project for relief of the poor; and the construction of buildings for the group of state institutions at Cranston afforded employment for many. Litigation incidental to readjustment of the Sprague interests continued over a decade,\*\* and the bitter struggle to control the Sprague properties became the paramount issue in one of the hardest fought political campaigns in the history of Rhode Island, when the ex-Governor, running as Democratic candidate for Governor, in 1883, sought through popular election to regain ascendancy and the right to dictate the election of a new supreme court more favorable to him than the court for the time being.†† Politically, the ex-Governor had reawakened the Democratic party from the depression of the lean years following the Civil War; under his leadership it became a strong, militant party. The year 1886 was notable for (1) the creation by the General Assembly of a system of twelve judicial district courts to replace the older justice courts of limited jurisdiction; and (2) ratification by the people of two amendments to the Constitution, (a) one establishing bone dry prohibition, and (b) the other granting suffrage to naturalized veterans of the Civil War "upon the same conditions and under and subject to the same restrictions as native born citizens." The prohibitory amendment was annulled in 1889, after three years of unsatisfactory trial. The suffrage amendment had been urged at various times during and following the war as a just recognition of patriotism; it was approved 18,903-14,777. In the election of 1887 the Democratic party elected John W. Davis as the first Democratic Governor, with the exception of Governor Sprague, 1861-1863, after Governor Philip Allen, 1851-1853. The Bourn amendment, abolishing discrimination between naturalized and native born citizens and substituting the poll tax for the registry tax of 1842, was proposed in January, 1887; approved by a second General Assembly in November, 1887, and ratified by the people in the spring election of 1888. The Republican party elected Royal C. Taft as Governor in 1888, but thereafter, under the majority rule, there was no popular election of Governor until 1892, although John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate led Herbert W. Ladd for three successive years. Herbert W. Ladd was chosen by the General Assembly in 1889 and 1891, and John W. Davis in 1890. D. Russell Brown, Republican, was elected in 1892, and held over in 1893, when the Senate and House of Representatives failed to meet to canvass and count the popular vote, which on the count by wardens had favored the Democratic candidate with a small plurality. Out of the crisis came an amendment to the Constitution, 1893, substituting plurality for majority election.

Thereafter the Democratic tide receded, and the Republicans were uniformly successful until 1902 by pluralities ranging from 6,507 to 11,519, in total votes ranging 10,000 less than during the period of struggle. The explanation lies partly in the accomplishment, through the Bourn amendment and plurality election amendment, of major reforms in state politics, and the dissatisfaction of many Rhode Island Democrats with the economic policy of the national party in the latter's support of bimetallism.

Aside from the intense political struggle with which the decade opened, the years from 1890 to 1900 were marked by other events of moment. Throughout the period the state carried forward a program of public improvement by the acquisition of land and construction of public buildings,\* including the marble State House, the main building for Rhode Island Normal

‡Chapter XXIX.

\*\*Chapter XXVI.

††Chapter XXIII.

\*Chapter XXV.

School, three new armories, two new courthouses, buildings for Rhode Island State College, for the Soldiers' Home at Bristol, for Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, for Oaklawn and for Sockanosset Schools, a campground for the militia, and the cutting of a breachway from the great pond to the ocean at Block Island. The beginning of a bonded state debt appeared in the financing of the construction of the State House. War with Spain† was declared in the spring of 1898, and Rhode Island responded with the patriotic zeal that had been displayed in other wars. Railroads within the state had been consolidated and brought under a single administration by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Company,‡ which in 1900 operated 190 of 210 miles of steam railways in Rhode Island. The cove in Providence had been filled in the earlier years of the decade, and the new Union railroad station was completed and opened. The decade had witnessed the substitution of electric tramways for horse cars, and a rapid extension of electric traction, of which 218 miles were operated in 1900. In the same period also the General Assembly had enacted the exclusive public service franchise act of 1891, the supplementary exclusive franchise act of 1892, and the so-called "perpetual" exclusive franchise act of 1898.

A commission appointed in 1897 to consider amendments to the Constitution reported in 1898 a "revised constitution,"\*\* which was twice submitted to and rejected by the people in 1898 and 1899. In November, 1900, the people ratified amendment XI, which abolished the Newport session of the General Assembly, defined the membership of the grand committee, and changed the date of the annual election from April to November.

OPENING OF TWENTIETH CENTURY—Factors that were to determine the political situation early in the new century had been accumulating rapidly. They were related in the first instance to the operation of article IX of amendments to the Constitution, which, incidentally to permitting the General Assembly to provide by general law for the creation and control of corporations, abolished section 17 of article IV of the Constitution, which required the continuance of petitions for business charters over an election of a new General Assembly, with public notice of pendency. The exclusive franchise acts followed, creating discussion because of the unusual privileges conferred by them upon public service corporations. The latter, particularly street railways, had lost popularity because of disputes over transfers, fenders, and street widening projects. The perpetual franchise act of 1898 was construed as effectually placing the street railways beyond municipal regulation, and thus as striking definitely at local autonomy. The setting up of canvassing boards and a state returning board, much as these eventually tended to restrict manipulation of ballots, and the appointment of police commissions in Newport, Providence, and Tiverton were evaluated as further invasions of municipal rights.

Then came the street railway strike in June, 1902, following refusal by the railway company to comply with the provisions of a ten-hour law for certain employes. The consequence immediately was an extraordinary registration of voters before June 30, 1902, in anticipation of the fall election, and, in November, election of the Democratic candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The increase in the Democratic vote approximately equalled the increase in the total vote, which was the largest in the history of the state to that time. The Democrats won again in 1903, lost by a small majority in 1904, and by a normal Republican plurality in 1905. The senatorial campaign of 1906,§ with two rival Republican candidates, and a good government candidate with Democratic indorsement, gave the Democrats another opportunity in 1906 and 1907 to win on the issue of "bossism." Thereafter, until 1922, the state election was safely Republican, although the Republican plurality was reduced in 1912 by the defection of members of the new Progressive party. The latter voted in sufficient number for presidential electors pledged to Theodore Roosevelt to enable the Democrats to win the presidential election for Woodrow Wilson.

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†Chapter XXXIX.  
‡Chapter XXVIII.  
\*\*Chapter XXIII.  
§Chapter XXIV.

After the people had rejected, in 1902, two proposed amendments to the Constitution, they ratified, in 1903, Article XII, which provided for a reorganization of the judiciary.\* The new Supreme Court established under the amendment consisted of five justices, and exercised prerogative, revisory and appellate jurisdiction. A superior court, or trial court, was also created. Under the amendment the Supreme Court gradually and eventually assumed appellate and revisory jurisdiction not only over courts, but also over boards and commissions exercising judicial functions. Another proposed amendment failed of ratification in 1905, but three amendments ratified in 1909 effected, through the piecemeal process, substantially completion of the program of the constitutional commission of 1896-1898, except suffrage extension and provision for constitutional conventions. An amendment in 1911 provided for biennial elections. A constitutional commission appointed in 1912 reported in 1915 an elaborate "revised constitution" including so many innovations as to preclude expectation that the General Assembly would propose it for ratification or rejection by the people. The acquisition of state property, which had reached marked proportions in the last ten years of the nineteenth century, was continued into the twentieth century with the building of three armories, two new courthouses, and additional accommodations at Rhode Island State College, at Rhode Island Institute for the Deaf, and at Cranston for the penal and charitable institutions. Exeter School and the State Sanatorium were developed as new state institutions.

The automobile had followed the bicycle, and projects for building side paths had been abandoned in the course of a movement for better roads.† The people approved successive bond issues to guarantee long-term borrowing, and the state's bonded debt accumulated rapidly. The Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association meeting in Rhode Island, 1910, awakened interest in improving Narragansett Bay. Two state piers were constructed, and other shore property and riparian rights were acquired in anticipation of further development. The United States Government widened and deepened the channel, the city of Providence developed Field's Point as a municipal wharf, and direct transatlantic commerce was established with Narragansett Bay as a port of call. A metropolitan park commission was created, with the purpose of acquiring and preserving naturally beautiful places as sites for parks and boulevards. Newport, which had ceased to be a state capital with the abolition of the May session of the General Assembly at the opening of the century, witnessed in 1905 the last meeting of the Supreme Court in the old State House, 258 years after the first meeting in Newport in 1747 of the General Court of Trials.

Economic conditions generally were satisfactory during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, and factories as a rule were busy. The consolidation of banks, which had been in process in the last ten year of the nineteenth century, continued as state-chartered trust companies tended to replace national banks.‡ The reorganization proceeded steadily, and there was no loss of confidence in the banking system until, in 1907, the Union Trust Company closed its doors following sudden withdrawal of deposits. The immediate cause of suspension was an upset in Wall Street, incidental to the steam railroad campaign to gain control of the electric tramway system. The trust company had abundant assets, and was reopened. The public had been aroused, however, and a state bank commissioner was appointed. A few small trust companies followed the Union Company into receiverships, and did not emerge as did the Union Company. The Union National Bank of Newport in 1912 and the Atlantic National Bank of Providence in 1913 failed. The establishment of the federal reserve banking system early in the Wilson administration was acclaimed because of the promise of a national currency adjustable to the needs of business, and likely to promote sound economic prosperity at a time when the outlook for business was none too good and depression was feared. The exuberant enthusiasm, in the northern part of the state particularly, because of the expected building of

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\*Chapter XXVI.  
 †Chapter XXVIII.  
 ‡Chapter XXVII.

the Southern New England Railroad, connecting the Canadian Grand Trunk with an open harbor in Narragansett Bay, was checked soon after the sinking of the "Titanic," 1912, and the death by drowning of Charles M. Hays, who had been one of the most vigorous promoters of the new enterprise. The World War, § 1914, and the unprecedented demand for commodities for export started a fresh period of industrial and business prosperity in Rhode Island, to continue through the three years during which the United States avoided entering the struggle, and the years beyond of participation in the war.

WORLD WAR—Save for its stimulating effect upon business and production, the World War seemed remote from the United States in 1914; the cloud had come nearer two years later, when, on June 3, 1916, 53,000 men and women participated in a "preparedness" parade. Rhode Island militia was mustered into the service of the United States within the month, and sent to the Mexican border. A German submarine "posted a letter" in Newport on October 7, 1916, and another visited New London November 1. War was declared April 6, 1917. Registration days, military census, drafting of the new National Army, and other military preparations followed in rapid succession. Rhode Island furnished troops promptly and regularly, and the Rhode Island troops sent overseas maintained the state's reputation. The winter of 1917-1918 was unusually severe, and, besides, the state suffered from an epidemic of influenza. Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, was celebrated without preparation as no other day has ever been observed in Rhode Island.

The state building and construction program, abated somewhat during the war, was resumed immediately afterward. New buildings for Rhode Island State College, Rhode Island College of Education, the penal and charitable institutions at Cranston; new courthouses for Newport County and Providence County; bridges to bind the new state roads under construction, including the Washington Bridge across the Seekonk; a new office building to accommodate an overflow from the State House, were among the projects undertaken following approval of bond issues totalling millions of dollars. The road building program itself was financed principally from taxes on automobiles and on gasoline, the latter substituted for a land tax collected as part of the state tax assessed on town and city valuations. The general prosperity prevailing, in spite of occasional complaint against the continuation of wartime high prices, was indicated, if in no other way, by the rapid increase in the number of automobiles owned as private passenger cars, and popular acquiescence in the state building program, proved by unfailing large majorities favoring bond issues. Wartime industries, suspended because the product no longer was wanted, as a rule were replaced by others; the discontinuance of night work and overtime was hailed as relief from excessive pressure rather than an indication of slackening trade.

There were, nevertheless, other factors in the situation which were less reassuring in their nature and portent. The electric railway system, discarded by the steam railroad company because of enforcement of federal anti-trust laws, long since had ceased to be prosperous and seemed to be drifting toward eventual and inevitable bankruptcy. A labor strike in Bristol in 1920 was attended by violent demonstrations; the town was declared to be in a state of insurrection, and militia was ordered on patrol duty. The factory was reopened at the end of a fortnight, and the militia was withdrawn. Early in 1922 a general strike of textile workers in cotton and woolen mills was ordered; militia was sent to several places because of threatened violence. The textile strike continued through the summer with depressing effect on general business because two of the principal industries were affected. Railroad shopmen went on strike in July. Street railway employes were disaffected because of the introduction of one-man cars (a motorman-conductor replacing motorman and conductor). Economic readjustment, part of the shifting from wartime to peace time activities, was in progress, the changes affecting

working conditions and wages; employes were in a mood to resist what to them seemed to be the pushing of the burdens of the new order upon them. Actually the period of wartime superprosperity was definitely at an end in Rhode Island as elsewhere, and the return to normalcy involved reorganization of industrial plants and distress in some instances for workers. Blame for the situation, placed upon the political party in power, was an important factor in the fall election of 1922.

RECENT POLITICS—Politically, the outstanding event of the second decade of the twentieth century in Rhode Island was the defeat by Peter G. Gerry of Senator Henry F. Lippitt as candidate for reelection in the first popular election of United States Senator. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States had preceded this upset in state politics, there being no reason to believe that Senator Lippitt would fail of reelection by the General Assembly, had the method of choosing Senators not been changed. Another amendment\* to the federal Constitution doubled the potential electorate and the popular vote in 1920, although the General Assembly had, in 1917, as a concession to persistent agitation for women suffrage made provision for participation by women in the choice of presidential electors. What had been planned as limited suffrage by legislative grant was changed to unrestricted suffrage by constitutional amendment. No other amendments to the federal Constitution effected changes so promptly and so noticeably in Rhode Island. After the biennial election amendment of 1911 there was until 1928 no change in the Constitution of Rhode Island.

The Democratic victory in the senatorial election of 1916 had been due in part to union labor's opposition to Senator Lippitt; on the same day Governor Beeckman, Republican, was reelected with the largest plurality ever given a candidate up to that time. Senator Gerry as a candidate for reelection in 1922 was opposed by ex-Governor Beeckman, who had courted popular favor assiduously. Exposure of alleged use of money to win Democratic support for Beeckman, although the latter asserted that proper use for legitimate campaign expenditures had been intended, affected the latter's campaign adversely. The effective Democratic organization which had been fashioned for Gerry in 1916 was revived in 1922, and Gerry won again. The Democratic party had become militant once more; with young men prominent as party leaders, it was demanding abolition of the property qualification as a restriction on suffrage, reapportionment of representation in the General Assembly and a constitutional convention for consideration of these and other changes. For the time being the Republican party was distressed by factional quarrels. That part of the new educational legislation of 1922 which had transferred from town and city school committee to the State Board of Education the function of approving private schools for attendance under the compulsory law was made an issue principally by Franco-Americans, who interpreted the new law as aimed at suppression of the teaching of the French language in their schools. To the factors of militant Democracy, internal discord in the Republican party, Franco-American unrest, and alleged corruption was added the unsatisfactory economic situation indicated by strikes. The Democrats won the general election, and increased the party strength in the General Assembly so much as to make the sessions of 1923 and 1924 memorable.

Urging their demand for a constitutional convention the Democrats by effective filibustering in 1923, particularly in the senate, delayed the passage of the appropriation bill. Eventually the Governor vetoed the appropriation bill, and the Republican majority, because it lacked in the House the strength to pass the bill over the veto, was constrained to concede the passage of measures which increased the Governor's participation in the administration of state finance, forecasting a budgetary system under executive direction. The dominating figure in the sessions of the General Assembly had been the Lieutenant Governor, who, as presiding officer in the Senate, ruled the body with an iron hand, in spite of a clear majority favoring the Republican

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\*Woman Suffrage.

party. The filibuster was resumed in 1924, when the Lieutenant Governor and the minority piled up an impassable blockade against the enactment of legislation and the passage of the appropriation bill; the price set for discontinuance of the filibuster was provision for a constitutional convention. After day after day of fruitless meetings terminated by adjournment, a test of physical endurance was undertaken. The Lieutenant Governor remained on the dais without relief until the placing in the chamber of a bomb loaded with a suffocating gas drove the members of the Senate out. Republican Senators, with one exception, removed from the state, leaving the Senate thereafter without a quorum. The session of 1924 expired by limitation on January 6, 1925, no resolution of final adjournment having been passed. In the fall election of 1924 the Republican party was returned to power on the issue of law and order and as a protest against revolution by starving the government through failure to provide appropriations. The Lieutenant Governor, candidate for election as Governor, suffered overwhelming defeat. The General Assembly elected in 1924 proposed three amendments to the Constitution, which were approved by the next General Assembly, and ratified by the people in 1928. These provided for biennial instead of annual registration of voters, increased the representation in the Senate of towns and cities with more than 37,500 electors, and abolished the property qualification, except in financial town meetings. The General Assembly elected in 1924 also enacted legislation regulating state finance, established a state budgetary system, and created the office of Finance Commissioner. It made provision also for a department of state police.

Interest in the election of 1924 may be measured by the facts that 51,000 electors more than in 1922 and 43,000 more than in 1926 went to the polls and voted. The large vote was due in part to interest in the election of a President of the United States, and a United States Senator from Rhode Island. Calvin Coolidge carried Rhode Island by 40,000 majority and 48,000 plurality. Jesse H. Metcalf, as Republican candidate for the Senate, had 32,000 plurality over Governor Flynn. For Governor Felix A. Toupin, Lieutenant Governor and storm centre as presiding officer in the State Senate, polled 4000 votes more than Governor Flynn had in 1922, but was defeated by ex-Governor Aram J. Pothier by 36,000 plurality. Interpretation of the election exclusively as a victory for law and order and as a repudiation of the filibuster as revolutionary must be tempered by consideration of the large vote for Toupin and the coincidence of presidential and senatorial elections with the state election, unless the 51,000 new voters who visited the polls may be pictured as an army of freemen and freewomen called out to save the state from lawlessness.

In the middle election of 1926 Governor Pothier's vote was reduced by 33,000, and his Democratic opponent's by 10,000, and the Republican plurality by 23,000. The presidential election of 1928 called out 37,000 voters more than in 1924. The Democratic candidate for the presidency, Alfred E. Smith, who was popular in Rhode Island, carried the state by 1400 plurality. Governor Case, candidate for reelection, with 1001 votes less than Governor Pothier had polled in 1924, was reelected by 8000 plurality. Felix Hebert defeated Senator Gerry, candidate for reelection, by 3000 plurality.

The total vote cast in 1930 was 222,000, less by 14,000 than in the presidential election of 1928. A referendum on prohibition and the election of a United States Senator had aroused interest. Rhode Island remained Republican, although both Connecticut and Massachusetts were swept into the Democratic column in an election which left the result as to party control of the Seventy-second Congress in doubt. Senator Metcalf, candidate for reelection, defeated ex-Senator Gerry by 2500 plurality, and Governor Case was reelected by 3500 plurality. Democrats carried three of the four new senatorial districts in Providence, achieved control of the city council in Providence for the first time in the ninety-eight years of city government, and control of the cities of Central Falls and Woonsocket. While abolition of the property qualification played its part in the three city elections, other factors affected results in Central Falls and Woonsocket. In Providence, curiously, Senator Metcalf piled up a vote which more than offset

losses in strong Republican towns which were sufficient to defeat him had the balloting in Providence coincided with the landslide in the municipal election.

The results of five elections in ten years indicate that Rhode Island normally is Republican, but that the minority Democratic party has persistent strength. In critical years, with issues sharply drawn, a discriminating independent vote may help the Republicans to pile up imposing pluralities or place Democrats in office. The effect eventually of the suffrage amendment of 1928, which abolished the property qualification, remains for determination in later elections. Republicans remained in control of city councils in Cranston, Newport\* and Pawtucket in 1930, notwithstanding the extension of suffrage. They lost Central Falls principally because of the defection of a thoroughly organized racial bloc. They lost Woonsocket because of local municipal issues of transcendental importance in the northern city. They lost Providence, partly because of resentment in the city arising from the transfer from popular to indirect election of three city officers. The control of Providence in the future will depend principally upon the ability or inability of the Democratic party to justify its ascendancy by efficient administration, but also somewhat upon the possibility or impossibility of welding the Democrats into a harmonious organization strengthened by its possession of a large number of offices to be awarded to faithful party adherents. A city which rolls up twice the plurality for a favorite candidate for Mayor that it gives favorite candidates for Governor and United States Senate, which votes one party ticket in municipal election and another in a general election held on the same day, has independent strength sufficient to encourage careful canvassing. The election of 1930 as a whole emphasizes the lesson of many other elections in three centuries—Rhode Islanders know how to use the ballot to express the popular will and achieve it.

CONTINUITY OF CONSTITUTION—Except during the period of the Andros usurpation, 1686-1689, there has been no hiatus in constitutional government in Rhode Island. The Constitution in the form in which it is because of amendments is the product of changes beginning almost immediately after the Charter of 1663 was granted. Before the substitution of Constitution for Charter in 1842 the more significant constitutional changes were (1) proxy voting; (2) definition and modification of qualifications for suffrage; (3) separation of General Assembly into houses; (4) relinquishment by the General Assembly of the function of filling vacancies by reason of failure by the people to elect Governor, Deputy Governor and assistants. Since 1842 amendments to the Constitution which have not been annulled have related to (1) elections and the qualifications of electors; (2) sessions of the General Assembly; (3) filling vacancies in elective offices; (4) grand committee; (5) membership of General Assembly; (6) veto power; (7) Supreme Court; (8) pardoning power; (9) chartering of corporation; (10) eminent domain. Over the period of almost 270 years from 1663 the changes in the Constitution may be summarized, with reference to agencies,† as follows: I. General Assembly (1) as grand committee relinquished legislative power to bicameral legislature, and large part of function of electing officers to Governor or Senate, (2) as Legislature lost sole legislative power, as the latter was restricted by the veto, (3) as a representative body passed from representation of the whole state and the towns to representation of the towns and representative districts; (4) was successively (a) restricted by the Charter, (b) omnipotent, and (c) restricted by the Constitution. II. Senate, consisting originally of twelve members—Governor, Deputy Governor and ten assistants—elected for the whole state on general ticket, became a body representing towns and cities, and afterward a body representing towns and cities and four senatorial districts in Providence; relinquished judicial power as courts were created; acquired powers to approve appointment of, or to elect, important state officers by action of the General Assembly. III. House of Representatives, consisting of representatives of towns, became a body representing constituencies of 100 representative districts, of which only twenty-five were undivided

\*Democratic mayor.

†The agencies are identified by their names in the twentieth century.

towns. IV. Governor, presiding officer of General Assembly in grand committee and of Senate, and agent for the General Assembly rather than an executive officer, was replaced by Lieutenant Governor as presiding officer in grand committee and Senate, and acquired restricted pardoning, veto and appointive powers. V. Lieutenant Governor, originally member of the Senate, became presiding officer in the grand committee and Senate. VI. Supreme Court, once identified with the General Assembly, and after creation as a separate agency restricted by the power reserved by the Assembly to entertain and decide appeals and reverse judgments, (1) became independent of the Assembly through refusal to permit or recognize appeals from its judgments and decisions; (2) asserted right as separate constitutional agency to determine the constitutionality of legislation; and (3) became a final appellate and revisory body entertaining and deciding appeals from lower courts of justice, and also from boards and commissions exercising judicial functions. VII. Electorate, successively (1) adult males admitted to freemanship and qualified by ownership of land; (2) adult male citizens of the United States owning land and adult male native citizens of the United States qualified by registration and two years of residence; (3) after 1886, additional to other classes, adult male naturalized citizens of the United States who enlisted from Rhode Island, served in army or navy during the Civil War, and were honorably discharged; (4) after 1888, additional to other classes, adult male naturalized citizens of the United States qualified by registration and two years residence; (5) after 1928 (by amendment to federal Constitution) women on the same qualification as to age, residence, citizenship, registration, etc., as men; (6) after 1928, adult citizens of the United States resident one year and qualified by ownership of land, and other adult citizens of the United States resident two years and registered. The Constitution of 1842 excluded persons not taxed from voting in financial town meetings, and, in the instance of Providence, which was the only city in the state, excluded non-taxpayers from voting for members of the city council. The second restriction did not apply in Newport and Pawtucket as these municipalities became cities, until 1888, when the Bourn amendment, at the same time that it enfranchised non-landholding naturalized citizens, applied to all cities the same exclusion of non-taxpayers from voting for city councilmen provided in the Constitution for Providence. The amendment of 1928 (1) abolished the property qualification for election of city councilmen; (2) retained the taxpaying qualification for financial town meetings; and (3) authorized the General Assembly to create municipal budget commissions with authority to impose taxes and expend money in cities and in towns, in the last, however, only upon request of the financial town meeting. VIII. Towns and cities as units for representation—in the first bicameral Legislature one house represented the whole state, the other the towns; under the Constitution the unit for representation was the town or city, with representation equal in the Senate and related to population in the House, the Governor as presiding officer and the Lieutenant Governor as a member of the Senate continuing recognition of the whole state interest; under amendment XIII, 1909, towns and cities electing more than one Representative surrendered town-city-unit representation for representation by districts; under amendment XIX, 1928, Providence surrendered city-unit representation in the Senate for representation by districts. The Lieutenant Governor continues as a member of the Senate, and is presiding officer since the withdrawal of the Governor, 1909, with vote only in the instance of a tie. The political changes as a rule, indicate adjustment by compromise rather than clear victory in accomplishing programs. Thus Providence in 1909 exchanged representation by a solid bloc of one-sixth of the members of the House of Representatives for representation by one-fourth the membership, elected in districts and invariably divided into party blocs, the effect being to weaken the influence of the largest city in the Legislature. The extension of suffrage was compromised (1) in the instance of the Bourn amendment by the restriction of suffrage in the election of city councils, and (2) in the amendment of 1928 by the authorization for legislative creation of budget commissions to control taxation and expenditure. The latest amendment lays to rest campaign discussion of "antiquated suffrage

restriction persisting in Rhode Island," urged before every election, in spite of the plain fact that suffrage has been less restricted in Rhode Island after 1888 than in a great many states, including more than one of the New England group.

THE CITY-STATE OF 1930—Rhode Island in 1930 is a city-state. Seventy percent of the people reside in cities; 82.5 percent reside within the metropolitan greater city of Providence, which stretches from Woonsocket along the valley of the Blackstone River to Narragansett Bay, thence along the east shore to Fall River and on the west shore so far as East Greenwich. Ninety percent of the people live under urban conditions; less than five percent in the open country or subject to rural environment. Electric service is almost universal, even in rural sections; the number of homes supplied with current for light and power, gas for cooking, telephone service, running water and sewer drainage approaches eighty percent. The population of Central Falls exceeds 20,000 per square mile, that of the city of Providence 11,000 per square mile. By counties the population per square mile is: Bristol, 1055; Kent, 281; Newport, 355; Providence, 1301; Washington, 90; whole state, 645. Population centres, in instances of separation by open country, are linked together by miles of splendid roads. It is conceivable that the entire area of 1053 square miles (1300 square miles including water) could be administered under a central state-municipal government, combining all necessary functions, efficiently, conveniently and economically, and that an administrative organization of a new and progressive type might be developed were it not that Rhode Islanders cling tenaciously to the traditions of their historic towns and view with suspicion and misgivings restriction of town autonomy or accession of controlling power by the state government. With many Rhode Islanders the theory of a state established by a union of towns and cities persists, reversing and ignoring the constitutional and legal origin of towns and cities as corporations created by the state. Attachment to towns is strengthened somewhat, besides, by the unique balancing of political ascendancy betwixt towns and cities maintained by the constitutional apportionment of representation in the General Assembly. Thus the apportionment of seventy-five percent of representation in the House of Representatives to towns and cities so populous as to have more than one Representative is offset by the apportionment in the Senate of twenty-five of forty-two seats, or nearly sixty percent, to the twenty-five towns so small as to have only one Representative apiece in the House. The twenty-five small towns have an effective veto on legislation, and the consequence is that lawmaking proceeds principally by compromise betwixt small towns on one side and large towns and cities on the other. The term city-state is justified in several ways, thus: (1) By the compactness with which the state is populated and the environmental conditions affecting residence; (2) by the residence of seventy percent of the population in cities; (3) by the respect of tradition; (4) by the prevailing theory of town right paralleling the state right theory in national politics; (5) by the strength maintained by small towns in politics and government. To a certain extent the emphasis upon the town has represented the tenacity of old Rhode Island persisting in spite of the inundation of immigration to cities and larger towns. The segregation of alien cultures has offset the influence which might be attached to gross numbers had there been a distributing of newcomers. Rhode Island in the twentieth century is thus the product of the past, preserving the traditions of its founders through the maintenance intact of the old town spirit, and combining with its ancient inheritance an accumulating richness through acceptance of the best which has been brought to Rhode Island. The evolution of democracy has proceeded through the adaptation of principles fundamentally sound and accurate in the first instance, but needing restatement periodically in fresh formulae, to meet the needs of situations becoming more complex because of larger population and the new intimacies arising from the nearness attending modern life as contrasted with the remoteness from neighbors which was characteristic in earlier periods. Rhode Island proved the rule that men live well together under circumstances in which each is master of his own conscience and responsible

for it, and found that boundless solitude was not essential for liberty of conscience; in later days Rhode Islanders found through experience that living nearer together becomes possible through application of the same principle. Dealing with immigration in unprecedented proportions, strong effort became necessary to preserve the Rhode Island tradition. That it survives, and that it has been accepted, no one who knows Rhode Island may doubt.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RHODE ISLAND—It has been altogether unfortunate that maps (except railroad maps) are drawn to scales relating to such trivial, inconsequential and unimportant relations as distances and areas, even in a century in which distance has been annihilated, and area may be relegated to the insignificance of a vanishing factor in a formula of relativity. The maps exclude, and disregard utterly, significant measures which might indicate population and wealth, industry and its products, intelligence and education, contributions to human welfare, comparative influence in national counsels, eminent citizens, and other measures that might be suggested for estimating the position of a state. Thus it happens that on geographical maps of the United States Rhode Island appears usually as a spot or dot so small that the name of the state is reduced to two of the five words used in both the state and the federal Constitution, and is printed over the Atlantic Ocean, misleading some persons who know not otherwise so that they believe that Rhode Island is an island off the coast of New England. So astute an observer as Henry Van Dyke learned otherwise and more. "Rhode Island was not, as I in my Knickerbocker ignorance had supposed," he wrote, "a fraction of New England supine between Massachusetts and Connecticut. It was an independent and sovereign, though diminutive state. It had its own traditions and its own ideals." Even on maps drawn to illustrate the significance of statistics with relativity indicated by shading, the arrangement of states continues to be metric. And thus it happens that the Rhode Islander, wherever he goes, is greeted with trite references to the area of his state, reflecting utter ignorance of the truth that greatness is not related to size, stature, weight, or other measures of purely physical elements. Not everybody is so ill-informed; thus a state officer from Massachusetts, addressing in Texas an audience including officers from many states, remarked that he had been corrected so many times by an officer in Rhode Island for misstatement that he would not venture to say even that Texas was the most extensive state in the union, lest the Rhode Islander rise up to correct him for neglecting Rhode Island. Rhode Island is a great state. It gave to American democracy the single characteristic which distinguishes it from the democracy of all earlier history. It kept lighted the torch of personal liberty in New England against the effort of jealous neighbors and malevolent plotters within the body politic to extinguish it.

There are no names in seventeenth century history more worthy of memory than those of the pioneers who founded Rhode Island. Throughout the eighteenth century Rhode Island raised courageous men to carry on the experiment in democracy and to resist aggression; they bore their parts well in defending Charter rights, in promoting the public welfare, in building a strong commonwealth through the development of economic resources, in colonial wars, and eventually in establishing independence of the mother country when the latter forgot its obligations. To the names of Williams, Clarke, Gorton, Hutchinson, and others of the illustrious company of the seventeenth century may be added those of the Wantons and the Greenes, Hopkins, Ward, Cooke, Arnold, and Howell, besides those of military and naval heroes too numerous to be mentioned here, and all so courageous that none should be omitted were any named. Bridging the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the four Brown brothers and their associates achieved the rehabilitation of the state. The names of Aldrich, Anthony, Burges, Burrill and Jenckes are only a few of those of Rhode Island congressmen who were prominent in the counsels of the nation. The number of captains of industry, such as the Goddards, Lippitts, Spragues, Knights, Sharpes, Metcalfs, Gorham and Banigan; of inventors, such as Jenks, Wilkinson, Slater, Thorp, Grinnell, Heaton, Brown, Corliss, Harris and Nicholson, to mention only a few in each category, is legion.

Rhode Island has been as thoroughly independent and self-reliant through three centuries as in the pioneering days of the first century. It has had its own opinions and defended them, holding tenaciously to the right as Rhode Island saw the right, even to standing alone on occasion, as the founders did on soul liberty, as Howell did on the impost proposed by the Confederation, as Rhode Island did eventually on ratification of the Constitution. On the other hand, Rhode Island has been first as many times in proposing reforms as last in accepting changes which did not commend themselves. It has been well for the United States that Rhode Island has maintained its traditional attitude of pursuing its own way when convinced of the right, and of ignoring the opinions of others when these did not conform to the Rhode Island view. In the twentieth century Rhode Island is as alert and vigorous in asserting its own exclusive jurisdiction against pretence of federal jurisdiction as ever it was in the eighteenth century against British invasion of Rhode Island rights. Thus when a federal coastguard vessel fired upon the "Black Duck," powerboat, in Narragansett Bay in 1929, killing members of the complement for alleged disregard of an order to stop when suspected of smuggling, the Rhode Island Attorney General investigated, and demanded and obtained the appearance of coastguard vessel's officers and crew before a Rhode Island grand jury. The episode recalled arrests by Rhode Island sheriffs, in the eighteenth century, of British naval officers and custom house employes, and the rigid enforcement of Rhode Island laws with respect to British officers and vessels while within the jurisdiction of the colony. The burning of the "Gaspee" might be justified as the suppression of a vessel practicing piracy to the extent of disregarding law and law-enforcing officers of the colony of Rhode Island.

EDUCATION AS THE SOLVENT FOR PROBLEMS—No colony so soon after founding turned to education as did Rhode Island, the town of Newport achieving the first American public school. The continued interest in education throughout the colonial period appears in the fragmentary town public records, and in the quality of state papers, the founding of libraries, and the rise of professions. Following the Revolution John Howland developed his project for a statewide free public school system, Dorr carried forward the movement, and Henry Barnard fashioned the plans for a thoroughly modern reorganization. The school and other educational agencies, including liberal colleges and free public libraries, have helped not only to preserve Rhode Island traditions, but to assimilate and spread abroad fresh concepts of democracy. Without its school system, Rhode Island in the nineteenth and twentieth century would be a bedlam of alien races, alien cultures, alien languages, and possibly alien hatreds, with thousands of immigrants drawn from all parts of Europe preserving for their descendants the traditions of the Old World. As it is, the schools have helped the second, third and later generations to become good Americans and good Rhode Islanders, and Rhode Island has accepted all of them in a common citizenship, avoiding what might be the consequences of conflicting racial aspirations.

In much the same way the school has tended to stabilize relations between country and city; it is scarcely conceivable in the twentieth century that the farmers of Rhode Island should undertake to starve residents of cities and compact towns as they did in the period of the paper money war before ratification of the Constitution of the United States; or that Providence should undertake secession from the state, as it did in the same period, unless the Constitution should be ratified. On the contrary, representatives of country and city meet in General Assembly to discuss problems affecting the state, already trained through the schools to understanding of common interests. Rhode Island is essentially one, with less sectionalism and provincialism than in most states. Rhode Islanders have faith in Rhode Island, because Rhode Island has faith in them as citizens.

RHODE ISLAND NOT EXCLUSIVELY MATERIALISTIC—At lunch in a New York hotel a Rhode Islander met a group of men from half a dozen states, and the conversation drifted to Rhode Island. One remarked the per capita wealth of the state, another the population, another

the influence of Senator Aldrich in the affairs of the nation. "The last," remarked the Rhode Islander, "comes nearest the real truth and explains everything else; the wealth of Rhode Island, the comfortable life of the people, the number who live there from choice, the factories, and the influence of the state all rest upon Rhode Island manhood, the long procession of masterful men marching generation after generation through three centuries, upholding liberal ideals. While the hunger impulse drove Rhode Island to the economic development necessary to sustain life for enjoying the fine principles enunciated by the founders, the accumulating wealth has been used to promote a finer culture among the people. Liberal education, art and refinement have been extended, and the state has continued to produce the type of man needed for leadership as well as the type of man needed for successful achievement of the aims of the leaders. You should see our churches, our schools and colleges, our libraries and art treasures, our comfortable homes, our parks and playgrounds, our happy and contented people; you should recognize, along with the material aspects of our prosperity, the status of a people who make provision liberally for spiritual and religious, for educational and cultural, for health and recreational needs. I venture to think that no state exceeds Rhode Island in the proportion of its citizenry who are active members of churches and regular attendants. Few states have so many books per capita, and few people read more books than Rhode Islanders if the circulation of free public libraries is an index." "I have noticed," remarked a citizen of another state, "the high quality of articles made in Rhode Island." "We make nothing better in Rhode Island than the men and women we make," was the retort.

Rhode Island is rounding out three centuries in which the common man has been trusted, and there is nothing which begets and strengthens manhood more than faith in the integrity of men. Of Rhode Island patriotism there has been no question at any time. Of the common sense of her citizens there is scarcely a more convincing proof than relatively the peaceable relations of labor and capital in the most intensively industrially developed state in the union. No people respond more quickly and generously to requests for relief or for assistance of good causes.

IF ROGER WILLIAMS AND JOHN CLARKE COULD RETURN—What would Roger Williams and John Clarke think of Rhode Island in the twentieth century? While it is conceivable that Roger Williams might not be entirely happy in Rhode Island in the twentieth century, missing the bitter controversy that was characteristic of most of his life, he would rejoice to find that Rhode Island has kept the faith with reference to religious liberty. What he preached and practiced as an almost unbelievable ideal in his own century, scarcely possible of realization—the toleration of Catholics and Hebrews by Protestants, of Protestants and Hebrews by Catholics, of Catholics and Protestants by Hebrews—is a fact in Rhode Island. Contrary to his lifetime opposition to a "settled ministry," he would find Rhode Island a state dotted with temples dedicated to the worship of God, and large numbers of men and women living their lives somewhat apart from the workaday world in devotion to religion. He would find religion thoroughly organized on denominational lines, yet separated from dependence upon or control by the political state—a development of his own theory of separation of state and church somewhat beyond the vision granted to him in his lifetime. He would find one of his dreams completely fulfilled in the spectacle of men of widely different religious persuasions abiding together in peace and harmony. Perhaps he would become reconciled to so much that was different from his own conception when he realized that it was Rhode Island's persistent maintenance of principles enunciated by him which had brought to pass the fine spirit of the twentieth century. He would miss, no doubt, the quarrels over ownership of land that plagued him, unless William Harris could come back with him *as a loving companion if only to revive the enmities of old days*, although Roger Williams would find the men of the twentieth century competing keenly with each other in business and professions and occasionally engaged in litigation. He would find life vastly more comfortable than in pioneering days, with heated homes, abundant food, good roads

and bridges, stores for trading offering an untold wealth of articles for sale, and everything to satisfy needs or fashion. He might find prohibition irksome, as it must be to men of his generation, and might believe that Rhode Island in other ways had become too conventional. He must rejoice, however, in the opportunity afforded by the public press for expression of opinion and become a frequent contributor to the "letters to the editor" columns. While there might be compensations in twentieth century life for many of the characteristics of seventeenth century life which he would miss, it is probable that he might remain in Rhode Island only long enough to satisfy his legitimate curiosity as to the extent to which Rhode Island had grown and to which his ideas had been exemplified in practice, and then seek transportation to another frontier, there to undertake the conversion of aboriginal inhabitants to Christianity and there to contemplate in the solitude of the wilderness the new problems which his contact with twentieth century democracy could not fail to awaken in his facile mind.

John Clarke would be much less restless in a twentieth century environment than Roger Williams, for he was a man of less erratic temperament. He, too, would find his ideal of toleration realized in practice, and Rhode Island holding "forth a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained with full liberty in religious concerns." As a physician he would marvel at the progress made in the arts and sciences of medicine and surgery, and be astounded at magnificent hospitals with their apparatus and equipment for relieving pain and curing disease. His interest in education beginning so early (if not earlier) as the town meeting in Newport of August, 1640, at which the town voted to establish a public school, would carry him on an inspection tour of a system of education extending from children's classes to liberal arts and vocational colleges. His philanthropy, witnessed by the public bequest in his will, would lead him to visit and inspect the many charitable institutions maintained in Rhode Island. As an investigator of religion, witnessed by his Concordance for the Bible, he would be interested in the doctrinal differences of religious denominations, although contented with the minor emphasis in modern days upon metaphysical distinctions. As a preacher he might be invited to fill many pulpits. He would be delighted to find that he could visit sick friends in Massachusetts without danger of arrest, imprisonment and flogging. He would find Connecticut resting behind the boundary clearly indicated in the two Charters signed by King Charles II. He would find Rhode Island prosperous and well able to pay him promptly and fully the amount due on his expense account incurred on his mission to England, and for his service as agent for Rhode Island during his residence in London. Altogether he would see in Rhode Island in the twentieth century a well-organized civil and social community of the progressive type of which Newport more than Providence was characteristic in the seventeenth century. No doubt John Clarke would be content to settle and remain in Rhode Island practicing his profession and pursuing his own persuasions in religion, with a kindly spirit of toleration exemplified mutually by him and his fellow-citizens.

RHODE ISLAND HAS KEPT THE FAITH—Though Williams might find Rhode Island of the twentieth century less to his liking than would John Clarke, the difference of viewpoint would rest exclusively upon the characteristic attitudes of the two men—Williams, the restless pioneer, and Clarke, the sober, settled man of strong opinions. Neither could be dissatisfied with Rhode Island in the twentieth century so far as the state is engaged in exemplifying religious toleration as a fundamental principle in government. Indeed, Rhode Island is carrying the principle forward in an experiment transcending in all its implications the problem faced in the seventeenth century. Then the population of Rhode Island had been drawn principally from England, and the settlers for the most part were men and women of a single racial and cultural stock; in the twentieth century the experiment goes forward among men and women of every racial and cultural stock of Europe, with widely variant views of life in most of its implications, besides variant attitudes toward religion. The problem is more complex in the twentieth century than it was in the seventeenth; yet the correctness of the principle is demonstrated by its satis-

factory application in circumstances both of simplicity and of complexity. Rhode Island has not only maintained toleration, but it has succeeded in imparting to newcomers some part of the Rhode Island tradition. Men and women of different religions, of different racial and national stocks, of different social cultures, accustomed to interpret situations in different ways, and to view the environment with different perspective, find in Rhode Island opportunity for peaceably pursuing their different persuasions, in the broadened and broadening application of the principle of toleration. The result is exactly the same as that suggested by Rhode Island's treatment of the Quakers or Friends, and set forth in the letter sent to Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, reading the Bay Colony a lesson in toleration and good sense, too. We find, wrote the Rhode Islanders, that when there is least opposition, there is less reason for display and less satisfaction in displaying the eccentricities of which the Friends were accused; that when they find no opposition they desist or depart for places where there is opposition. Thus it always has been in Rhode Island. Those who have fled to Rhode Island to escape persecution elsewhere have found contentment and toleration; and Rhode Island has grown steadily to be always a better Rhode Island.

In this also lies the promise for the future of Rhode Island. Rhode Island in the twentieth century is still a state in which widely different cultures meet and mingle peaceably and harmoniously because Rhode Island is still engaged in the lively experiment. No good Rhode Islander may venture to think that in the twentieth century we have reached more than the ever present, and that there is no future. The future is plainly indicated by the past. Rhode Island will go forward, as always through the past three centuries, still leading the nation and the world to new visions of democracy made real in the exemplification of the Rhode Island principles.





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